THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

BEARD AND BAGLEY

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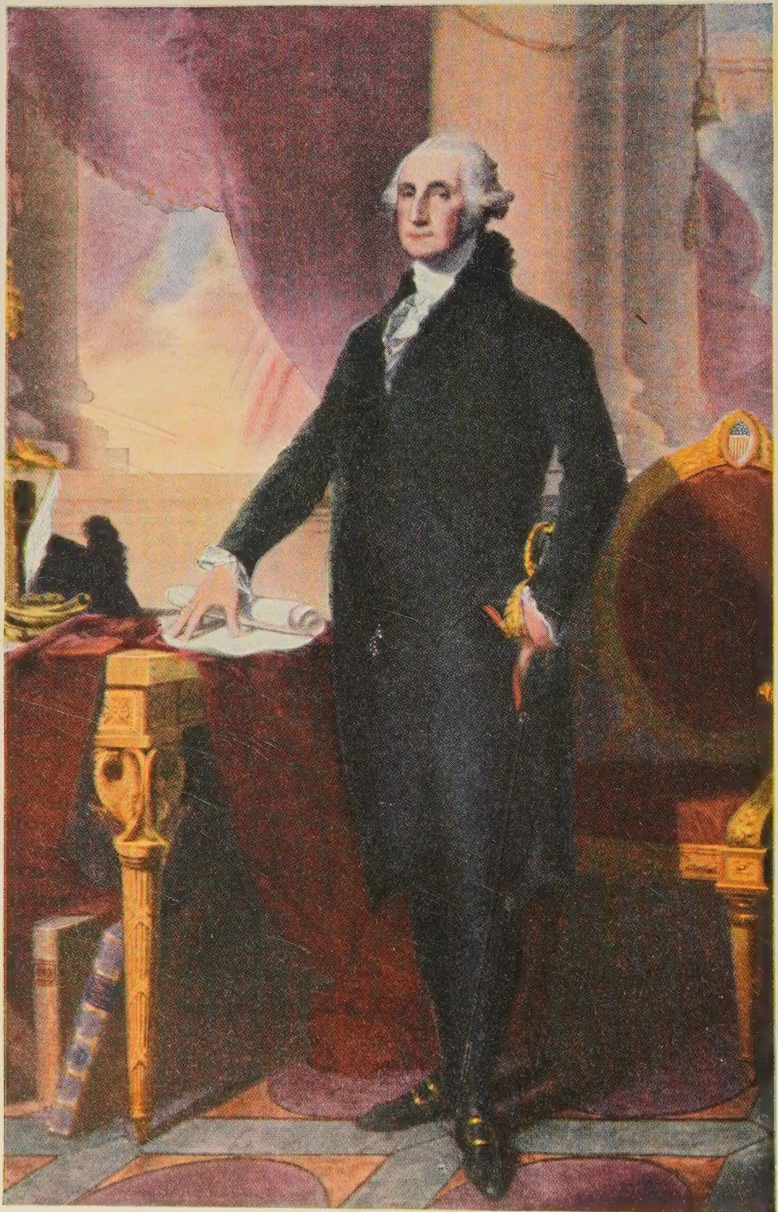

From a painting by Gilbert Stuart

GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE

SECOND REVISED EDITION

BY

CHARLES A. BEARD

AND

WILLIAM C. BAGLEY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

GEORGE M. RICHARDS

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PREFACE

One great motive has dominated the content and arrangement of this volume: the preparation of children for citizenship through an understanding of the ideals, institutions, achievements, and problems of our country. No mere almanac of facts, dates, and names, no matter how exhaustive, can accomplish this purpose. It can be done only by teaching boys and girls to think of events and issues of the living present in the light of their historical past, by giving them, above all, a sense of historical continuity.

We have sought to catch the deep-flowing and powerful currents of American life, to present them fairly and justly, to engage the interest of the students in them, and to show their significance to the issues of the present hour. Only in this way does history become living. Only in this way can pupils be shown why they should study history. Such a story, if rightly told, must challenge the admiration and faith of those who believe that democracy is not to perish from the earth but to flourish and triumph everywhere.

In carrying out our ideal we have selected those striking features of American history which bear upon and help to explain our own age. We have conceived of the whole as a vital, moving story with certain very definite and fundamental acts and scenes. We have sought to give to the book that unity which comes from such a controlling purpose.

In the execution of this plan we divided the whole field of American history into periods and topics. Having agreed upon the fundamentals necessary for a book of historical instruction in citizenship, we then broke each fundamental up into its essential parts. If a famous event or time-honored story required telling, we adjusted it to the unity so planned. At no time did we let the love of novelty or mere respect for traditional materials betray us into sacrificing the sweep of the magnificent story to the supposed requirements of the all-comprehending "manual."

This plan has necessitated the omission of many of the staples of the textbooks. For example, the space given to the North

American Indians has been materially reduced. They are interesting and picturesque, but they made no impress upon the civilization of the United States. In a history designed to explain the present rather than to gratify curiosity and entertain, Indian habits of life and Indian wars must have a very minor position. So it is with many famous anecdotes used to adorn our history tales. They too have been sacrificed to the guiding purpose.

In a plan so conceived, the topical method of treatment inevitably takes precedence over the purely chronological method. One striking advantage of this treatment is to bring forcibly to the attention of the learner the essential feature of each historical period. It helps him to think of history in terms of great interests and achievements rather than in terms of presidential administrations. The story of America cannot be cut into quadrennial sections. Nevertheless the topical method is open to some objections, and we have tried to meet them by summaries and tables and in many instances by repetition of facts in different connections. As a result of this treatment students will not gain, for example, the impression that the people of this country between 1820 and 1860 lived either by presidential administrations or by the slavery controversy alone.

American history should not be presented as a shadowy record of mysterious personages, far removed from the life and labor of the masses. Such history does not interest or inform the young learner. Furthermore, it is not true history. America has been made by the labors, sacrifices, and ideals of millions of men, women, and children unhonored and unsung in the ordinary books. That is the essence of democracy. The fate of the nation in a very real sense lies in the hands of their sons and daughters who study its history in the public schools. They are to be the makers of history as well as the students of it, and this fact cannot be too often brought home to them. The achievements, traditions, ideals of the past — these are sources of inspiration to those who hold the future in their hands. To help make these an open book to the coming generations is the underlying purpose of this volume.

In thus recasting American history we think that we have not omitted an event or a date or a personality of cardinal importance.

Moreover, we have endeavored to avoid anything that looks like distortion to meet preconceived views. We have sought to be fair to all parties and to give grounds for just judgment. If we have made errors of omission or commission, we shall be glad to learn of them and to correct our record accordingly.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

As in preparing the first revised edition (published in 1923), the text has been carefully scrutinized in the light of criticisms and suggestions from teachers who have used it in their classes. A great deal of attention has also been given to the findings of the vocabulary and comprehension studies that have been published during the past five years.

Many changes have been made in the interest of clarity. Especially important is the careful gradation of what may be called the "technical terms" of history and government. The studies of comprehension difficulties among children have pointed clearly to the need of carefully developing the meanings of these terms. It goes without saying that every citizen should have a working command of the words used in describing social and governmental institutions and their functions. These meanings are best developed, we believe, in the study of our national history.

In the present revision every effort has been made to use such terms first in a context that will illustrate their meaning, to accompany them as they recur with explanatory phrases couched in more familiar terms, and to provide for their recurrence with such frequency and in such different connections as may be essential to their mastery by the pupils. At the close of each chapter the important new terms used in the chapter are listed.

The third edition has, of course, brought the treatment of the several topics down to date, and has been controlled by Dr. Bagley's judgment as to the style and materials appropriate to the classes for which it is designed.

New York City,
1928

C. A. B.
W. C. B.

TO THE TEACHER

Certain suggestions regarding the use of this book as a text may be stated briefly here:

1. The chapters are subdivided into convenient lesson-units. The questions at the end of each chapter are grouped and numbered (with Roman numerals) according to these units.

2. In assigning each lesson, the teacher may well spend some time in introducing the important new terms in the chapter to be studied. A list of these terms will be found at the close of each chapter. In the class discussions, too, the meanings of these terms may well be referred to, while comprehensive reviews at frequent intervals will help still further to insure an effective mastery of an ever-growing vocabulary.

3. The Projects and Problems for Further Study listed at the close of each chapter are intended to be only suggestive of what pupils may be asked to look up and work out for themselves, either individually or in groups. References for outside reading are given in connection with many of the problems, but these, too, are only suggestive. Pupils should be encouraged to acquire additional information from all possible sources. Probably no chapter should be left without some additional work from these problems.

4. At the close of each important period will be found an Outline for Review. Only the more comprehensive topics are given in these lists. In the work of review the pupils should be encouraged to expand the outline by inserting the more detailed topics.

5. We call attention also to the Time Charts supplied for each main group of chapters. These are not meant to be complete, but rather to aid the pupil to keep in order, to chronologize, the sequences and parallelisms of events.

6. The brief lists of dates and names that appear with each Outline for Review include those that have been found by various investigations to be the most important in connection with the several periods of American history.

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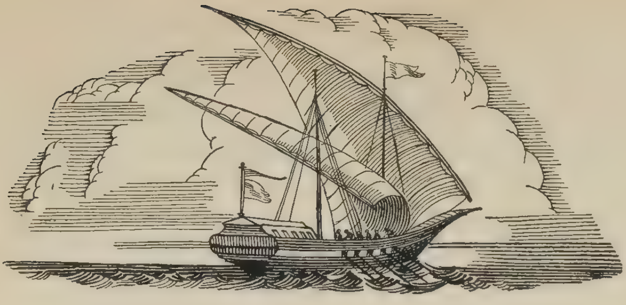
PART ONE

EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT, AND COLONIZATION

TIME CHART — Chapters I to VI

Fifty-Year Periods	Discoveries, Explorations, and Settlements	Life in the Colonies
1450 to 1500	Columbus (1492–1504). Discovery of America and explorations Da Gama (1497). New route to India John Cabot (1497). Labrador	
1500 to 1550	Pinzon (1508). Central America Vespucci (1504). Last visit to America De Leon (1512). Florida Balboa (1513). The Pacific Ocean Magellan (1519–1522) Cortez (1521). Conquest of Mexico Verrazano (1524) Pizzaro (1525–1532). Conquest of Peru Cartier (1534–1535). St. Lawrence River De Soto (1539–1541). Mississippi Coronado (1540–1542). Southwest	
1550 to 1600	Frobisher (1576). Drake (1577). West coast of America Gilbert (1583). Newfoundland Raleigh (1584). Roanoke Island	
1600 to 1650	Port Royal (1604) Jamestown (1607) Quebec (1608) Henry Hudson (1609). Hudson River The Pilgrims at Plymouth (1620) The Dutch at New Amsterdam (1623) London Company's loss of charter (1624) Charter for Massachusetts Bay Colony (1629) Settlement of Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630) Baltimore's colony in Maryland (1634) Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield (1635–1636) Roger Williams and Providence (1636) New Haven (1638) Swedes on the Delaware River (1638)	First colonial legislature (1619) Founding Harvard College (1636) Connecticut plan of government (1639) New England Confederation (1643) Charter for Rhode Island (1643) Religious toleration in Maryland (1649)
1650 to 1700	Grants for proprietors for North and South Carolinas (1663) New Jersey granted to Berkeley and Carteret (1664) Marquette and Joliet explore upper Mississippi (1673) Founding of Charleston, S. C. (1681) Penn and Pennsylvania (1681) La Salle explores lower Mississippi (1682) Huguenots at New Rochelle (1685) Founding of Biloxi (1699)	New Haven a part of Connecticut (1662) New Amsterdam becomes New York (1664) New Hampshire a separate colony (1679) Delaware granted to Penn (1682) New York a royal province (1685) First Newspaper, Boston (1690) King William's War (1689–1697) Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies become Massachusetts (1691) Founding William and Mary College (1693)
1700 to 1750	Founding of Detroit (1701) Founding of New Orleans (1718) Oglethorpe and Georgia (1732) Founding of St. Louis (1764)	Queen Anne's War (1701–1713) Delaware a separate colony (1703) North and South Carolina separate royal provinces (1729) King George's War (1744–1748) Georgia a royal province (1754) French and Indian War (1754) Braddock's Defeat (1755) Treaty of Paris (1763)



CHAPTER I

THE RISE OF THE ATLANTIC POWERS

From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The discovery of America was an event in a long historic movement — the transfer of commercial and naval power from the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea to those bordering on the Atlantic Ocean. Three of the great nations of the ancient world — Egypt, Greece, and Rome — were Mediterranean countries. The vast empire of Rome, it is true, extended from northern England to distant Arabia, but its capital was in Italy, and the most important parts of the empire bordered on the Mediterranean. When the Roman emperors disappeared, the Christian Church and the Popes took their place. Christianity had arisen in Palestine, one of the Mediterranean countries, and the home of the Popes to this day is in the old city of Rome.

The period between the end of the Roman Empire (476 A.D.) and the discovery of America — a little over one thousand years — is called the Middle Ages. All through this long period most of the important countries of Europe were those that bordered on the Mediterranean Sea. During these years several cities of Italy, such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa, grew to be rich and powerful. For all Europe and a large part of western Asia, these and other Italian cities were great centers of trade and art and learning.

They connected the markets of Paris and London with the markets of India. Italian traders carried the silks, spices, and other products of the golden East to the peoples on the shores of the Atlantic. The language of educated persons was Latin, which had been the language of the old Romans, and the Italian scholars took great pride in their knowledge of the old Greek and Roman writings. In Italy, too, were beautiful palaces and cathedrals which the Italian architects had planned and for which the Italian artists painted some of the world's greatest pictures. Throughout the Middle Ages, then, Italy, pointing toward the center of the Mediterranean Sea, was really the center of the civilized world.

With the opening of the modern age, however, the Mediterranean countries began to lose some of the importance that had so long been theirs. Gradually the scene shifted. Portugal, which does not touch the Mediterranean but which faces the broad Atlantic, came first into prominence, to be followed in turn by Spain, France, and England. It is true that both Spain and France have Mediterranean shores, but it was not the Mediterranean that made them great. It was rather the Atlantic Ocean and the rich lands, both east and west, to which their ships could sail. Of these the lands to the west — the two Americas — became rich and populous and added greatly to the importance of the ocean that lay between them and Europe. For nearly four hundred years, the countries bordering on the Atlantic have been the seat of mighty nations and the scenes of events that have been famous in modern history. In fact, *modern* history as distinguished from *medieval* history (that is, the history of the Middle Ages) is generally thought of as beginning at about the time of the discovery of America, just as *ancient* history is divided from medieval history by the fall of the Roman Empire.

The story of this transfer of power from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic is long and interesting. It opens with the attempts of Europeans to find a waterway to the Far East. The merchants and sea-captains and sailors whose deeds fill the first part of the story were not thinking of the West at all, but of India and China. They were looking for a route along which the rich products of the Far East could be brought to Europe where they were in great demand. The two huge continents of America were unknown and undreamed of. The discovery of America was really an accident — the luckiest accident in all history, perhaps, but none the less an accident.

I. THE TRADERS AND THE TRAVELERS

The Antiquity of Commerce. The first heroes of our story were the traders and the travelers. All of the nations of ancient times encouraged trade and looked to the East for articles of luxury. In the days of King Solomon the merchants of Palestine carried on a lively trade with distant India. The Greek writers speak of India as the richest country of their time. The Romans turned to India for nearly all of their luxuries — spices, rugs, silks, porcelains, and perfumes.

Trade with the East in the Middle Ages. After Rome fell in 476 A.D.,[1] the capital of the Roman Empire was moved to Constantinople. From that favorable point trade with India was kept up, no matter what happened at the old capital in Italy. And some important events were happening in Italy and other parts of western Europe. The barbarians — half-savage tribes that had lived in the forests to the north and northeast — swept down to the Mediter-

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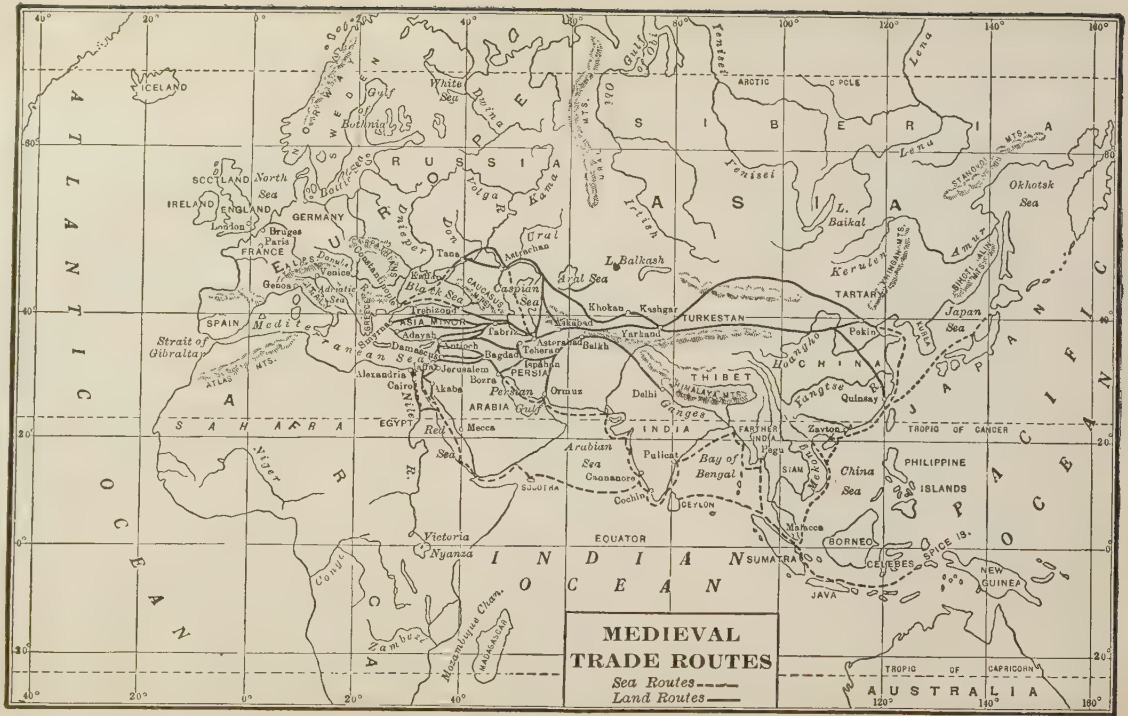
[1] The years as we now know them are counted backward and forward from the birth of Christ. The date, 476 A.D., means 476 years *Anno Domini*, *i.e.* after Christ's birth.


MEDIEVAL
TRADE ROUTES
Sea Routes
Land Routes
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ASIA
SIBERIA
AFRICA
AUSTRALIA
ICELAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
North Sea
Bruges
Paris
FRANCE
GERMANY
SPAIN
Strait of Gibraltar
ATLAS MTS.
ITALY
Genoa
Venice
Adriatic Sea
ALPS
Danube
CARPATHIANS
Constantinople
GREECE
Mediterranean Sea
SWEDEN
NORWAY
Gulf of Bothnia
Baltic Sea
RUSSIA
White Sea
Dwina
Dnieper
Don
Volga R
Kama
Ural
URAL MTS.
Obi
Gulf of Obi
Yenisei
Lena
Irtish
Tana
Kaffa
Black Sea
CAUCASUS MTS.
Trebizond
ASIA MINOR
Smyrna
Adayah
Antioch
Damascus
Jaffa
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Cairo
Nile
EGYPT
Akaba
Red Sea
Mecca
ARABIA
Bozra
Bagdad
Tabriz
Astrachan
Caspian Sea
Teheran
Asterabad
Ispahan
PERSIA
Persian Gulf
Ormuz
Balkh
Aral Sea
Khokan
Kashgar
Yarkand
TURKESTAN
L. Balkash
L. Baikal
Kerulen
TARTARY
KHINGAN MTS.
STANOVOI MTS.
SIKHOTI ALIN MTS.
Amur
Okhotsk Sea
Japan Sea
KOREA
JAPAN
Pekin
Hoangho
CHINA
Yangtse R.
Quinsay
Zayton
THIBET
HIMALAYA MTS.
Delhi
Ganges
INDIA
Arabian Sea
Cannanore
Cochin
Pulicat
Bay of Bengal
CEYLON
FARTHER INDIA
Pegu
SIAM
Mekong
China Sea
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
Malacca
SUMATRA
JAVA
BORNEO
CELEBES
SPICE IS.
NEW GUINEA
SOCOTRA
SAHARA
Niger
Congo
Zambezi
Victoria Nyanza
Mozambique Chan.
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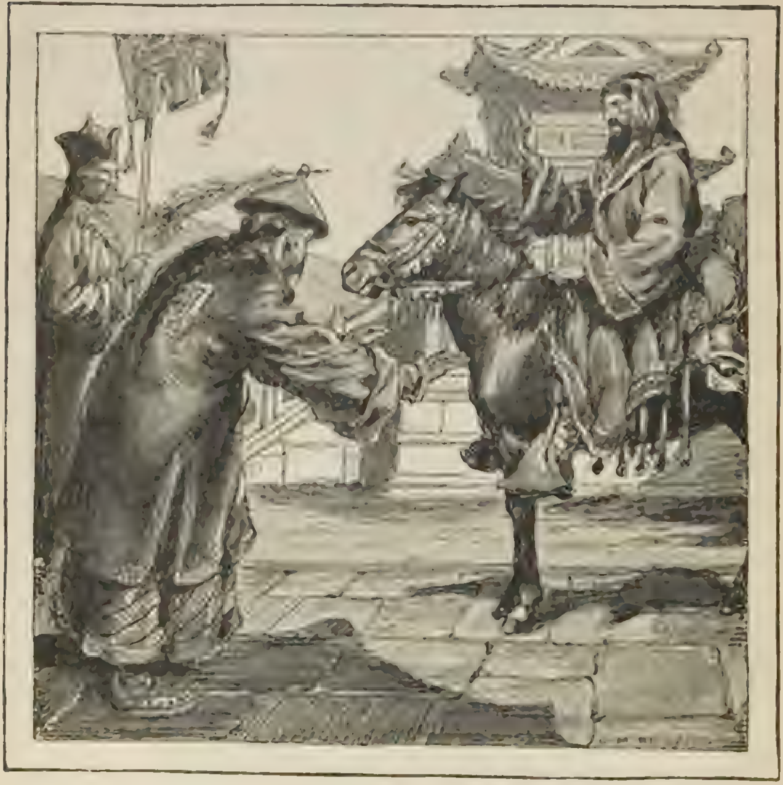
THE OLD TRADE ROUTES OF EUROPE TO THE FAR EAST ranean countries, conquered them, and took up their life in the homes of the old Romans. They learned to like the fine things that they found in these homes and in course of time they, too, began to trade with the East where such things could be bought.

The Influence of the Crusades. About one hundred years after the fall of Rome, a powerful religious leader, Mohammed, appeared among the people of Arabia. He believed in spreading his religion by conquering other peoples, and he inspired his followers with a fierce enthusiasm which made them very successful in war. Gradually the power of these Mohammedans spread over northern Africa and western Asia, and about the year 1000 they conquered Palestine, the birthplace of Christianity, the Holy Land of the Christian peoples.

The news that the tomb of the Savior had been captured set Christian Europe on fire with indignation. Armies were raised and great expeditions were sent to rescue the Holy Land and drive out the Mohammedan invaders. These expeditions, known as the Crusades, went out, one after another, over a period of nearly two hundred years. While they did not succeed in holding Palestine for the Christians, they did have a powerful and important influence in Europe. Tens of thousands of crusaders not only learned many facts about other countries and other peoples, but they also took back to their homes many samples of the products of the East.

The rich people of England, France, Germany, and Spain were filled with new wants. Henceforward they must have silks, spices, tapestries, and precious stones from the far-off lands. Enterprising Italian merchants at Genoa, Florence, and Venice undertook to supply them, and a large trade soon grew up.

Marco Polo. Toward the end of the thirteenth century two famous merchants of Venice, the Polo brothers, journeyed far into China. They even reached Peking and were welcomed by the Chinese emperor. Marco Polo, the seventeen-year-old son of one of the merchants, went to China with them and stayed there many years. He visited different places and came to know well the habits and trade of the Chinese.



MARCO POLO IN CHINA

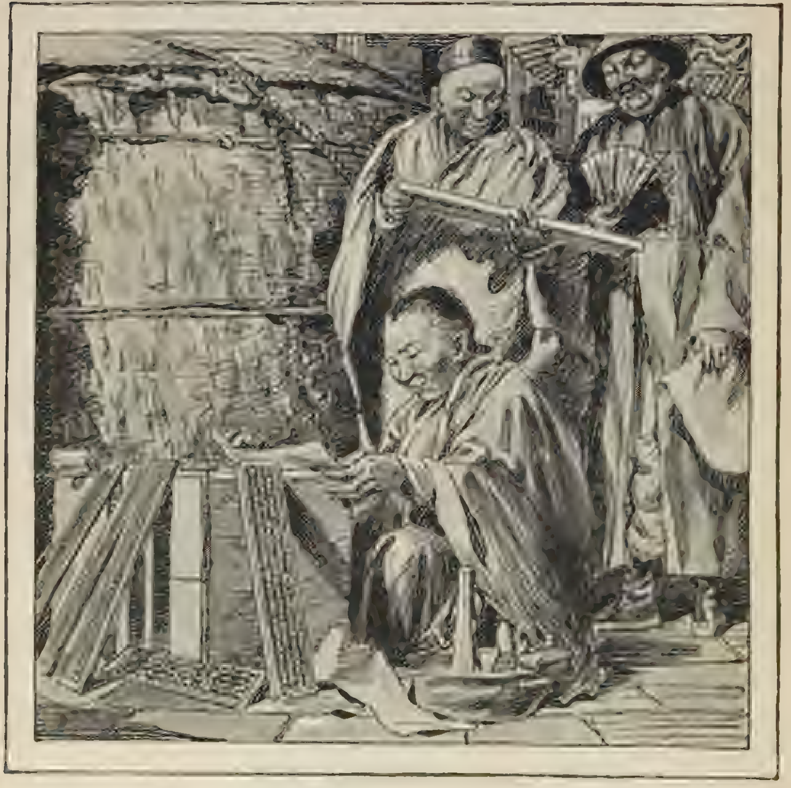
When Marco Polo returned to Venice, in 1295, bringing with him diamonds, rubies, and sapphires, he not only boasted among his friends of the things he had seen, but he described at length his wonderful experiences in the Far

East. His stories were set down in a charming book that is widely read even to this day. He told of the grand palace of the emperor, with its halls of gold and silver, its jeweled panels, and its gorgeous tapestries. He described the fine clothing worn at the royal court — robes of silk and beaten gold and girdles set with precious stones. Polo spread the idea that riches fairly grew on trees in the Orient. Many people who believed this wished to go and pick them.

Carrying Eastern Goods to Western Europe. After Polo's time the trade of Europe with the Far East increased steadily. Silks, spices, and other rich stuffs were brought along several overland routes from China, India, and Persia to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; thence they were carried in ships to the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa. From these ports they were taken by various routes, usually overland, until they reached distant points like Paris, Antwerp, and London. In Germany, too, there, were certain cities, such as Cologne, Bremen, and Lübeck, that were largely interested in this trade.

The Growth of Eastern Travel. As time passed, more and more travelers went into the East and returned with marvelous stories. Some of these travelers were earnest missionaries sent to convert foreigners to Christianity; others were merchants; still others were men who sought excitement and adventure. In this way facts about the East were slowly brought together in Europe. Many books were written by these travelers about their journeys. In these books were accounts of the various trade routes, lists of goods that could be bought and sold, brief descriptions of the geography of the East, and stories of the habits and customs of the different peoples. Thus it came about that, long before Columbus was born, a student could find in the libraries of the chief Italian towns many books about Oriental travel and trade.

The Development of Printing. Perhaps as important as any other single thing in bringing about the great changes that marked the beginning of modern history was the development of the art of printing. In ancient times and throughout the Middle Ages, books were written by hand. There were few of them and they were very expensive. Furthermore, only a small number of people could either read or write. At some time between 1420 and 1440, printing from movable type was either invented in western Europe or learned from the Chinese who had known about


Printing in Ancient China

it for several centuries. In any case, the printing press then began to do its great work in Europe. Books could now be produced much more cheaply than formerly, and more people learned how to read and write. Knowledge could be spread much more rapidly and with much greater certainty.

The Development of Firearms. It was at about this time, too, that ways were found to make gunpowder in large amounts, and firearms — cannon, muskets, and pistols — began to replace the earlier weapons, such as swords, spears, battle-axes, and crossbows. Firearms gave the Europeans a very great advantage in dealing with other peoples who did not have such weapons.

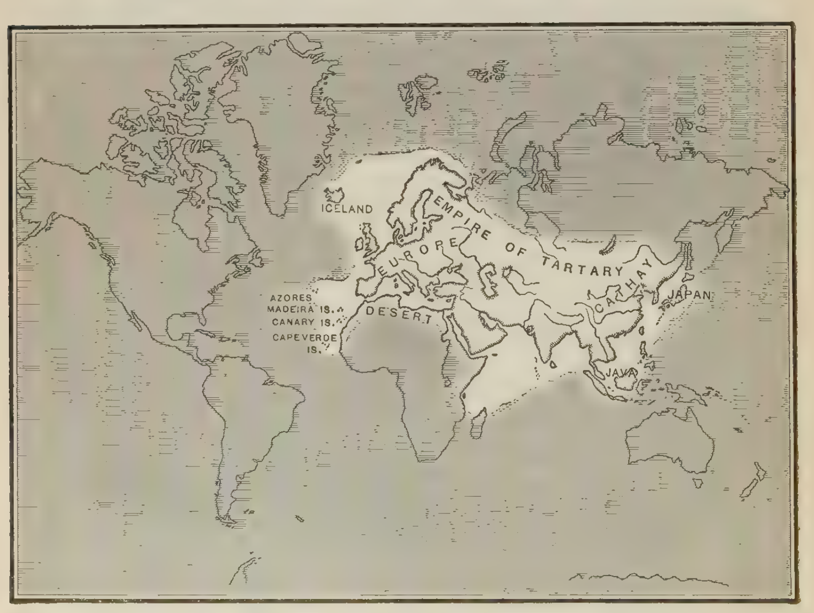
II. THE GEOGRAPHERS AND THE NAVIGATORS

The Map Makers. All this time geographers were busy, especially in Italy and Portugal, piecing together bits of information and trying to make more and more accurate maps of the known world. As we look upon some of their drawings to-day, we are moved to laughter; but we must remember that, poor as these maps were, they furnished a guide to travelers and sailors who were seeking the East. The Greeks had left behind them many important geographies, and they had taught that the world was round. The map makers of the Middle Ages carried forward the work of the Greeks. By 1450 Italian geographers knew a great deal about the shape of Asia, Europe, and Africa. The best of them believed that Asia could be reached by sailing around the southern point of Africa, and that the world was not flat, but round. One of them, Toscanelli, an Italian scholar, even went so far as to say that a water route to the Far East could be found by sailing directly west. This extraordinary man wrote a letter and made a map setting forth his ideas. Although the map has been lost

13254

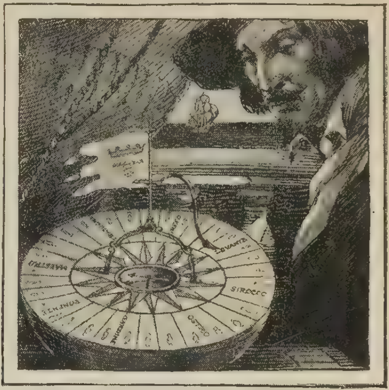
and not even a copy remains, modern scholars have reconstructed it from the letter, which has been kept till our day. It is thought that Columbus had both Toscanelli's letter and a copy of his map when he made his voyage in 1492.

The Navigators. While the map makers were trying to trace on paper the outlines of continents and oceans, men sailing the seas were learning more and more about navigation. It was, of course, fairly easy for them to guide their ships on clear days and nights, for they could tell the general directions by the sun and the stars; but when the sky was overcast, they were helpless if out of sight of land. Sometime in the Middle Ages some person invented the compass. When and where and who, we know not. In a book written about 1180 we read of a "needle on a pivot which revolves until the point is north." About a hundred years later the


ICELAND
EMPIRE OF TARTARY
EUROPE
CATHAY
JAPAN
AZORES
MADEIRA IS.
CANARY IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
DESERT
JAVA

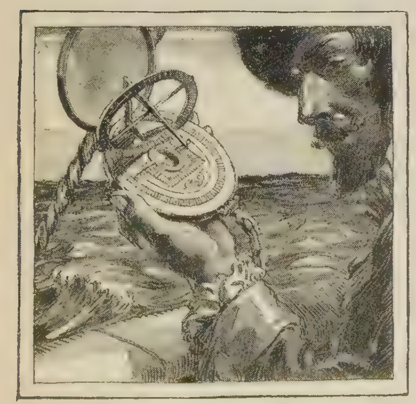
THE KNOWN WORLD ABOUT 1460–1490

mariner's compass came into general use among the sailors on the Mediterranean. Other instruments were made which enabled sailors to find their distance from the equator by taking the height of the sun. One of these was called the "astrolabe." With such an instrument and with the compass captains could hold their ships to a given course and keep a constant record of their journey across pathless waters. This seems easy to us now, but in that time it was a wonderful advance in the sailors' mastery of the sea.



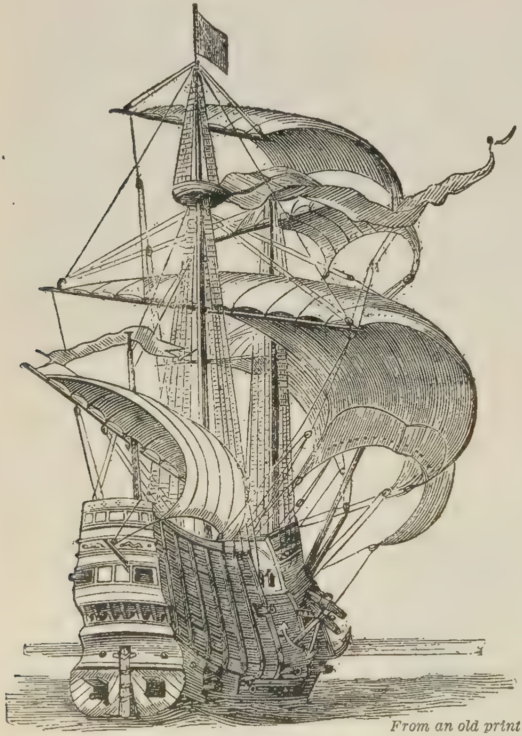
Compass (about 1492)

Practical men were quick to apply the ideas of the men of science who made maps and instruments. Here too the Italians took the lead. At first and for many long centuries their ships had kept within the Mediterranean Sea. The Italian sailors knew its winds and currents and were at home upon its waters. So they were content to bring their goods from Asia Minor to the southern ports of France and send them overland to markets as far away as London. But this made loading and reloading necessary and carrying goods overland was a very costly way of trading with distant customers.



Astrolabe Used by Drake

So the Italian merchants and sailors began to wonder about an all-water route that would link the most distant ports of India with Italy, France, and England. They ventured out through the Strait of Gibraltar in this search. As early as 1292 some of them sought a way around the lower point of Africa but gave up after sailing a little distance down the west coast. About the same time other Italian merchants sent their ships through the Strait of Gibraltar northward, carrying goods by sea to France and England. The old records of Southampton in England tell us of a mighty quarrel that arose in 1323 between Italian sailors and the residents of the town. The water route from Italy to England was open.



From an old print

A CARACK OR MERCHANT AND FIGHTING SHIP, USED BY THE PORTUGUESE AND SPANIARDS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY IN THE EAST INDIA TRADE

The Problem of the Water Route to the East. The other, and more difficult, task was finding the waterway to India and China. The overland journeys from the eastern ports of the Mediterranean Sea into the far interior of Asia were long and costly. Goods had to be carried on the backs of camels and other pack animals, and the caravans moved very slowly. Merchants were attacked by robbers, and they had to pay money, *tribute*, to the princes through whose lands they passed. Every time articles were resold, a profit was made by some one. When goods reached Paris or London, the prices had multiplied many times. Europeans who bought from the Italians paid enormous profits to the carriers all along the line to India.

Intelligent merchants knew that anyone who found an all-water route to the East could undersell those who used the long and dangerous land routes. A ship could carry more freight than a large number of camels. It could keep to its course day and night, while camels must have several hours of rest each day. And over an all-water route there would be but one loading and one unloading. Toward the close of the Middle Ages, the interest of all ambitious navigators was fixed on the problem of finding that route. Geographers were thinking about it; sailors were dreaming of some way to solve the problem. Out of the efforts of hundreds of men, known and unknown, came the answer — and with it, amazing discoveries.

III. The Rulers Who Encouraged Exploration

The Rôle of the Monarchs. Those who were to sail the seas in this great quest needed money to build ships and buy supplies. They got it from the kings and queens of western Europe. We must, therefore, learn something about them. All through the Middle Ages there were slowly arising out of the ruins of the Roman Empire four nations that faced westward on the Atlantic Ocean — Portugal, Spain, France, and England. The regions that they occupied had once been within the Roman Empire; as Roman provinces, they had been ruled from the Roman capital in Italy. When Rome fell, they were invaded by warlike tribes from northern Europe and broken up into many little tribal states that fought with one another for hundreds of years. Spain was even conquered by Moors from northern Africa.

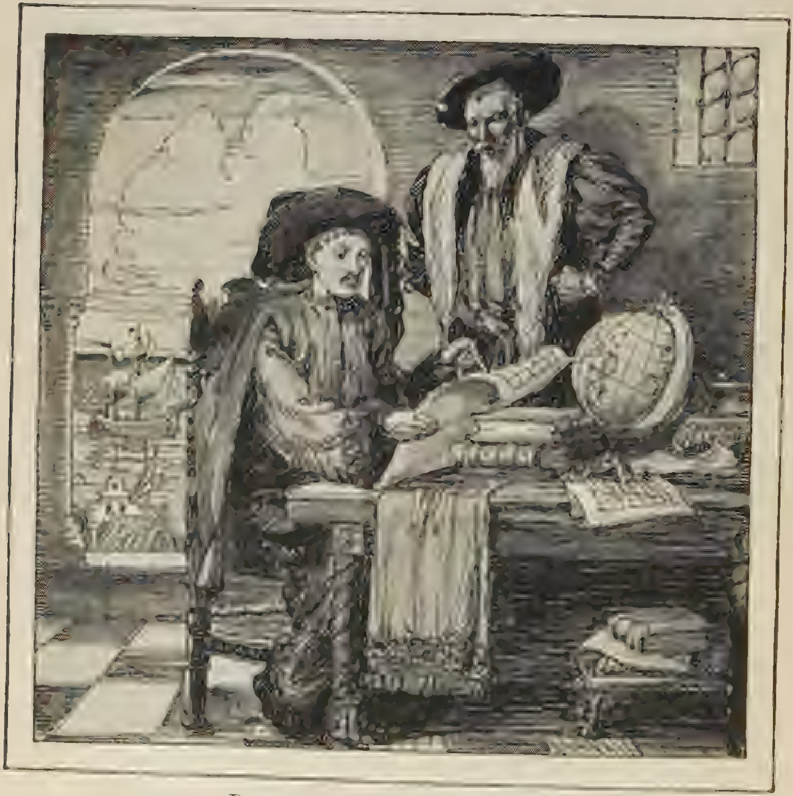
Finally out of this confusion there arose in each of these former provinces able warriors who conquered their rivals and added bit by bit to the lands that they controlled. These warriors became kings. The peoples under them were bound together in nations.

Though often a cruel tyrant, the king did many things to make his land prosperous. He destroyed the hundreds of petty feudal lords (*Our Old World Background*, ch. vii) who lived by oppressing the common people and by robbing traveling merchants who passed through their lands. Under the king's protection towns and trade flourished. He built roads, created a common system of coins, encouraged learning, granted charters which permitted companies to engage in commerce, and gave money to navigators. Kings and queens alike took pleasure in helping and encouraging navigators and explorers. It was with the aid of Isabella of Spain that Columbus made his first voyage; it was Queen Elizabeth of England who knighted Francis Drake after his famous journey around the world. It was under the rule of monarchs that Portugal, Spain, France, and England all rose to power on the Atlantic Ocean.

Europe at the Close of the Fifteenth Century. In the age when America was to be discovered, these four countries were prepared for leadership. Within each of them there was peace. Germany, on the other hand, was still divided into hundreds of small feudal states, joined together loosely in what was called the Holy Roman Empire, but really independent and often at war with one another. In the same way Italy too was broken up into many petty cities and states. Like Germany, Italy was only a name, not yet a nation. To the northeast were the great kingdoms of Poland and Russia, but they took little interest in trade that required ships and sailors. The peoples of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, though united in nations, were too far north to be drawn into trading voyages that stirred the Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, French, and English. It is true that a Norwegian sailor, Leif Ericsson, son of Eric the Red, reached the shores of America as early as the year 1000, and it is likely that other hardy Norsemen visited the American coast. But this was long before Europe was ready to profit by the discovery of a distant continent. If the brave deeds of the Norse sailors were known beyond their own country they did not convince the Europeans that a great continent lay far to the West.

It was Portugal, Spain, France, and England that changed the center of world commerce from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, turned the outlook of Europe from the East to the West, and called into being a New World. Each of these nations has had a lasting influence on the two continents that were discovered and explored by them. The vast territory now known as the Republic of Brazil, for example, was for a long time a colony of Portugal, and its people to-day speak the Portuguese language. Parts of the two continents and many of the neighboring islands were settled by Spaniards and for three hundred years or more were under the rule of Spain. In Cuba, Mexico, and most of the South American republics, Spanish is the language of the people. The presence of many French-speaking inhabitants in the Canadian provinces reminds us that Canada was once a colony of France. And the fact that English is to-day the language of more than one hundred million Americans is evidence of the important place that England had in settling the New World.

Prince Henry the Navigator. Among these four nations, Portugal took the lead in exploring the Atlantic. Heading their ships boldly toward the southwest, the Portuguese sailors discovered the Canary Islands and the Madeiras.



PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

Later, pushing due westward, they reached the Azores. Still later, steering south along the coast of Africa, they reached the point where the coast line bends toward the east. This point they named Cape Verde, the "Green Cape."

The leadership of Portugal was not limited to these early discoveries, however. It was the son of a Portuguese king who really made possible the longer and more daring voyages that did so much to change the course of history. This man, Prince Henry, was not himself so much an explorer as he was a student. He brought together the facts that had been learned about geography and about the difficult art of guiding ships over pathless waters. He invited geographers, astronomers, navigators, map makers, and instrument makers from all parts of Europe to visit him and study with him. On a rocky point of land jutting out into the Atlantic he built a tower where he spent much of his time trying to solve the many problems that were puzzling the sailors and ship captains. As a result of his work, both the science and the art of navigation were greatly advanced; the knowledge of geography was increased and made more trustworthy; and better maps and charts were prepared. In addition to all this, Prince Henry from his own purse paid the expenses of several exploring expeditions. His countrymen called him Henry the Navigator, and the title has ever since been linked with his name. The modern world does well to remember him and to recognize the very great importance of the work to which he devoted his life.

Diaz Rounds the Cape of Good Hope. In 1486, a few years after Prince Henry's death, Bartholomew Diaz, a brave Portuguese seaman, sailed all the way down the coast of Africa and rounded the southern tip. He continued until his sailors refused to go any further. When he returned from his long voyage of 13,000 miles, Portugal was thrilled. The king, delighted with this feat, named the southern tip of Africa the Cape of Good Hope. Now sailors of all countries grew bolder; yet no one suspected that Europe was on the verge of a far more wonderful and important event — the discovery of an unknown world.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: Some words and phrases used in this history may be new to you. If they are not new, you still may not have the right meanings for them. It is well to study such words and phrases carefully, to look up meanings in the dictionary, and to discuss them in class. Some of the terms important in this chapter are: *commercial power, naval power, Middle Ages, medieval, barbarians, Christianity, civilization, mariner's compass, astrolabe, feudal states, monarchs, trade route, astronomer.*

I. Why was the Mediterranean Sea much more important in the history of ancient and medieval nations than it has been in modern history? Name some important nations of the ancient world that bordered on the Mediterranean. Why was early trade between distant parts of the world largely limited to trade in luxuries? What advantages did Italy have for controlling trade between western Europe and the East during the Middle Ages? How did the Crusades help trade with the East? Why has the name of Marco Polo been so long remembered? Look up additional facts about his life; you will find it intensely interesting and instructive.

II. What are some of the things that must be known about a region before a good map of it can be made? Even with a good map in his possession, what difficulties does a traveler have in finding his way through a pathless forest or across a wide sea? What instruments are especially necessary for successfully guiding ships across the ocean? Carrying heavy goods by water, even to-day, is generally much cheaper than transportation by land; why was land transportation much more difficult and costly in ancient times?

III. What did Prince Henry do to make his name remembered?

Note: Be sure that you understand what years are meant when we speak of the "fourteenth century," the "fifteenth century," etc. One hundred years make a century. Think of your own age. You had lived one year before you were called one year old. After your first birthday you were in your second year but not two years old until your second birthday, then you were in your third year, etc. The same is true of centuries. The first century was completed in the year 100, the years 101–200 were in the second century, 801–900 in the ninth century, etc. We are now living in the twentieth century. In what centuries were the following dates: 476; 1295; 1400; 1492; 1519; 1601; 1776?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. A *time line* is an easy way to show important dates. Let one inch represent fifty years. Draw upon the blackboard a line thirty-two inches long. Each two inches mark 500, 600, 700, 800, etc.:

Suppose you wish to mark 1492. You know this to be eight years from 1500, and about one twelfth of the distance from 1500, between 1400 and 1500. You judge the distance from 1500 on the line and mark it.

Mark at the proper points the following events:

Sack of Rome by the barbarians, 410
Coronation of Charlemagne, 800
Discovery of America, 1492
Landing of the Pilgrims, 1620
Declaration of Independence, 1776
Death of Lincoln, 1865
The World War, 1914–1918
The present year

2. Choose five members of the class and have each of them select and report to the class from Beard and Bagley's *Our Old World Background*, chs. iv, v, and vi, five important facts about one of the following topics:

The culture of ancient peoples
Feudalism
The rise of the Christian Church in Europe
Country life in the Middle Ages
Town life in the Middle Ages

3. Read ch. vii in *Our Old World Background* and discuss the way in which Spain, France, and England became nations.

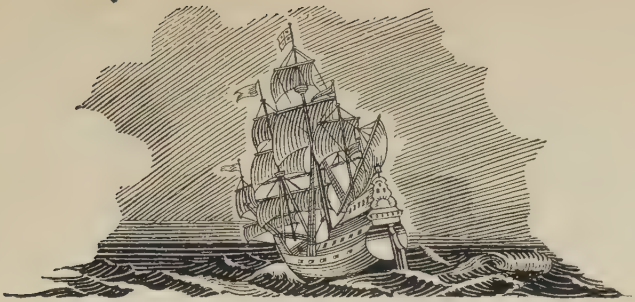
4. Read ch. viii in *Our Old World Background* and describe how trade was carried on in ancient times and during the Middle Ages.

5. Make a list of the most important advances in the art of navigation since the time of Columbus, especially regarding: (*a*) means of finding latitude and longitude; (*b*) means of avoiding dangerous coasts and of finding safe channels and harbors; (*c*) means of propelling ships; (*d*) means of steering ships; (*e*) means of making ships secure against severe storms.

Many of the difficulties of early navigation are described in ch. xxxiv of Nida's *Dawn of American History*, Revised.

6. Think of the many ways we have of getting news to-day. How many of these were used in the fifteenth century?

7. Name some cities of the United States that have grown because of their trade with foreign nations.



CHAPTER II

THE BOLD WESTERN EXPLORERS

The Spirit of Western Adventure. At the end of the fifteenth century the time was ripe for some courageous soul to take the next great step and sail to the west in search of the Far East. The spirit of the undertaking was in the air. Wise men had dreamed of it and had said that it could be done. A clever map maker of Florence had already shown "on paper" how it might be done. Bold Portuguese sailors had made longer voyages than the journey across the Atlantic to Asia was thought to be. Only the man was needed — a man who understood the task in all of its difficulties and who had the stout heart that was necessary to carry it through.

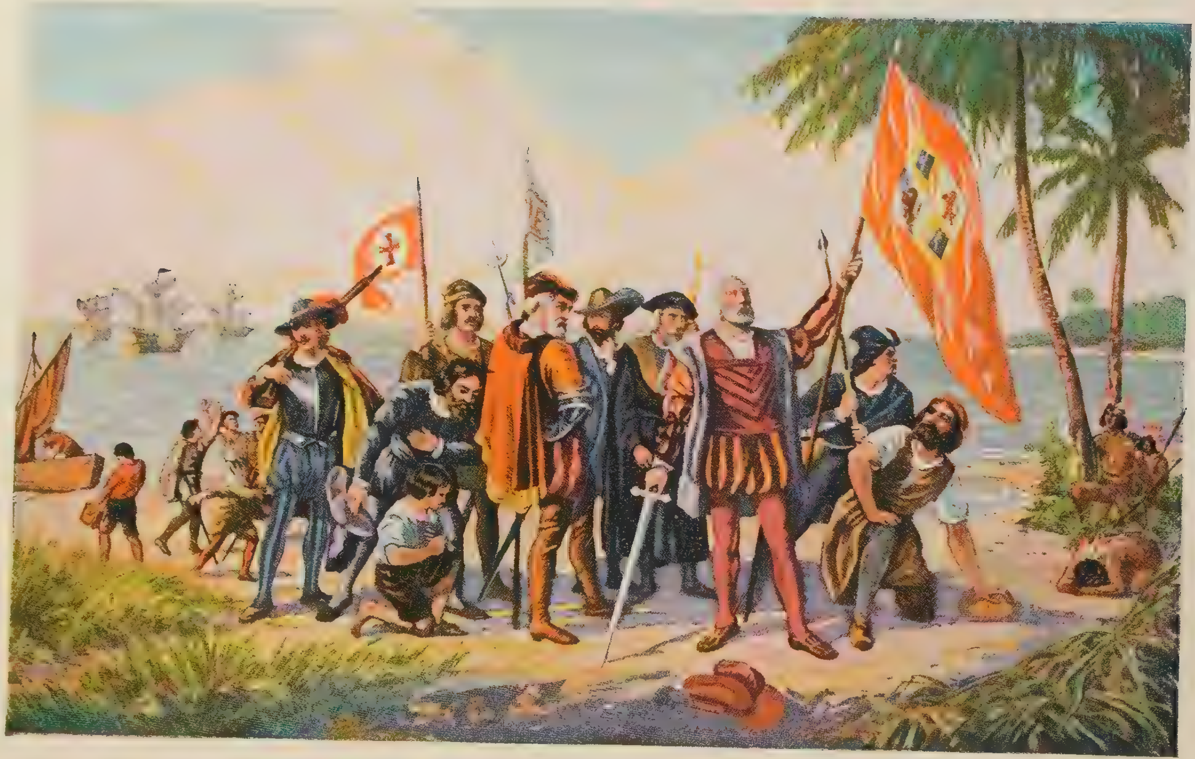
I. Christopher Columbus

The Daring Plan at Last. The new knowledge of geography and navigation and the wonderful deeds of the Portuguese sailors stirred the soul of an Italian seaman from Genoa, who was destined to win undying fame in the great adventure — Christopher Columbus. When a lad of fourteen, he began a life at sea, and in the course of his wanderings he found his way to Lisbon, Portugal. This was a turning point in his life. No doubt he learned much from the navigators of Lisbon, and it is thought that he joined in some of the voyages down the African coast. At all events we know that he married the daughter of a Portuguese sailor who had collected a great many maps and charts. This precious collection later came into the possession of Columbus.

Columbus also had a copy of Marco Polo's book of travels, and he read therein of a " great ocean " that lay to the east of China. As he was convinced by deep study that the world was round, not flat, he concluded that this great ocean was really a part of the Atlantic. He then decided that he could reach Zipango, or Japan, which lay off the coast of China, by sailing about four thousand miles westward — a voyage of five or six weeks.

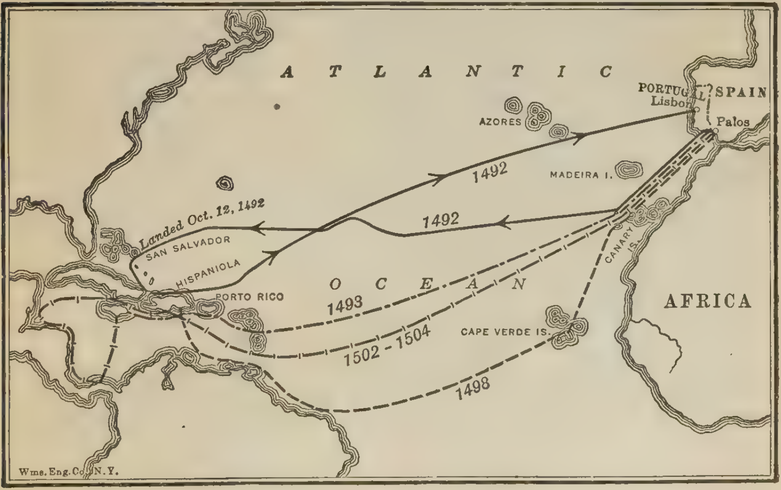
Isabella Aids Columbus. Hard-headed business men, although they were eager to find a new route to Asia, were not willing to risk money on such an uncertain venture. Columbus, therefore, appealed to the king of Portugal, but in vain. He then turned to the king and queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. The queen became deeply interested because she thought she saw an opportunity to bring the heathen people of the East into the fold of the Christian Church. So Columbus, mainly through her aid, was able to secure the money, men, and ships necessary to make the trial. He chose three ships small enough to permit him to skirt along the shores and explore the rivers of the lands which he expected to visit. In August, 1492, all was ready, and Columbus sailed out of the harbor of Palos in Spain for the fateful voyage on the " Sea of Darkness."

Columbus Crosses the Atlantic. The story of what happened is well known — how Columbus' men grew frightened as they sailed on day after day across the trackless ocean; how some of them begged him to turn back; and how he kept his faith and courage when everyone else had given up hope. A picture of the struggle between despair and the will to win which took place on board the captain's



The Landing of Columbus on San Salvador, October 12, 1492 ship is drawn by an American poet, Joaquin Miller, in these lines:

> "My men grow mutinous day by day;
> My men grow ghastly wan and weak."
> The stout mate thought of home; a spray
> Of salt wave washed his swarthy cheek.
> "What shall I say, brave Admiral, say,
> If we sight naught but seas at dawn?"
> "Why, you shall say at break of day,
> 'Sail on! Sail on! and on!'"


ATLANTIC
OCEAN
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
SPAIN
Palos
AZORES
MADEIRA I.
CANARY IS.
AFRICA
CAPE VERDE IS.
1492
1492
Landed Oct. 12, 1492
SAN SALVADOR
HISPANIOLA
PORTO RICO
1493
1502 - 1504
1498
Wms. Eng. Co. N.Y.

THE VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS

Columbus Lands at San Salvador. On they sailed until at length their weary watching was rewarded, on October 12, with the sight of a strange shore — one of the Bahama Islands. Ferdinand Columbus, the son of the great admiral, wrote the story of his father's life in which he tells of their landing:

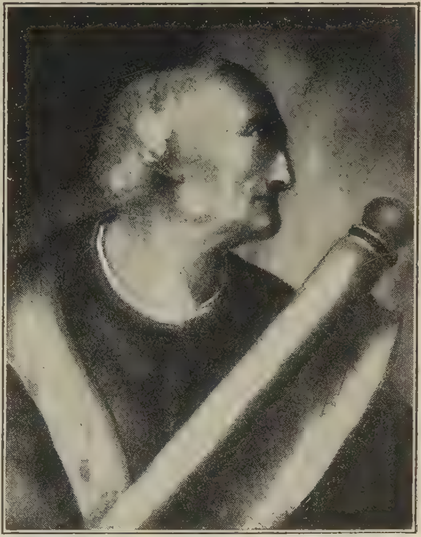
> The whole company kneeled on the shore and kissed the ground for joy, returning thanks for the great mercy they had experienced during the long voyage through seas hitherto unpassed and their now happy discovery of an unknown land.

Columbus named the island San Salvador (Holy Savior) and declared that it belonged to Spain. Then for several weeks he sailed about among the islands of that region, discovering, among others, Haiti and Cuba; but he returned home without finding the treasures of gold and silver and precious stones or the cities of the East for which he was searching. Three later voyages were equally disappointing, though new islands and the mainland of South America were discovered. Powerful enemies at the Spanish court spoke of his discoveries as of little value, and always mentioned the fact that he was not a real Spaniard, but a foreigner. After his last voyage he returned home, broken in health and sick at heart, but to the end planning to do even greater things for Spain than he had yet done. In 1506 he died in poverty, quite forgotten by the king of Spain. Columbus probably never knew that he had opened the way to the discovery and exploration of a new continent.

II. Other Great Navigators

Vasco da Gama Reaches India by Sea. Bitterness was added to the disappointment of Columbus when a Portuguese sailor, Vasco da Gama, found the long-sought water route to the East. In 1497 Da Gama sailed directly around the Cape of Good Hope, crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut (whence the term " calico ") on the west coast of India, and brought home a shipload of the spices, silks, and other goods which were so much desired in Europe. When the voyagers returned, in 1499, the king of Portugal wrote joyfully to the king and queen of Spain, boasting of Da Gama's triumph.

How America Got Its Name. Not discouraged by the failure of Columbus to find a direct route to the East, the Spaniards continued the search. They employed in this work an Italian, Amerigo Vespucci. At least according to his own account, he sailed along the eastern shores of what is now South America from the easternmost point halfway to the southern tip. After his return from one expedition (1504), Amerigo wrote to friends in Italy: "We have found what may be called a new world." Geographers agreed that the land reported by Vespucci (now known as Brazil) must be a new world because it lay so far to the east and so far to the south that it seemed quite out of the question to think of it as a part of Asia. One of the geographers suggested that the new land be called America in honor of its discoverer, Vespucci. The lands found by Columbus were still thought to be parts of Asia. Later, when it was clearly proved that they were not parts of Asia but were really connected with the new lands that Vespucci had reported, the name America came to be applied to all parts of the New World.

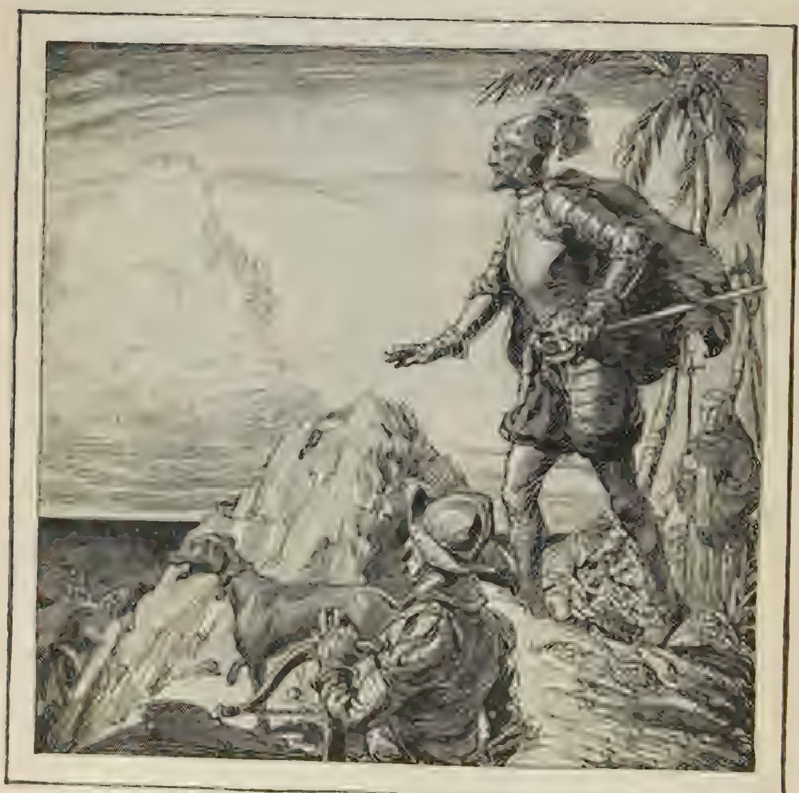


From an old print

AMERIGO VESPUCCI

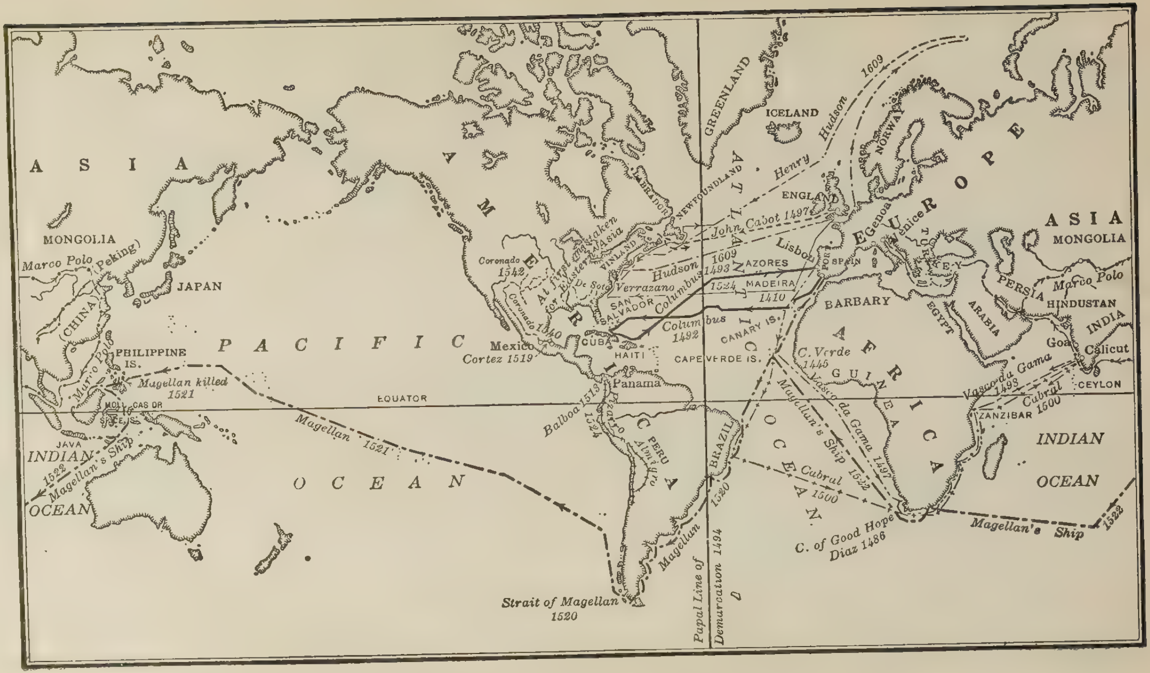
Balboa Discovers the Pacific. The Spaniards soon began to open the continent to settlement. The coast of the central region was explored as early as 1508 by Pinzon, who had been with Columbus on the first voyage. Five years later, in 1513, Balboa pushed through the swamps and jungles of the Isthmus, climbed the mountains to the west, and, on September 25, beheld the gleaming waters of the Pacific.

Magellan's Ships Sail around the World. Two kinds of exploration were next taken up. Some adventurers sought a way around the continent to the Indies. Others explored the new continent itself. In the former group the Portuguese sailor, Magellan, takes highest rank, for it was he who first sailed directly to the Pacific Ocean by crossing the Atlantic.



Balboa Discovers the Pacific Ocean

In 1519 this energetic captain, in the service of the king of Spain, set out to find, if he could, a water route around or through the American continent to the Pacific Ocean, and thence to the East Indies. He sailed along the eastern coast of South America, discovered and pushed through the


ASIA
MONGOLIA
Marco Polo
(Peking)
CHINA
JAPAN
PHILIPPINE IS.
Magellan killed 1521
MOLUCCAS OR SPICE IS.
JAVA
INDIAN OCEAN
Magellan's Ship 1522
PACIFIC OCEAN
EQUATOR
Magellan 1521
AMERICA
Coronado 1542
Coronado 1540
Mexico
Cortez 1519
De Soto
Verrazano
VINLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
LABRADOR
SAN SALVADOR
CUBA
HAITI
Panama
Balboa 1513
Pizarro 1524
PERU
Almagro
BRAZIL
Magellan 1520
Strait of Magellan 1520
Papal Line of Demarcation 1494
GREENLAND
ICELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Henry Hudson 1609
John Cabot 1497
Hudson 1609
Columbus 1493
Columbus 1492
AZORES
MADEIRA 1524 1410
CANARY IS.
CAPE VERDE IS.
C. Verde 1445
Cabral 1500
Magellan's Ship 1522
Vasco da Gama 1497
C. of Good Hope
Diaz 1486
EUROPE
ENGLAND
NORWAY
Lisbon
POR.
SPAIN
Genoa
Venice
TURKEY
BARBARY
AFRICA
GUINEA
EGYPT
ARABIA
PERSIA
Marco Polo
HINDUSTAN
INDIA
Goa
Calicut
CEYLON
Vasco da Gama 1498
Cabral 1500
ZANZIBAR
INDIAN OCEAN
Magellan's Ship 1522
ASIA
MONGOLIA

Voyages of Discovery and Exploration

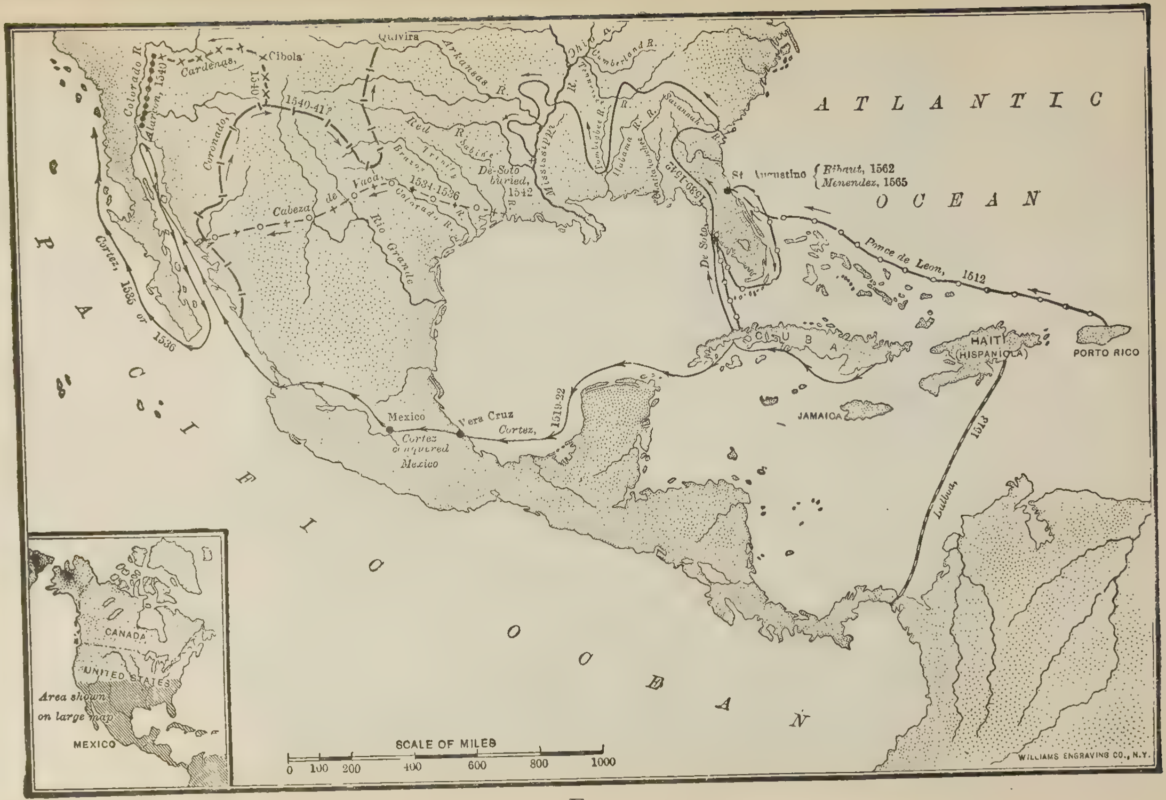
strait at the southern end which now bears his name, and sailed out upon the broad Pacific, little dreaming what vast stretches of water lay between America and the Indies. He sailed bravely on, week after week, outrivaling the daring and endurance of Columbus on his first voyage. After a terrible struggle with hunger and thirst, Magellan reached the islands now known as the Philippines, where he was killed in a fight with the natives.

Magellan's men sailed from there in the ship *Victoria*, crossed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, on September 6, 1522, anchored in the same harbor from which they had started out three years before. Thus in the most remarkable of all voyages, the first trip around the world was completed.

III. THE SPANISH CONQUERORS; FURTHER SPANISH EXPLORATIONS

Mexico. Its Conquest by Cortez. About the time of Magellan's voyage, Cortez, a Spanish soldier, with a small band of men discovered the empire of Mexico. The Mexican natives tilled the fields and raised bountiful crops; they had fine highways, along which flowed a large local trade; they had cities; they had made important beginnings in painting pictures and writing books. Moreover the king and the nobles who ruled over the people had great quantities of gold, silver, and jewels. Here was booty for the Spaniards. They fell upon the Mexicans with fire and sword and captured their capital, Mexico, in 1521. In a little while they were in possession of a mighty realm, thickly settled and rich in the precious minerals.

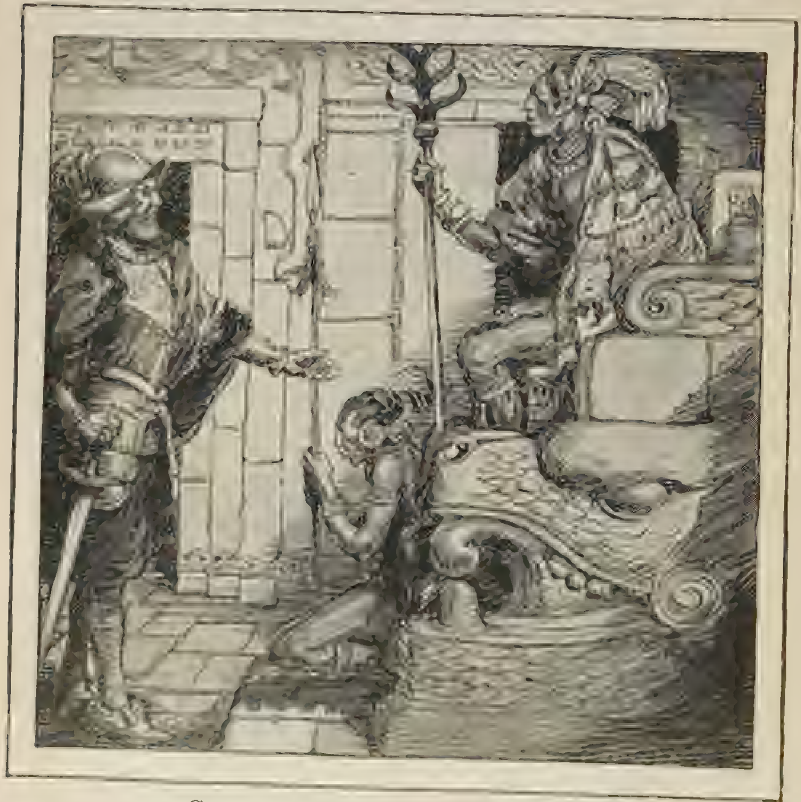
Soon Christian missionaries from Spain went over to Mexico and converted the people to the Catholic faith. Monasteries and missions were built in all parts of the country; a Spanish government was set up. Thus a New Spain,


ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
Colorado R.
Alarcon, 1540
Cardenas,
Cibola
Quivira
1540
1540-41?
Coronado,
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Sabine
Trinity
Brazos
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Cabeza de Vaca,
1534-1536
De Soto buried, 1542
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Cumberland R.
Tennessee R.
Tombigbee R.
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee
Savannah R.
1539-1542
De Soto
St Augustine
Ribaut, 1562
Menendez, 1565
Ponce de Leon, 1512
CUBA
HAITI (HISPANIOLA)
PORTO RICO
JAMAICA
Balboa, 1513
1519-22
Cortez,
Vera Cruz
Mexico
Cortez conquered Mexico
Cortez, 1535 or 1536
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
400
600
800
1000
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
Area shown on large map
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

Spanish Explorations

as it was called, was established — a Spain very much like the old in religion, government, and the customs of the people.

The strange empire thus brought under the rule of Spain is described in many interesting letters written by the conqueror, Cortez, to his king. One of these he devoted entirely to an account of the wonderful city of Mexico and the court life of the Mexican ruler, Montezuma. In this he tells of the public squares and market places, where thousands of merchants were busy buying and selling jewels,



Cortez at the Court of Montezuma

lead, brass, copper, tin, timber, precious stones, rabbits, herbs, medicines, foodstuffs of all kinds, honey, sugar, cotton thread, dyes, paints, and earthenware. He tells of temples and chapels where dwelt the priests of the heathen faith, of palaces that were the homes of the rich lords, of beautiful gardens and balconies supported by marble columns, of museums filled with human freaks, and of bird houses where the emperor's servants had collected specimens of all the known forms of bird life in the empire.

Peru. Its Conquest by Pizarro. While the Spaniards were busy conquering Mexico, they heard stories of another great empire to the south in Peru. One of the most daring leaders, Pizarro, set out with fewer than two hundred men to find it. After a long and perilous journey they came upon a country superior in many ways to Mexico and especially rich in the treasures which they were seeking. They quickly defeated the natives in battle and robbed the temples, palaces, and even the tombs of the dead, carrying away all the treasure they could find. It is estimated that Cortez and Pizarro wrung at least $7,000,000 from the Mexicans and Peruvians as " gifts " and took as much more by force.

Explorations to the North. *Ponce de Leon and De Soto.* The stories of fabulous riches won by the conquest of Mexico and Peru set all the other Spanish explorers on fire with the hope of still greater adventures. Some of them turned northward, though several years earlier Ponce de Leon had found no riches in the Florida country. From Cuba, De Soto, one of Pizarro's old followers, went forth with a band of horsemen and soldiers dressed in gorgeous colors and fully armed, ready to overcome any kings whom they might chance to meet. With banners flying they landed on the coast of Florida in 1539, looking for worlds to conquer. How bitter was their disappointment! Instead of rich Mexican cities they found only miserable Indian villages.

Having set out with grand hopes, De Soto would not turn back. For four long years he marched his men inland through jungles, forests, and swamps, hoping each day that the next would reveal great treasures. In 1541 he reached the broad waters of the Mississippi, the first white man to see this great river. Sick and weary he pressed on until his death. His followers dropped his body at night down to the

The Patio of a California Mission Photo by Galloway

bottom of the mighty river which he had discovered, hoping thus to conceal his death from the Indians, who had been told that Christians were immortal.

The remnants of De Soto's band, freed from the command of their stern captain, found their way back as best they could to Spanish settlements.

Coronado. While De Soto was out on this luckless journey, another Spanish adventurer, Coronado, was exploring what is now the southwestern part of the United States. He too was disappointed, for he found no cities and no treasure. Still he gave the king of Spain a claim to a vast territory and opened the way for Spanish missionaries. In a little while the Spanish flag was flying on the coast of California, and the tolling bells of missions called the Indians to Christian worship.

IV. THE FRENCH AND THE ENGLISH EXPLORATIONS; CONFLICT BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN

French Explorations. *Verrazano.* News of the returning Spanish ships bringing tons of gold and silver from the New World was not long in reaching the ears of the king of France. In fact one of his sea captains, Verrazano, an Italian, had seized two of the treasure ships which Cortez sent home from Mexico. The French king, stirred by tales from New Spain, made plans of his own. He fitted out, in 1524, an expedition for Verrazano, who explored the eastern coast of North America, trying to find a northwest passage to the East Indies. This expedition gave France a claim to the northern continent.

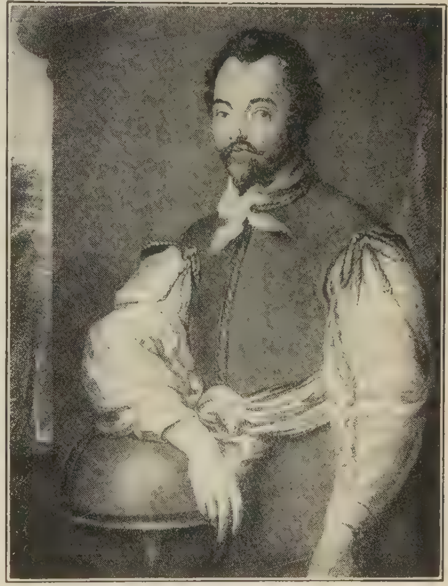
Cartier and Champlain. A few years afterward Jacques Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence River and took possession of its banks in the name of the French king. For a long time, however, the French were too busy with wars on the Continent and religious disputes at home to bother much with America. It was not until 1604 that they planted their first permanent colony in America, at Port Royal in Acadia. Four years later the great explorer Champlain established the post of Quebec.

Although the French by their voyages of discovery really opened the way for founding a New France in America, that was far from their purpose at first. They too sought a route to India or another Peru to conquer. They were not looking for fertile land for French peasants to till.

When the French explorers had taken their ships as far as they could up the St. Lawrence, they continued the westward journey in canoes to the regions around the Great Lakes, hoping to discover somewhere in that country the cities and markets of China. Their hopes, of course, were not realized; but as we shall see, they left their mark in the wilderness over which they traveled.

English Explorations. *John Cabot.* England was the last of the great nations of western Europe to undertake regular voyages of exploration to the New World. It is true that King Henry VII, in 1497, sent out from Bristol John Cabot, an Italian by birth, with orders to find a way westward to Japan, whence came many of the goods highly prized by Englishmen; but nothing important came of the trip. Cabot did not discover the long-sought passage to the East. He found instead the barren coast of Labrador. Bare as it was, Cabot planted there the English flag and gave England a claim to the whole North American continent. For these hard services Henry VII is said to have given Cabot £10. The next year Cabot sailed again and mysteriously disappeared. For half a century thereafter Englishmen took little or no interest in exploration.

Francis Drake. Henry VIII's daughter, the famous Queen Elizabeth, sent out a number of daring sea captains, such as Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, and Gilbert, whose names were to become household words wherever the English language was spoken. Under the leadership of these men the English navy grew, until at last England was ready to challenge the rich and powerful kingdom of Spain and to strike at her source of wealth — the Americas.


From an old print
SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

The signal for the opening of the conflict was given in 1577 as Francis Drake spread his sails in Plymouth for a voyage around the world. Though his queen was at peace with the Spanish ruler, Drake sailed down the eastern coast of South America and up the western coast, looting and burning trading posts along the way, capturing Spanish galleons, and filling his own ships with bars of gold and silver. Far to the north he went along the Pacific shores until his sails were sheathed in ice. Then he turned back and, making some repairs to his vessels at a point near the present site of San Francisco, he sailed west across the Pacific. Unlike poor Magellan, he was fortunate enough himself to round the Cape of Good Hope. In November of the year 1580 he rode safely into English waters. We are amused by the action of Queen Elizabeth, who apologized to the king of Spain for Drake's attacks on Spanish colonies and vessels — then rewarded the captain by making him a knight, thereafter to be known as Sir Francis Drake.

The Defeat of the Spanish Armada. When the news of the deeds of Drake and his countrymen reached Spain, the king became very angry. There seemed to be no end to the story of ships sunk, treasure carried off, towns robbed, and settlements destroyed. Proud of his empire, on which the sun never set, and earnest in the support of the Catholic faith, the Spanish king at last determined to bear no longer the insults offered by Englishmen — and Protestants. The challenge had been made on the sea, and on the sea he accepted it.

Fitting up a huge armada — the mightiest fleet of warships that had ever been brought together — the Spaniards sailed forth to destroy the growing power of England. Elizabeth's ships and sailors were ready. With a swiftness that dazed the Spanish captains, they fell upon the Invincible Armada and battered it to pieces. And, as if to add to English success, a storm arose and wrecked many of the ships which escaped the fire of English guns. This was more than a great victory. It made way for the British Empire. Henceforth England could plant settlements beyond the seas and defend them against all rivals. Then it was that far-sighted men, like Sir Walter Raleigh, could safely dream of a New England to rise in the wildernesses of North America.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *navigation, exploration, booty, galleons, the Spanish Armada, Catholics, Protestants.*

I. How did Columbus plan to reach the Indies by sea? What difficulties did he have in raising money for his first voyage? How did he finally succeed? How many voyages did he make? Describe the difficulties of his first voyage.

II. Why was the voyage of Vasco da Gama so important? How does it happen that the New World does not bear the name of Columbus? What event should be remembered in connection with the name of Balboa? Magellan's voyage is referred to in the text as "the most remarkable of all voyages." Give as many reasons as you can in support of this statement.

III. In what important way did the work of Cortez and Pizarro differ from that of Columbus, Da Gama, and Magellan? Why did the conquest of Mexico and Peru encourage the Spaniards to make further explorations in America? With the discovery and exploration of what regions are the following names connected: De Leon, De Soto, Coronado? Although these three men were disappointed because they did not discover what they had hoped to find, their names are remembered in American history. Why?

IV. What explorers did France send out? What were the results of their work? What did the king of England hope that John Cabot might discover? What did Cabot actually find? Why were his discoveries of importance to England? How long was it between the explorations of Cabot and those of Drake? How did Drake's work show the attitude of England toward weaker nations? What was the effect in Spain? How did the king of Spain hope to punish England, and what were the results of his efforts?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. In addition to the facts given in the text, give a further account of Columbus' work, particularly regarding: (*a*) his difficulties in getting men and ships; (*b*) the dangers and difficulties of his first voyage and how he overcame them; (*c*) the results of his later voyages.

See Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* (school edition, Macmillan), pp. 224-227; Nida's *Dawn of American History*, Revised, ch. xxxiii; McMurry's *Pioneers on Land and Sea*, ch. vii; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book I, pp. 24–36; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 1–13; Stapley's *Christopher Columbus*, chs. v–x, xiii xix; Nida's *Following Columbus*, chs. v, vi.

2. Find additional facts concerning Magellan: (*a*) his ships and crews; (*b*) the details of the long voyage; (*c*) where and how Magellan met his death.

See McMurry's *Pioneers on Land and Sea*, ch. viii; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 14–24; Nida's *Dawn of American History*, Revised, ch. xxxvi; Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* (school edition, Macmillan), pp. 228–230; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. viii; Hildebrand's *Magellan*.

3. Tell how Cortez and Pizarro treated the natives of Mexico and Peru.

See McMurry's *Pioneers on Land and Sea*, ch. ix; Southworth's *Builders of Our Nation*, Book I, pp. 43–50; Hart's *Colonial Children*, pp. 12–16; Pratt's *Cortes and Montezuma*.

4. The defeat of the Spanish Armada is regarded as one of the most important events in European history. Give as many reasons as you can find for its importance.

See Nida's *Dawn of American History*, Revised, ch. xxviii; Eggleston's *Our First Century*, pp. 8–9; Tappan's *England's Story*, pp. 201–204; Warren's *Stories from English History*, pp. 234–241.

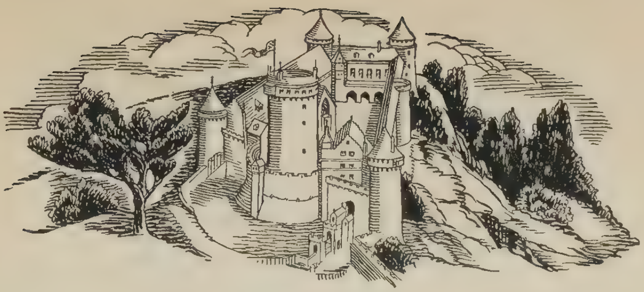
5. For a fuller account of Drake's memorable voyage, see Beard and Bagley's *First Book in American History*, ch. iii.

6. Imagine yourself a resident of Spain when the news of the discovery of America arrived. Tell how the news would affect you. What would you think? What would you want to do?

7. Imagine yourself the English statesman, Sir Walter Raleigh, after the defeat of the Armada; what would you regard as England's next important step?

8. Are there still new lands to discover and explore in the world? Where? What new explorations have been made in recent years?

9. Find all the places on the American continent that you can which have been named in honor of Columbus.



CHAPTER III

THE EUROPEAN BEGINNINGS OF OUR HISTORY

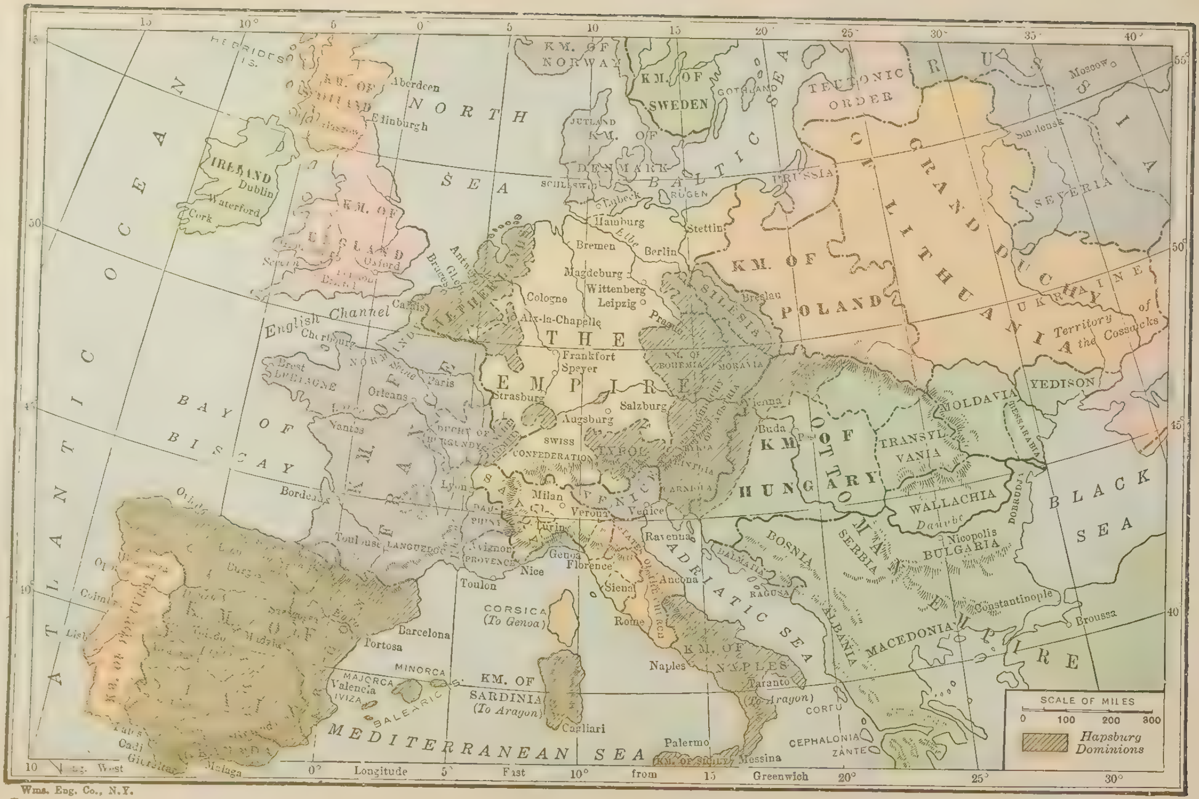
THE United States is one of the youngest nations of the earth. China was thousands of years old when the first settlers landed at Jamestown. England won her great charter of liberty from King John in 1215, more than five hundred years before the American Declaration of Independence was signed.

Though the United States has a short national history, it has a long "cultural" history; that is to say, the American people are mainly descendants of Europeans whose civilization began a very long time ago. The nations that led in the exploration and colonization of the New World — Portugal, Spain, France, and England — grew up within the borders of the old Roman Empire and gained much from Roman civilization. The Romans, in their turn, had borrowed from the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, and other nations of the East. (See *Our Old World Background,* ch. iv.) The people of Europe had their industry and commerce, their religious faith, their forms of government, and their habits of life already established, when they founded the United States. Many events that occurred in Europe long before the United States became an independent nation, therefore, are really parts of our history. It is especially true that we cannot understand how our country came into being without knowing something of the way our ancestors in Europe lived when America was first settled.

I. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY; PEASANTS AND NOBLES

Serfdom. The majority of all the people of Europe at this time were peasants engaged in tilling the soil. They were not like American farmers who own their land or rent it and are free to go and come at will. Very few peasants owned the fields in which they worked; except in England, most of them were serfs, or laborers bound to the soil. Nearly all the land belonged to great landlords — dukes, earls, barons, bishops, and other persons of title. The serfs merely had the right to cultivate certain plots in return for payments made to their landlords in labor, produce, and money. The serfs could not leave the estates on which they were born; they could not have their grain ground anywhere except at the lord's mill; they could not marry without the lord's consent. When a serf died, the lord took a part of the man's little flock or herd from his family as a sort of inheritance tax.

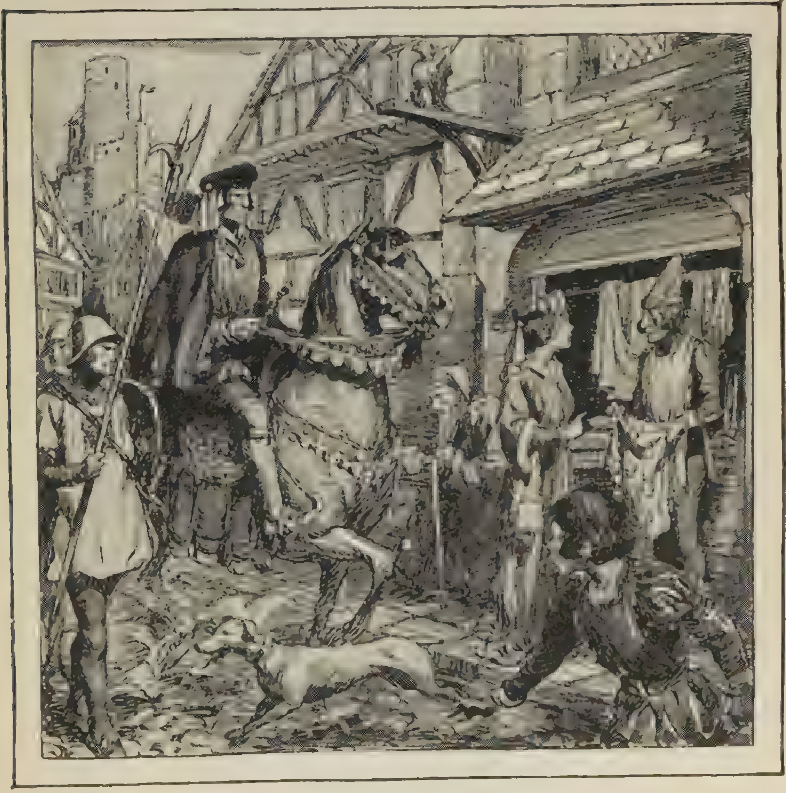
Yeoman and Laborers in England. In contrast to the Continent, England had little serfdom at the opening of the seventeenth century; that is, the tillers of the soil were no longer bound to it. Many English farmers were the owners of their farms and formed a class, known as the *yeomen*, celebrated for its industry and independence. They paid no rents and had no overlords; when they went to settle in the colonies, they insisted on owning their land outright. More numerous than the yeomen were the men who owned no land; they were former serfs who had become renters of land or worked for wages on the great estates. They were usually not much better off than serfs. Rents were high, land was scarce, and wages were low.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
HEBRIDES IS.
KM. OF SCOTLAND
Aberdeen
Edinburgh
Glasgow
IRELAND
Dublin
Waterford
Cork
KM. OF ENGLAND
Oxford
London
Bristol
Severn
NORTH SEA
KM. OF NORWAY
KM. OF SWEDEN
GOTLAND
JUTLAND
KM. OF DENMARK
SCHLESWIG
Lubeck
RÜGEN
BALTIC SEA
PRUSSIA
TEUTONIC ORDER
RUSSIA
Moscow
Smolensk
SEVERIA
GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA
UKRAINE
Territory of the Cossacks
KM. OF POLAND
Breslau
Hamburg
Elbe
Stettin
Bremen
Berlin
Magdeburg
Wittenberg
Leipzig
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
NETHERLANDS
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Calais
English Channel
Cherbourg
NORMANDY
Seine
Paris
Brest
BRETAGNE
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
KM. OF FRANCE
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
Lyon
Bordeaux
Toulouse
LANGUEDOC
PROVENCE
Avignon
DAUPHINY
BAY OF BISCAY
THE EMPIRE
Frankfort
Speyer
Strasburg
Augsburg
Salzburg
SWISS CONFEDERATION
TYROL
Prague
KM. OF BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
SILESIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
CARINTHIA
CARNIOLA
Buda
KM. OF HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
YEDISON
WALLACHIA
Danube
DOBRUDJA
Nicopolis
BULGARIA
SERBIA
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
RAGUSA
ALBANIA
MACEDONIA
Constantinople
Broussa
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
BLACK SEA
SAVOY
Milan
Verona
VENICE
Venice
Turin
Genoa
Nice
Florence
Siena
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Ravenna
Ancona
Rome
ADRIATIC SEA
KM. OF NAPLES
(To Aragon)
Naples
Taranto
CORFU
CEPHALONIA
ZANTE
Palermo
KM. OF SICILY
Messina
CORSICA (To Genoa)
KM. OF SARDINIA (To Aragon)
Cagliari
Toulon
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MINORCA
MAJORCA
IVIZA
BALEARIC
Valencia
Barcelona
Tortosa
Ebro
Burgos
Madrid
Toledo
KM. OF SPAIN
KM. OF PORTUGAL
Oporto
Coimbra
Lisbon
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Malaga
Longitude West from Greenwich East
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300
Hapsburg Dominions
0° 5° 10° 15° 20° 25° 30° 35° 40°
40° 45° 50° 55°

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Europe in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century

How the Peasants Lived. The peasants of the Old World, whether serfs or free laborers, did not live in farmhouses scattered about over the country as do the farmers in the United States to-day. They usually dwelt huddled together in little villages, often near the walls of a great castle where their lord lived. Their houses were almost as rough and poor as the huts of some of the North American Indians. The roofs were made of thatched straw and, more often than not, leaked when heavy rains fell. The walls of the houses



A Medieval Street Scene

were of wood and plaster and sometimes of stone. The floors were of dirt or, occasionally, paved with large flat stones. There were no glass windows except in the houses of the well-to-do. Slits in the walls of the serf's cottage, covered with thin skins, let in enough light to enable the housewife to do her daily tasks. The work of the women was by no means all indoors, for they often toiled in the fields with the men from early dawn till dusk and served as regular laborers at harvest time.

The Peasants Not Educated. The peasants were uneducated. They could not read or write, and only a specially gifted one could solve the easiest problem in arithmetic. Each landlord usually had a bailiff to keep the books of his estate. The idea that the peasant or his wife and children had minds of their own which were worth training had not entered the heads of the kings or the nobles or even of the peasants themselves.

There were, of course, no newspapers. Printed books were just beginning to be given to the world in small numbers. In many villages there was no book of any kind.

The peasants had little knowledge of the world. No doubt they dimly realized that there were other countries, for often one or two men from the village had been abroad fighting and had learned something about foreign peoples. Strange stories and gossip concerning distant parts of southern Europe were picked up from wandering players and peddlers or at the market town a few miles away, where the peasant bought salt, iron tools, and simple articles from traveling merchants.

The Peasants Had No Part in the Government. The peasants and serfs paid taxes and sometimes fought in battles, but generally they had no share in government. The kings of Europe could not believe that the people laboring in the fields ought to have any voice in saying how much tax they should pay or when war should be declared. The chief duties of the peasants were to pay royal taxes, to work on the king's highways, and to give strong sons to the king's army.

Changes in the Life of the Peasants. Just at the time that America was being opened for settlement, important changes were taking place among the tillers of the soil in the Old World. The gold and silver coin in different countries had been increased by the treasure brought in by the Spanish conquerors. Serfs began to sell some of their farm products for cash. With money they could pay rent to their landlords instead of paying with products and in labor. In this way they became renters instead of bondmen. The cash renter was free to come and go; indeed he might save enough money to pay his way to America. Large numbers of French serfs, however, were still bound to the soil when Canada was opened for settlement. Hence few French peasants went to the colonies as compared with the number who went from England. In the Rhine Valley also, from which many Germans went out to colonial America, most of the peasants were serfs; but terrible wars fought in that region broke up settled life and let many of the serfs escape.

It was in England that the greatest changes were taking place in the peasants' condition at the opening of the seventeenth century. English landlords had found that wool-growing was more profitable than raising grain; so they turned thousands of acres into sheep farms and drove away the renters and laborers who had formerly cultivated their lands. At the same time cruel laws were made against persons caught wandering without occupation. Anyone found begging was liable to be imprisoned, whipped, or branded. Anyone found guilty of stealing was likely to be sentenced to be hanged. The jails of England were full, and the poorhouses crowded. Although the population of England was small in the seventeenth century, writers were discussing ways and means of getting rid of unnecessary numbers of people. A peasant driven from his home and ordered to the whipping post for wandering without employment was usually ready to accept any chance that was offered to escape to the colonies.

The Nobility. Most of the landlords who owned the landed estates of Europe belonged to a special class, known as the *nobility*. The nobles differed greatly among themselves. Some of them owned small estates from which they could scarcely get enough to live in idleness. Others held vast estates made up of hundreds of villages and sometimes containing one or more large towns. For a long time the nobles and their followers furnished almost all the fighting men for the kings when the latter were at war. From the nobility the monarchs drew their chief advisers and their army officers.

The nobles everywhere were proud of their families, and they looked down upon the merchants and the peasants. It was not easy to become a nobleman. Rank was in early times a matter of birth, not of labor or riches or brave deeds; but in the seventeenth century it often happened that the king would make a nobleman out of a commoner who had rendered some important service or in some other way had gained royal favor.

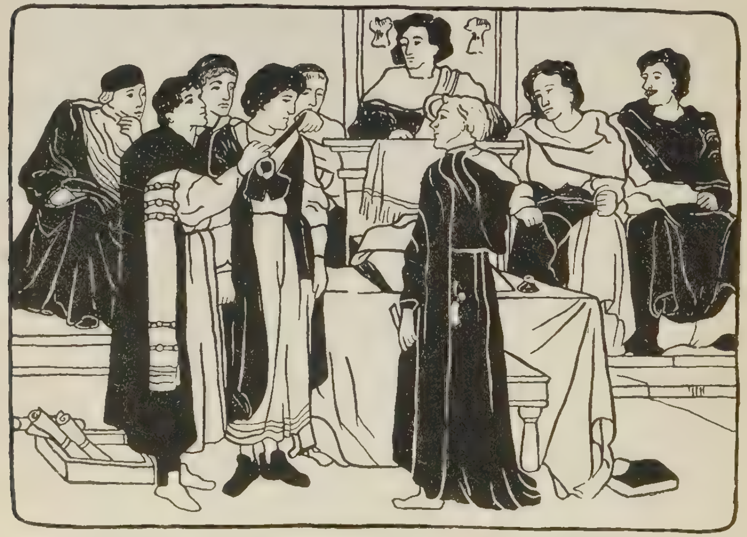
Though few of the nobles went to the New World to live, many of them took an active part in exploration and in founding settlements. Noblemen were nearly always among members of the companies organized to plant colonies and to send out trading expeditions. Some of the first colonies in America were huge areas of land granted to English nobles by the king. Maryland, for example, was started by settlers under the direction of Lord Baltimore. Another nobleman, Lord Berkeley, was one of the first proprietors of New Jersey. From the nobility also the king sometimes selected governors for his American colonies.

II. The People of the Towns

The Merchants. The towns were the centers of trade and manufacturing. Naturally they grew very rapidly after the opening of new trade routes to the East and the discovery of America. The merchants were the leaders. They owned not lands and castles but ships and stocks of goods. They were the "adventurers" who risked their money on trading voyages. They formed companies to plant colonies and sent out fleets with men, women, children, and supplies. They came to America themselves in large numbers and started business enterprises that were in time to be rivals of those of the Old World. To the English merchants who came over were added a goodly number of Dutch merchants from Holland and Huguenot (French Protestant) merchants from the towns of France.

The increase in gold and silver from the mines and treasuries of Mexico and Peru had as important effect on the merchants as it had on the peasants. Large amounts of money — capital — were collected to risk in colonial adventures. It required great sums to fit out ships and furnish supplies until the colonists could become self-supporting. This money came from the treasures taken in the New World and from the trade with India, which grew by leaps and bounds. On lucky voyages to the East Indies shrewd merchants sometimes made a thousand or even fifteen hundred times the money that they put into the venture. Thus their strong boxes were supplied with the cash necessary to start colonies on barren shores where there was at first little trade or slight prospect of a quick return from the money invested.

The Artisans. The woolen cloth, axes, knives, hardware, and other goods which the merchants carried to the East to trade for silks and spices or furnished to the colonists in America were made by skilled workmen who, like the merchants, lived in the towns. In the seventeenth century there were no steam engines, no great factories; the work was done with a few simple tools, which the workmen usually owned themselves. They were organized into *guilds*, or unions, which fixed prices and regulated the quality of the goods. As the demand for their products was increasing with the growth of world trade, they were generally prosperous. In fact they were so comfortable at home that it was difficult to persuade them to go to the new colonies. There were a few carpenters, smiths, and shoemakers among the early settlers in America, but it was a long time before the colonies had enough skilled labor to meet their needs.



Courtesy of National Association of Master Bakers

INVESTITURE IN THE BAKERS' GUILD

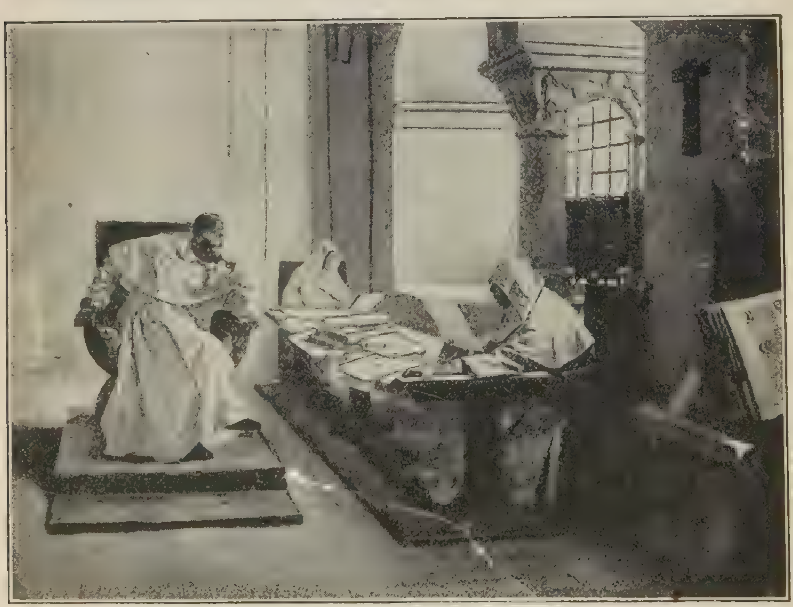
Life in the Towns. People living in the Old World towns and cities, and especially in the seaports, had many more opportunities to learn of new discoveries than did those living in the country. Merchants and sailors of all countries were always coming and going, bearing news. The discovery of a new country or of profitable trade with distant islands was soon reported among town dwellers and from town to town. In the country the people lived rather humdrum lives, doing the same kind of work year in and year out. Their ideas too were as little likely to change as their ways of working and living. Among the townsmen changes were constantly taking place. New goods were continually coming in from the colonies, new demands were made upon the skill of the workmen, and new chances for colonial trade were always being talked about.

III. RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE OLD WORLD

The Catholic Church. In the Middle Ages all western Europe was united in one Christian faith under the Pope at Rome. Every person, from the kings to the peasants, belonged to the Catholic Church, for no other beliefs were allowed. Anyone who denied the Catholic faith was deemed a "heretic" — a dangerous person, one to be severely punished.

In every country there was a distinct class made up of priests, bishops, archbishops, monks, and nuns, which was sharply separated from other classes. The Catholic clergy were devoted to religious work. As a class they were very wealthy. The village priest was often poor enough, but bishops, archbishops, and other high officials were usually rich and sometimes ruled estates as large as kingdoms. Nearly one third of the lands of France, Spain, and England belonged to the clergy. In addition to the rents which they collected as landlords, the clergy received fees of various kinds, as well as one tenth (called a *tithe*) of the earnings of the people.

Owing to their wealth and because the people looked up to them as religious leaders, the Catholic clergy had a very great influence. All learning, as well as religion, was in their hands. They wrote the books, managed the schools, taught the sons of kings and noblemen, and did much of the work now done by lawyers. In the convents girls were educated as well as prepared for religious duties. The universities were conducted by the clergy, at first mainly to train boys to be priests in the Church. The nobles were often as ignorant as the peasants that tilled their fields, but the village priest had usually received more or less education at a school.



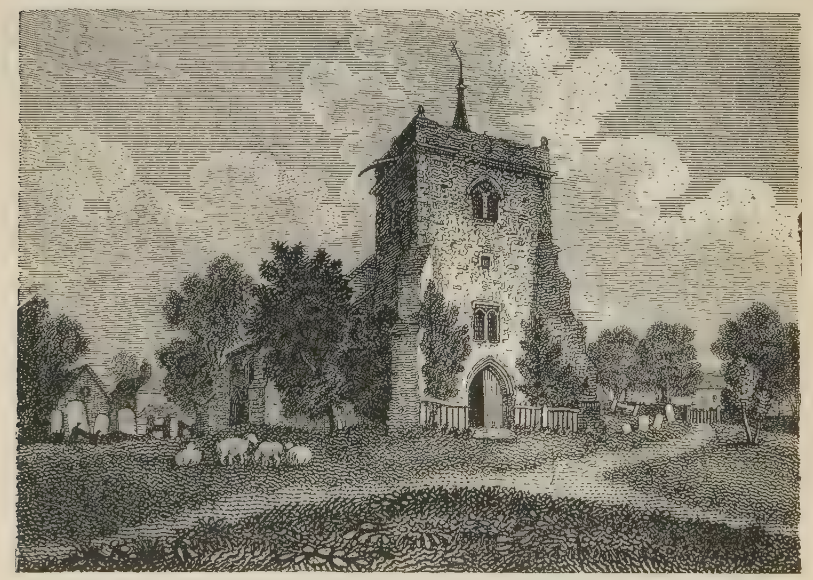
Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art

MONKS COPYING MANUSCRIPTS

Catholics early played an important part in the discovery and settlement of the New World. It was with the help of Catholic rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, that Columbus made his famous voyages. Catholic missionaries from Spain converted the natives of Mexico, South America, and the Caribbean islands to their faith; they established missions throughout the region that now forms the southwestern part of the United States. Catholic missionaries from France went with the French soldiers and settlers who founded Canada; there they built churches and labored to convert the North American Indians. The French peasants, artisans, and merchants who founded New France in America were all Catholics; no Protestants were allowed to settle in the regions ruled by the French king. It was under Catholic leadership that the English colony of Maryland was founded, for Lord Baltimore, its first proprietor, was a Catholic nobleman.

The Protestant Reformation. At the very time that Catholic Spain was conquering and converting the natives of Mexico and South America, great changes were taking place in the religious life of the Old World. In northern Europe there was a widespread revolt against the Catholic Church. About 1521 there began in Germany, under the leadership of Martin Luther, a violent religious dispute which had a deep influence on the fate of America. Large sections of Germany and all of Denmark, as well as Sweden, Norway, Holland, and England, broke away from the Catholic Church. They "protested" against the authority of the Pope and the beliefs of the Catholic Church and became known as *Protestants*. Spain succeeded in stamping out Protestant movements within her borders. Germany was divided, and religious wars and quarrels sent many Germans to the English colonies in America. France, after many conflicts and much bloodshed, declared her loyalty to the Catholic Church and after a while drove out all Protestants, or *Huguenots*. Many of these Huguenots found homes in Prussia, The Netherlands, Switzerland, and England, and hundreds of them fled to English colonies in America.

Protestantism in England. *The Established Church.* For our history the religious struggles in England were of especial importance. There King Henry VIII broke with the Pope in 1534, declared the English Church independent, and placed himself at its head. During the reign of his daughter, Queen Elizabeth, the English Church was organized. Because it was controlled by the government, it was known as the Established Church. Its beliefs were defined by law, and all had to accept them without question. Its clergy managed the universities of Oxford and Cambridge as had the Catholic clergy before them.



A Village Church in England

From an old print

The Puritans. It was not long before many of the Protestants in England were discontented with the Established Church. They wished to do away with some of the ceremonies of the Church and to remove images from the places of worship. They did not propose to overthrow the Church. They believed in keeping the bishops and archbishops; but they wished to reform or "purify" it, as they said. For this reason they were called *Puritans*.

The Separatists. The Puritans had hardly begun their opposition to the Established Church before other reformers appeared, who wished to go still farther. They were not content with mere "purifying"; they denied the very authority of the Church and clergy. They declared that each group or congregation of Christians should have the right to adopt its own kind of worship and choose its own officers and preacher. In short they dissented from the English Church and wished to separate from it. Hence they were known as *Dissenters* or *Separatists*.

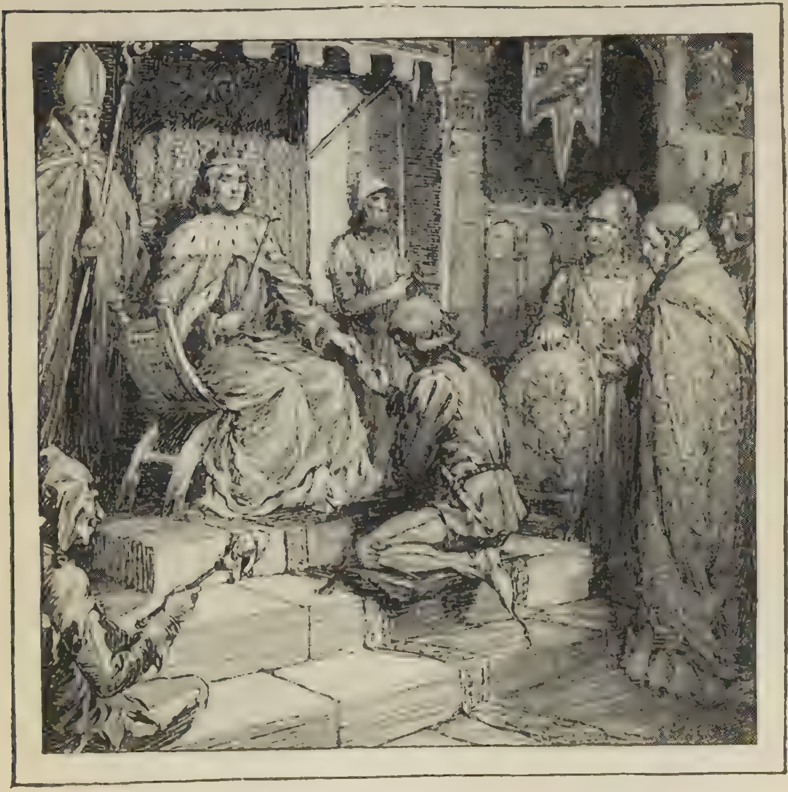
The Dissenters were divided into many sects. Among them were the *Presbyterians*, followers of John Calvin who established his church at Geneva in Switzerland about 1540. The Presbyterians were very numerous in Scotland and later became influential in England. The *Baptists* formed another sect. One of their famous teachers was John Bunyan, the author of *Pilgrim's Progress*, an immortal work written while he was in prison for his religious views. Shortly after the Baptists began to spread their faith in England, there arose a third sect, known as the *Friends* or *Quakers*, who believed among other things that all warfare was wrong. Their leader was George Fox, who first set forth his teachings of peace and brotherhood about 1647.

Religious Persecution. As new religious sects sprang up, the older churches looked upon them with disfavor. Catholics burnt Protestants at the stake, and Protestants burnt Catholics. In England the Established Church was almost as severe in its treatment of Puritans and Separatists as of the Catholics. Cruel orders were issued against Puritans, Baptists, Presbyterians, and Quakers alike. Some of their leaders were imprisoned, set in stocks in public places to be taunted and ridiculed by the mob, and even mutilated. Because the church and government in England were in the same hands, the Dissenters came to dislike both. No wonder so many of them chose the hardships of the New World in place of the cruelties of the Old! Moreover the English king was glad to be rid of them. Unlike the king of France, he did not try to keep them out of his colonies but rejoiced in having them so far away from the home country. He even permitted them to found colonies of their own.

IV. GOVERNMENTS IN THE OLD WORLD

The Power of Kings. At the opening of the seventeenth century the government in England, France, Spain, and Portugal was mainly in the hands of kings. England had a Parliament consisting of a House of Lords and a House of Commons. In the House of Lords sat the great landlords, nobles, and the bishops and archbishops. In the House of Commons were representatives chosen by the smaller landowners and the citizens of the towns. The English king, however, collected taxes, issued orders or decrees, punished his subjects, and waged wars much as he pleased. If Parliament objected, he could fill it with his favorites. In France the power of the king was even greater. He occasionally called the Parliament, but in 1614 he discontinued it altogether and ruled without interference from his subjects.

The English Revolution. While the French king was becoming an absolute ruler, the king of England was brought face to face with an uprising on the part of his subjects. Difficulties arose after the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. Parliament declared that the king should (1) lay no taxes without its consent, (2) make no laws without its approval, and (3) imprison no person without a regular trial. For nearly fifty years the king and Parliament quarreled over these points. In 1642 they came to blows in the great Civil War, which ended in the execution of the king, Charles I, seven years later. For a while Oliver Cromwell, the leader of the Revolutionary army, tried to maintain a republic, or *Commonwealth*, in England. Shortly after his death the monarchy was restored, but the quarrel was started again later. In 1688 there occurred a second revolution. King James was expelled from the country, and William and Mary were called to the throne. Then it was finally settled in the



A MEDIEVAL FRENCH KING AND HIS COURT

Bill of Rights that the king of England could not make laws or lay taxes without the consent of Parliament.

It was during this century of disturbance in England that all the English colonies in America, except Georgia, were founded. Religious quarrels drove Puritans and Dissenters to New England. The overthrow of King Charles drove some of his friends, known as *Cavaliers*, to Virginia. The contests in England awakened a new spirit among the people and gave a peculiar course to the English colonies in America. As a result America was not only to offer a refuge for persecuted peoples of every faith but also to spread ideas of religious and political freedom throughout the world.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *culture, cultural, peasants, serfs, serfdom, yeomen, bondmen, the nobility, nobles, landed estates, commoners, artisans, guilds, clergy, the Protestant Reformation, Huguenots, the Established Church, sects, Puritans, Dissenters, Separatists, persecution, Cavaliers, Parliament, House of Commons, House of Lords, revolution, Bill of Rights, Commonwealth.*

I. From a study of the first part of this chapter, state how the following terms differ in meaning: peasant, farmer, serf, yeoman. How did the peasants of the Old World differ from the American farmer of to-day? What changes were taking place in the life of the peasants, especially in England, at the time when the settlement of America began? What caused these changes? How did nobles differ from peasants? How did a person become a nobleman?

II. How did the property of a merchant differ from that of a nobleman? What is meant by *capital?* Why is capital necessary for any important undertaking? What conditions were especially favorable for the gathering together of capital by merchants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? What is meant by the word *artisan?* Compare life in town and country in the Old World

III. How did religious life in Europe in the Middle Ages differ from religious life in America to-day? Why were the Catholic clergy so powerful? What part did Catholics play in the colonies of France, Spain, and England? How do the following terms differ in meaning: Protestants, Puritans, Separatists? How did the English colonies happen to be Protestant? What is meant by "religious intolerance"? How did religious intolerance in Europe influence the settlement of America?

IV. What rights and liberties had been secured by the English people before the English Revolution of 1642–49? Who was the leader of that revolution, and what was the government that he established called? The English struggle for the rights of the people took place at a time when many colonists were coming to America. In what way was this likely to influence the feeling of the colonists with regard to rights and liberties?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The various classes in Europe — peasants, nobility, merchants, and artisans — were somewhat sharply separated; it was difficult, for example, for a peasant to become a nobleman or a merchant. Our people pride themselves on the fact that there is no strict separation of social classes in this country, as there has been and still is in many of the European countries. Many of our greatest men have come from what would be considered in Europe one of the lower social classes. Lincoln was one of these. What others can you name? Why is it well for a country to prevent classes from becoming sharply separated? Can you think of any way in which our public schools help to prevent this?

2. Find from the dictionary the differences in the meanings of the following words: *religion, denomination, sect.*

3. Why is a person who is paid for his labor in money generally more independent than one who is paid for his labor in food, clothing, and shelter?

4. Assign a member of the class to read ch. x, on the political revolutions in England during the seventeenth century, in Beard

and Bagley's *Our Old World Background* and to report five leading facts about it.

5. Compare England and France in the seventeenth century, making references to religion, government, and condition of the peasants.

6. Find further facts about the life of the peasants and the nobles in Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* (School Edition).

7. If you are interested in what people knew about geography at this time, see Synge's *Book of Discovery.*

CHAPTER IV

FOUNDING THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA

It was an easy matter to secure a band of soldiers and sailors for an expedition to the New World, which promised riches in gold and silver for all who took part. The nobles, especially of Spain and France, usually had about them troops of fighting men, ready for any adventure that offered excitement and wealth. But colonies that must support themselves and also provide an income for the mother country could not be built up by adventurers or seekers after riches.

It was an altogether different matter, then, to find people willing to go out and make their homes in the wilderness of North America. No hope of great riches attracted them to the new lands. No thought of a joyful return to admiring friends and relatives gave them heart for braving the perils. When the pioneer and his family turned their faces toward America, they knew that the way was long and the reward at the journey's end was at best small and uncertain. The settlers who built up the Virginia, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay colonies knew that they were not to discover, capture, and rob cities, but to build them. Soldiers were needed to defend the colonies against the Indians, but they did not usually care for hard work in the forests and in the fields. It took industrious men and women to cut down trees, build homes, rear children, and create a nation.

I. DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS OF SETTLEMENT

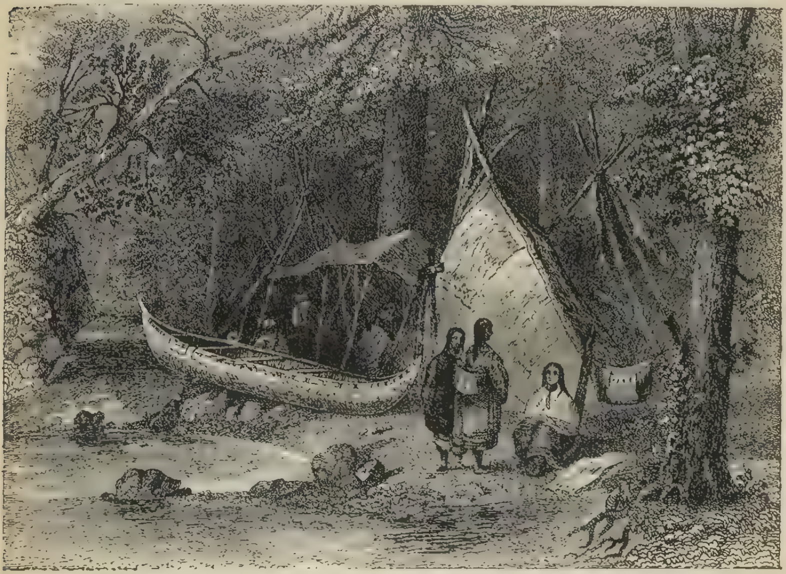
The Trials of the Voyage. The settlement of America called for courage as well as industry. The men and women who crossed the sea to the new continent were not timid souls. The dangers of the deep were great enough to try the bravest. The ships in which they sailed were small and built for coastwise trade rather than ocean voyages. Storms often drove the tiny vessels far out of their courses, and supplies of food and water ran out. To make things worse, pirates roved the seas, robbing and sinking helpless merchant ships.

The Indians. To these perils was added the danger of attacks by Indians who lurked in the forests ready to torture, scalp, and kill.

Still it is just to say that at first the natives usually received the settlers in a friendly manner and taught them many things about life in the wilderness. With childish glee they traded furs for beads, mirrors, and other trinkets. But the whites too often repaid their kindnesses with cruel deeds. By the time regular settlement was begun, the natives in nearly every section had learned to fear the newcomers and to doubt their friendliness.

The land problem also made trouble between the races. Some of the English companies and colonists were willing to pay the Indians for the land they occupied, but others were not. Moreover, there was a limit to the amount of land the Indians were willing to sell. They had to have large ranges for hunting and fishing. For every acre that the white man needed for a livelihood, the Indian needed a hundred or more because of his way of living. One thing, therefore, was clear. The Indians could not go on living their wild, free life if English settlers were to fill the country. Two choices lay before the Indian. He could change his nature and his habits and turn to labor in the fields like the white man, or he could fight to keep his hunting grounds. Events soon showed the choice he had made.

Of course the Indians could have worked for the white men. The Spaniards had made slaves of many natives in Mexico and the Southwest. The English sought to follow their example, but their attempt failed.



From an old print

INDIANS IN THEIR FOREST HOME

The North American Indian was unhappy when forced to labor in mines and fields. There was no way of forcing the Indian to adopt the white man's manner of living. As the settlers trespassed more and more on the hunting grounds, it was evident that trouble could not be avoided. The English who went out to the New World, therefore, knew that warfare might await them.

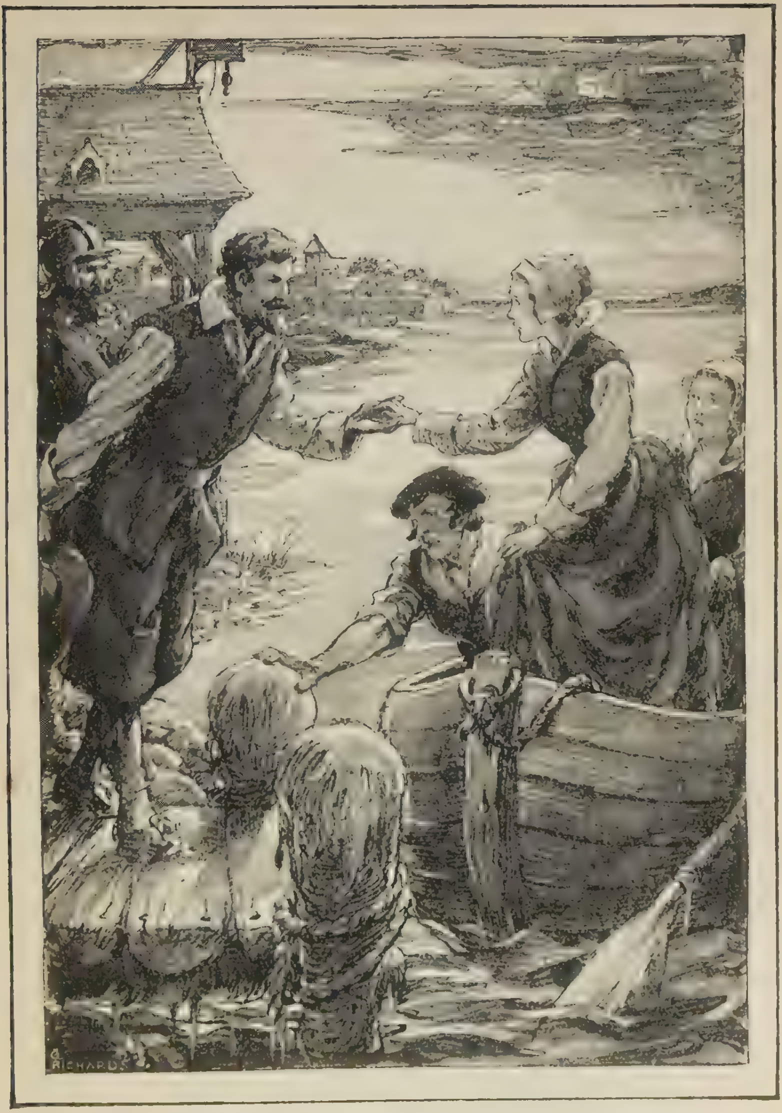
The Early Failures. The dangers of sea and land were so great that the first attempts at settlement were failures.

In 1583 a brave sailor, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, tried without success to found a colony on Newfoundland. On the return Gilbert and all the crew of his flagship were lost in a storm at sea. The next year his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, sent out an expedition which reached Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina. On their return home the leaders praised the new country so highly that Queen Elizabeth named it Virginia after herself (the Virgin Queen) and made plans for a permanent colony. Raleigh sent over many settlers, but his efforts came to nothing. His second band of colonists, including women and children, entirely disappeared, and no one knows to this day what became of them. These attempts showed what difficulties had to be overcome before a permanent colony could be built up.

II. English Settlements in Virginia

Settlements under "Companies" and "Proprietors." As we all know, whenever any large undertaking is started, it is necessary to have money for it. There are two principal ways of getting this money, or capital. Several persons may band together and each put in a certain sum. This we call forming a *company*. Another way is for some very rich person to furnish all the money and invite others to join the concern under his direction. Such a rich person is called a *proprietor*. These were the chief methods used in the seventeenth century to bring settlers and capital together in order to found colonies in the New World.

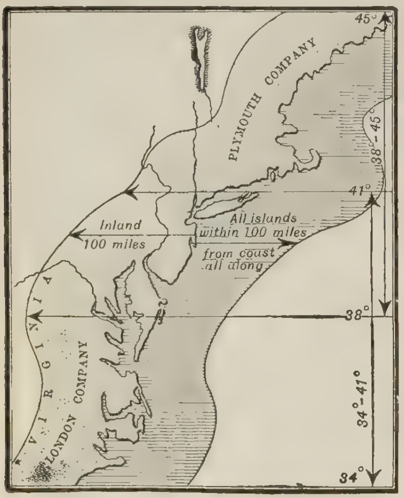
The London Company Founds Jamestown. No such companies could be formed, however, without the king's consent. Besides, the king claimed all the land discovered by his subjects. When Englishmen were ready to found colonies, therefore, they had to ask the king for a grant or charter which gave the company holding it certain rights and



The Coming of the Women to Jamestown

privileges. Only in this way could they form a company and settle on the king's land.

In 1606 two companies, the London Company and the Plymouth Company, obtained charters from James I. The London Company secured an enormous tract to the south along the Atlantic coast and the Plymouth Company a great tract to the north. (See map.) The London Company at once raised money, bought ships, found settlers who were willing to make the venture, and sent an expedition to America. These pioneers reached the shores of Virginia in 1607 and founded a colony on the James River at Jamestown, so named in honor of the king.



THE CHARTERS OF 1606

Hardships of the Colonists. The settlement at Jamestown was the beginning of the colony of Virginia which in later years furnished so many well-known American leaders, such as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. For a long time, however, it gave little promise. The London Company, which had supplied the capital, looked upon it largely as a money-making venture. It expected that gold and silver would be discovered, and it hoped for quick returns from the rich soil. But it was disappointed. Searches for precious metals were fruitless, and farming was not a prosperous business for some time.

The " Starving Time." Many of the little band who went to Jamestown were men without money who had nothing to lose by going and who proved to be restless and quarrelsome. They were not prepared for hard labor. When their fearless captain, John Smith, was injured and had to return home, they came so near starving that they made ready to give up the colony. In fact they had set sail when supplies and more settlers arrived. With new courage, the colonists returned to Jamestown. Convinced at last that no gold or silver could be found, they turned to farming to support themselves.

Wives for the Settlers. The first settlers in Virginia did not bring wives with them, and it was some little time before any women appeared in the colony. Not until 1619 did a shipload of them come over. They were taken as wives by the planters, who paid for their passage in tobacco.

Labor Difficulties. It was quite as difficult for the planters to find laborers for their great fields as it was to persuade women to come to America. Many wealthy gentlemen had staked out huge estates and were in desperate need of workmen. Large numbers of laborers who had agreed, before they left England, to work for the planters refused to carry out their promises when they arrived in Virginia. They found land plentiful further inland and went into farming on their own account.

Slavery Introduced. Certainly the problem of securing laborers was a serious one for the Virginia gentlemen, but at last a solution seemed to be found. In 1619 a cargo of negroes from Africa was brought to Virginia by Dutch merchants and sold to the planters. The slave trade soon became a profitable business for shipowners in New England as well as in Great Britain. In time an abundant labor supply was furnished for the plantations.

Virginia Becomes a Royal Province. As the population of the colony increased, the London Company from its office in London found it more and more difficult to manage a settlement of independent planters in Virginia some three thousand miles away. The Company's troubles were made worse by quarrels with James I, and in 1624 the king took away its charter. He broke up the Company and changed the colony into a "royal province" controlled by himself through a "royal governor" whom he appointed and who lived in the colony during his term of office.

The First Colonial Legislature. There was, however, one important way in which the king's power was checked. In 1619 the Company had invited the well-to-do planters to help in the government by sending two citizens from each settlement and borough to meet with the governor and council at Jamestown. This was the first "people's" legislature on our continent. The assembly, or *House of Burgesses*, as it was called, continued to share in the government of Virginia until the Revolution. Many were the disputes it had with the royal governor, until at last Virginia and the other colonies declared their independence.

III. English Settlements in New England

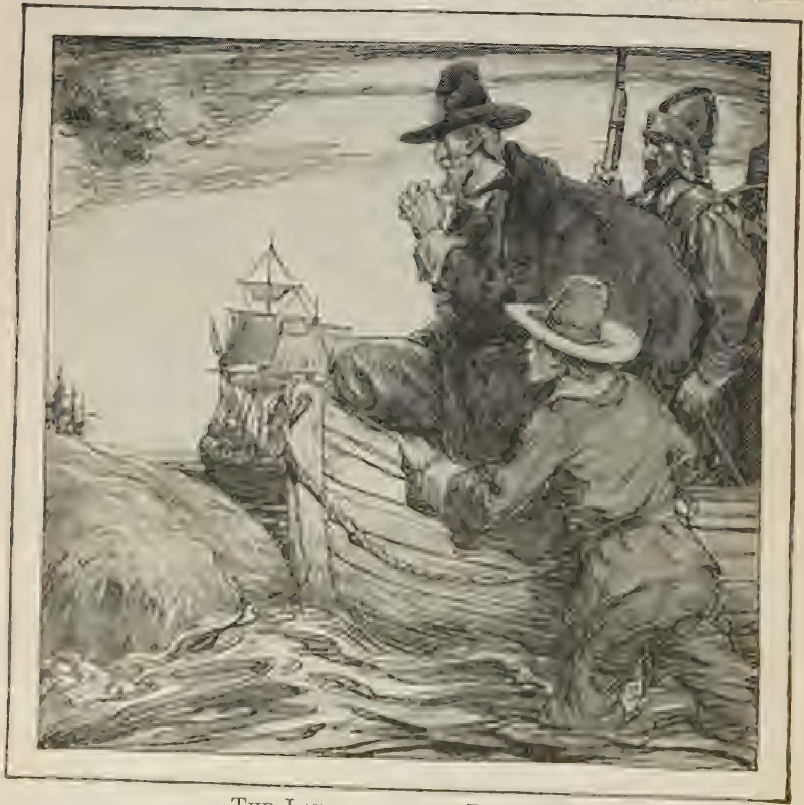
The Pilgrim Fathers. Shortly before the London Company came to an end, it granted some of its land to a small band of English men and women, famous in our history as the Pilgrims. This little group belonged to the Separatists (pp. 52, 53), who had disagreed with the English Church. They had declared their right to form independent churches and to worship God according to their own consciences. Their views and conduct had thoroughly displeased King James I. In fact they were treated so badly in England that many of them fled to Holland which was then almost the only country in Europe that permitted people to worship in their own way.

The Pilgrims Reach America. Although they were treated kindly by the Dutch, the Separatists were English in language and customs. If they remained in Holland, they knew that their children and grandchildren would use the Dutch language and take on the Dutch manners and customs. They longed for a land of their own where they could still keep their English ways of living and at the same time enjoy religious freedom. After much discussion and prayer many of them decided to go to America. In July, 1620, a small number set out from Holland in the ship *Speedwell* for Southampton, England, where they were joined by another party of Separatists in the famous *Mayflower*. The *Speedwell* leaked so badly that both ships put back to port. It was not until September that the Pilgrims, 102 in number, finally sailed for America in the little *Mayflower*.

They expected to reach Virginia, where they had permission to settle; but they were driven by storms to Cape Cod, which was within the territory of the Plymouth Company, where they had no right at all. They debated for a long time what to do. After four or five weeks of exploration along the coast, they landed on December 26, 1620, at Plymouth, stepping, it is said, from their rowboats to a stone which has become celebrated in our history as Plymouth Rock.

The Mayflower Compact. Before the Pilgrims went ashore, the men of the company met in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and drew up a "compact." This was an agreement to form a government among themselves and to obey the rules made for the common good. Thus they looked not to a royal charter for guidance, but to the Mayflower Compact, which has been called the first written constitution in the world. Having pledged themselves to good order, the Pilgrims set about building their homes amid trials such as have come to few pioneers in the history of America.

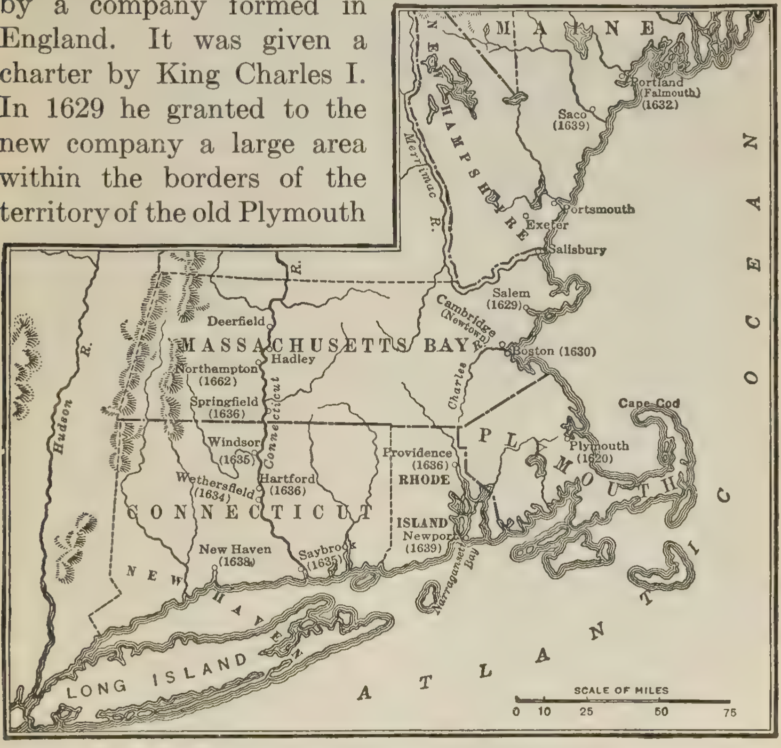
Early Hardships and Final Success of the Colony. The cold, gray New England winter shut down upon them. Before summer came again, one half of the devoted band were dead. Even during the second and third years the Pilgrims suffered many hardships, but they were encouraged by the belief that God would not fail those who worshiped him with such devotion. They had some difficulties with the Indians. Very early they made a treaty with Massasoit, the chief of a neighboring Indian tribe, but later other tribes gave them trouble which might have proved serious had it not been for the prompt action of Miles Standish, who had been placed in charge of the military affairs of the little colony. In time their harvests became abundant, the



THE LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS

troubles with the Indians ceased, and friends from England came in such numbers that Plymouth grew into a busy and important settlement.

The Puritans Establish a Colony on Massachusetts Bay. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, like Virginia, was founded by a company formed in England. It was given a charter by King Charles I. In 1629 he granted to the new company a large area within the borders of the territory of the old Plymouth Company, which had failed to accomplish anything of importance. The Massachusetts Bay Company differed in many ways from the London Company which had planted the Virginia Colony.


MAINE
Portland (Falmouth) (1632)
Saco (1639)
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Merrimac R.
Portsmouth
Exeter
Salisbury
Salem (1629)
Cambridge (Newtown)
Boston (1630)
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
Deerfield
Hadley
Northampton (1662)
Springfield (1636)
Connecticut R.
Charles
Hudson R.
Windsor (1635)
Wethersfield (1634)
Hartford (1636)
CONNECTICUT
New Haven (1638)
Saybrook (1635)
NEW HAVEN
Providence (1636)
RHODE ISLAND
Newport (1639)
Narragansett Bay
PLYMOUTH
Plymouth (1620)
Cape Cod
LONG ISLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 25 50 75

Early New England Settlements

In the first place it was composed entirely of Puritan gentlemen. They had failed to change the English Church to their liking and were determined to go where they could found churches of their own (p. 53).

In the second place the Massachusetts Bay Company did not remain in England and attempt to plant and govern a colony across the Atlantic. Members of the Company gathered other Puritans and in 1630 came to Massachusetts Bay, more than a thousand strong, in seventeen ships. Under the leadership of John Winthrop, a very rich and pious man, they planted settlements at Boston and other points around Massachusetts Bay.

The Puritan Settlers. The leaders among the Puritans were, for their day, men of wealth and education. They were better equipped with ships, supplies, and tools than were the Pilgrims or the Virginians. Moreover, they had little trouble in getting free white immigrants for their settlements. Thousands of Puritans were ready to leave their native land for the New World. Thus it came about that the bulk of the New England population consisted of free farmers and their wives who had the courage to endure hardships and the will to work hard for a living. The Puritans were not, however, opposed to slavery. They tried African slavery, but it was not profitable in their stony fields. They tried Indian slavery, but the Indians would not work. Still there were a few bondmen and bondwomen and slaves in New England, most of them being house servants in the homes of the well-to-do.

Roger Williams and Rhode Island. Although the Puritans had suffered from religious persecution in England, they were not willing to have people in their own midst who did not agree with them in religious matters. For many years every new religious group that appeared in Massachusetts was badly treated, and its members were driven from the Puritan settlements to seek homes elsewhere.

In 1636 Roger Williams, who had been preaching sermons which were displeasing to the Puritans, was expelled from Massachusetts. With a little group of friends he went south and laid out the town of Providence. This was followed by other settlements, including one made on Rhode Island under Anne Hutchinson, another banished religious leader. In 1643, the people of this new community were able to get from the English Parliament a charter forming them into an independent colony. Twenty years later Charles II granted to Rhode Island and Providence a new charter which was kept as a constitution until 1843.

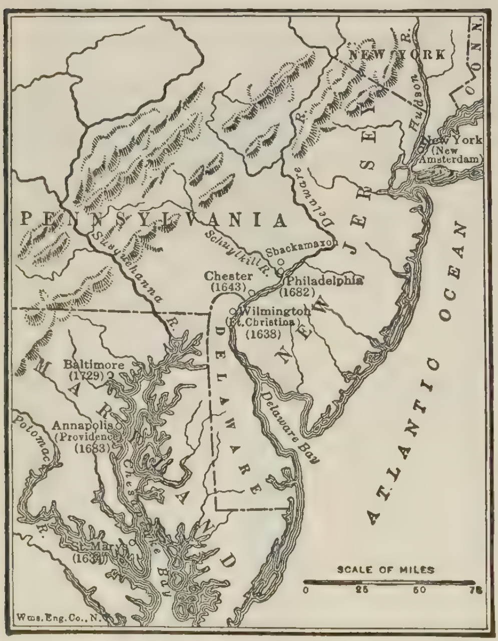
ROGER WILLIAMS

Statue of Roger Williams

The Beginnings of Connecticut and New Hampshire. About the same time other bands of Dissenters, who did not like the Puritan rule in Massachusetts or were searching for better land, set out for the Connecticut River valley under the leadership of Thomas Hooker. There they founded three towns, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. Like the Pilgrim fathers in the *Mayflower*, the men of these towns in 1639 drew up a plan of government and agreed to abide by it.

Another religious leader, John Davenport, with a congregation of faithful followers, after a short stay in Boston grew dissatisfied with the Puritans. So he left that colony and took the water route to the north shore of Long Island Sound, where in 1638 he founded New Haven. In 1662 New Haven was joined to the other Connecticut towns by a royal charter, and all of them were united into the colony of Connecticut.

Like Rhode Island and Connecticut, New Hampshire was settled, in the main, by people from Massachusetts Bay. In 1679 it became a separate colony with a government of its own.


NEW YORK
Hudson R.
CONN.
New York (New Amsterdam)
NEW JERSEY
Delaware R.
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna R.
Schuylkill R.
Shackamaxon
Chester (1643)
Philadelphia (1682)
Wilmington (Ft. Christina) (1638)
DELAWARE
Baltimore (1729)
MARYLAND
Annapolis (Providence) (1683)
Potomac R.
Chesapeake Bay
St. Marys (1634)
Delaware Bay
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

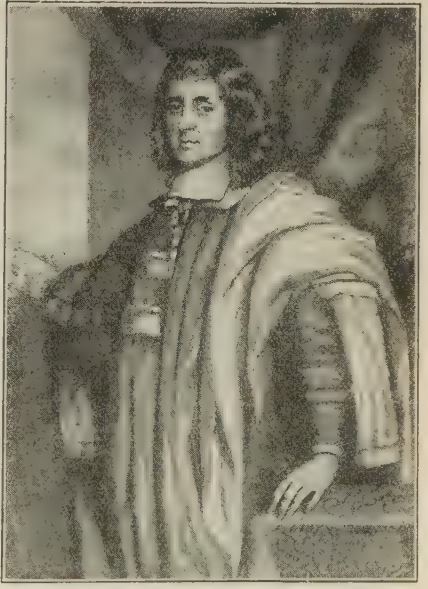
Early Settlements in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware

The New England Confederation. In 1643 Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a union known as the New England Confederation, but it lasted for only a short time. It was useful in defending the settlers against the Indians, and it may be considered the first step toward union taken by the American colonies. In 1691 Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were united by a royal charter and became the colony of Massachusetts.

IV. Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, the Carolinas, and Georgia

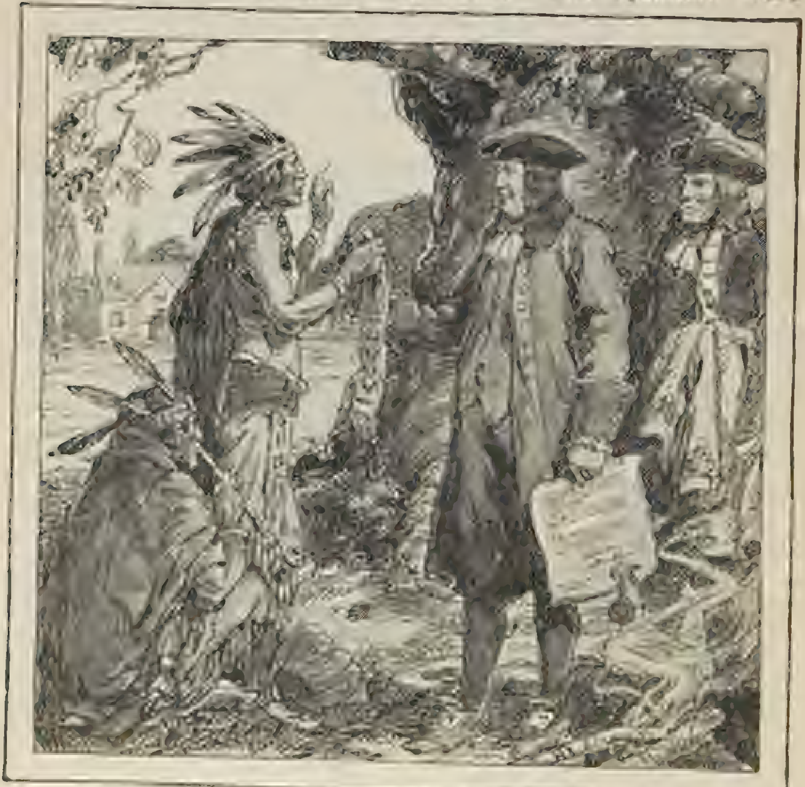
The Catholics in Maryland. The king could give lands to one man or a few men, as well as to a larger company of men. In 1632 Charles I, who was kindly disposed toward the Catholics, granted to a nobleman of that church, Lord Baltimore (George Calvert), a large block of land northeast of the Potomac. Before the charter for this grant was signed, Lord Baltimore died. The charter therefore was made out to his son and heir, Cecilius Calvert, who founded the colony of Maryland.

It will be remembered that the Catholics as well as the Puritans had suffered persecution in England. Many of them too were ready to settle in a new country where they could worship God in accord with the faith of their fathers. They did not long enjoy their new freedom undisturbed. Protestants from New England and from Virginia, fearing a Catholic colony so near at hand, poured into Maryland in such force that they soon outnumbered the original settlers. In 1649 all who declared their faith in Jesus Christ were permitted to worship in whatever manner they chose; that is, they were assured religious toleration. Except for a short time the colony of Maryland remained under the rule of the Calvert (Baltimore) family until the Revolution.


CECIL CALVERT

William Penn and the Quakers in Pennsylvania. Half a century after the Maryland grant, Charles II gave a great tract west of the Delaware River to another proprietor, William Penn, a member of the Society of Friends, or

Quakers. The Friends, like the Catholics and Puritans, had suffered persecution in England. In fact some of them had even been hanged by the Puritans in Massachusetts on account of their religious opinions. The Quakers were overjoyed when Penn offered them cheap lands in the new territory of Pennsylvania, or Penn's Woods, as the king insisted upon naming it. The Quakers joined with the proprietor, William Penn, in welcoming Christians of all faiths to their colony. In addition to the Quakers great numbers of Protestants from northern Ireland, known as



WILLIAM PENN AND THE INDIANS

the Scotch-Irish, came to Pennsylvania. Later they were joined by Protestants from Germany.

The Quakers were shrewd merchants and traders as well as generous in permitting others to worship as they chose. They built a flourishing city, Philadelphia, upon the banks of the Delaware. In order to secure a coast line, Penn in 1682 obtained from the king certain lands on the Delaware River and Bay which had been settled by Swedes in 1638. This new territory remained a part of Pennsylvania until 1703, when it was formed into a separate colony of Delaware under the proprietorship of Penn. Pennsylvania and Delaware continued under the direction of the Penn family until the Revolution.[1]

The Carolinas Also Settled under Proprietors. Two English colonies in the South, North and South Carolina, were also founded under the management of proprietors. In 1663 King Charles II granted to eight noblemen a large territory south of Virginia extending to the Spanish possessions of Florida. These proprietors sent out some colonists, and other settlers moved into their territory from Virginia. Charleston was founded in 1680 and before many years was a thriving seaport.

The settlements near the Virginia border and those farther to the south had little or nothing to do with each other. In the course of time the two regions were divided into North and South Carolina. The proprietors were always in trouble with the settlers of both sections over the payment of taxes and the sale of lands. In 1729 the two Carolinas were taken over by the king, the proprietors receiving a small sum of money for all their rights and claims. From that year until the Revolution North and South Carolina remained royal provinces.

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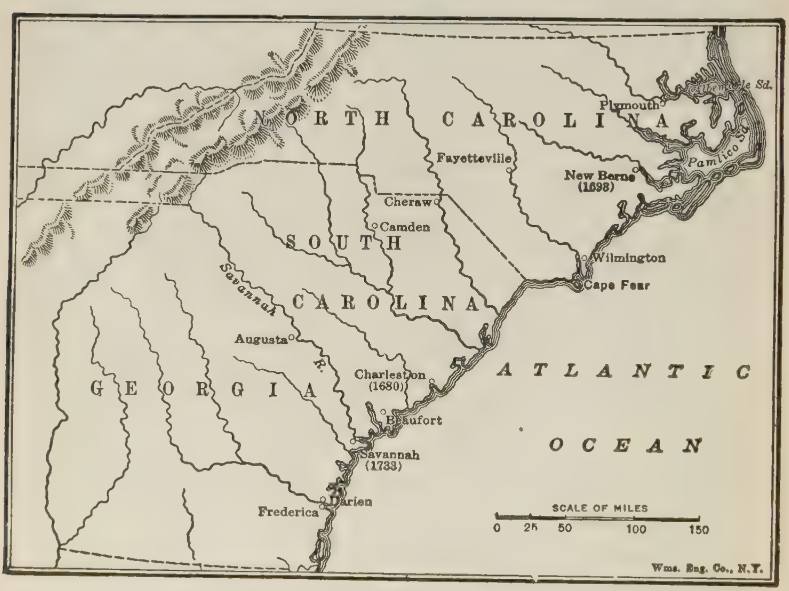
[1] The boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania was not clearly defined in the original charters granted to Lord Baltimore and William Penn. As the colonies became settled, disputes arose as to the location of the boundary line. In 1763 two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, were employed to mark a boundary, which has since been known as Mason and Dixon's line. For many years this line was frequently spoken of as dividing the Northern from the Southern states.

James Oglethorpe and the Settlement of Georgia. The last of the English colonies was founded far to the south


NORTH CAROLINA
Albemarle Sd.
Plymouth
Pamlico Sd.
Fayetteville
New Berne (1698)
Cheraw
Camden
Wilmington
Cape Fear
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah R.
Augusta
Charleston (1680)
Beaufort
Savannah (1733)
Darien
Frederica
GEORGIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

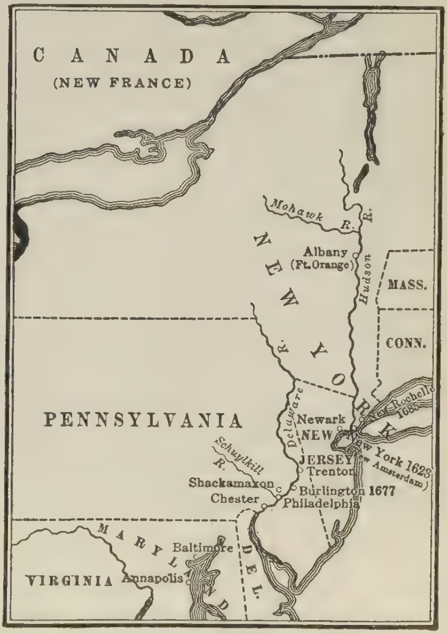
Early Settlements in the Carolinas and Georgia

in the Georgia wilderness. During the reign of George I there dwelt in England a kind man, James Oglethorpe, who took a deep interest in the poor debtors crowded in the English prisons. On seeing their misery he was moved to find a refuge for them in the New World. He formed a board, or company, of trustees and in 1732 secured from the king a grant of land to the south of the Savannah River. Charitable persons gave money for the scheme on the ground that it would help the poor; business men were invited to invest with the idea of making profits. Slavery and the sale of rum were forbidden, and every effort was made by the trustees to build up prosperous settlements.

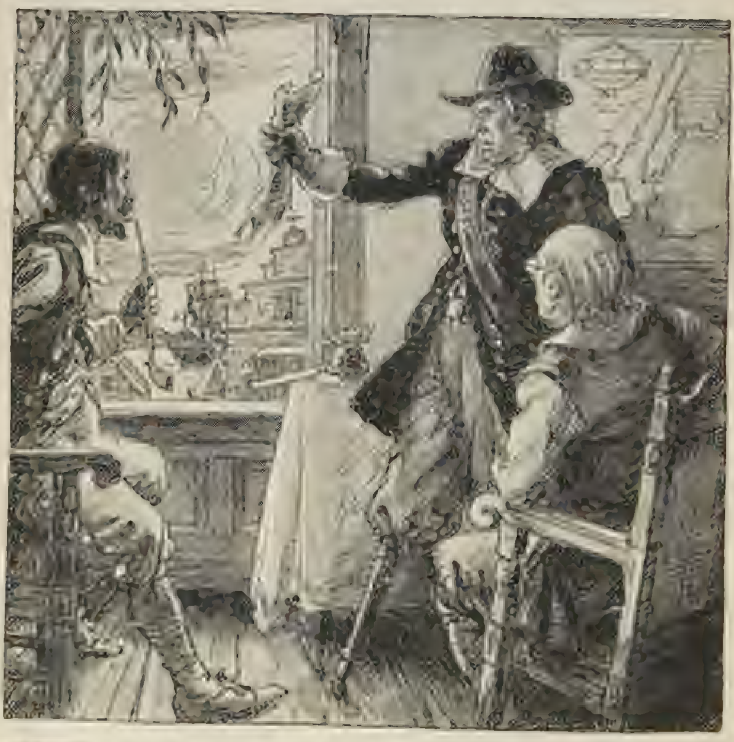
The prisoners who were taken to Georgia did not, however, prove to be very good workmen. So it was found necessary to persuade a different class of settlers to come into the colony. Owing to the need for laborers the rule against slavery was abolished, and Negroes were imported to cultivate the plantations. At last, in 1752, the trustees gave up this experiment of helping prisoners and turned Georgia over to King George II. From that time until the Revolution it too was a royal province.

V. New York and New Jersey

The Dutch Settle New Amsterdam. One of the most important colonies in America was founded not by Englishmen but by the Dutch. These hardy people early began to trade and found colonies in the East Indies and in America. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in command of a Dutch fleet, sailed far up the great river that now bears his name, seeking a water route to the Far East. While this search ended in failure, Hudson's voyage gave The Netherlands a claim to the region that had


CANADA
(NEW FRANCE)
Mohawk R.
Hudson R.
Albany (Ft. Orange)
NEW YORK
MASS.
CONN.
PENNSYLVANIA
Delaware R.
Newark
NEW JERSEY
New-Rochelle 1685
New York 1623 (New Amsterdam)
Schuylkill R.
Trenton
Shackamaxon
Burlington 1677
Chester
Philadelphia
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Annapolis
VIRGINIA
DEL.

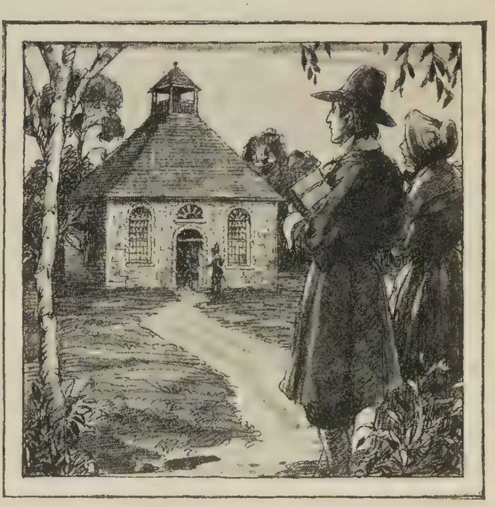
Early Settlements in New York and New Jersey been discovered, and, a few years later (1623), the Dutch West India Company established the trading post of New Amsterdam on the Island of Manhattan.



Peter Stuyvesant Faces Surrender

Like the Virginia Company, the Dutch found it difficult to get enough people for their colony of New Netherland. To induce rich men to help build up the new country, the Company granted large estates to *patroons*, or patrons, who agreed to bring over parties of settlers. The patroons advanced the money to pay the passage of the immigrants and to buy tools and seeds. The settlers in return were bound to the estates very much like serfs in the Old World. (See p. 42, also *Our Old World Background*, ch. v.)

The English Capture the Dutch Colony. The Dutch were able to hold their colony for a little more than forty years. In 1664, during a war between England and Holland, a British fleet sailed into the harbor and compelled the "leather-sided, lion-hearted old governor," Peter Stuyvesant, to surrender New Amsterdam. King Charles gave New Netherland to his brother, the Duke of York, and the province then became New York. Englishmen soon began to settle in large numbers among the Dutch. After the king of France, Louis XIV, started his religious persecutions in 1685, many of his Protestant subjects, known as Huguenots (p. 51), also came to the colony. They founded New Rochelle, naming it after their old home in France. Like the Dutch they proved to be a wise and saving people, from whom came many persons prominent in American history. In 1685 when the Duke of York became King James II, his colony was made a royal province.


OLD MEETING HOUSE AT NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

The Settlement of New Jersey. The Dutch had also claimed the country across the Hudson River to the west and south. When they were overthrown by the English, that region was granted by the English king to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Because Carteret had once been governor of the Isle of Jersey in the English Channel, it was thought fitting to name the colony New Jersey. Some time afterward it was sold to Quaker proprietors, and in 1702 it became a royal province. It was at first attached to New York, but several years later (1738) it was given a royal governor of its own.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *colony, colonists, colonization, slaves, slavery, royal province, legislature, assembly, House of Burgesses, Pilgrims, the Mayflower Compact, religious toleration, tolerance, proprietary, Quakers, Friends, Mason and Dixon's line, patroons, royal colony.*

I. Why were the European soldiers not likely to make good settlers for the new lands in America? In what ways did the Indians make settlement by Europeans difficult?

II. When and where was the first permanent English settlement made in America? How was this colony governed at the beginning? Why did the settlement come near to failure? When and why were African slaves introduced? Why did this settlement become a royal colony? What is meant by that term?

III. Who were the Pilgrims, and why did they decide to settle in America? Locate Plymouth on the map, and tell how they happened to choose this place for their home. What was the Mayflower Compact? Why is it important in our history? What other important colony was established in what is now Massachusetts? By whom was it established? Compare the settlers in New England with those in Virginia. Who was Roger Williams? With what colony is his name connected? Locate on the map the points at which Connecticut was first settled. Whence came the first settlers of Connecticut?

IV. What is meant by the "proprietary" colonies? Name the proprietor and the religious denomination that should be remembered in connection with the settlement of Maryland. Of

Pennsylvania. State how Delaware and the two Carolinas came first to be settled. How did the settlement of Georgia differ from that of the other colonies?

V. Why did the people of Holland establish a settlement in America? When and how did they lose their colony? What became of it? Why does New Jersey have the name that it now bears?

Review: Copy the headings and fill in the following table:

COLONIES IN ORDER OF SETTLEMENT	DATE FOUNDED	FOUNDED BY WHOM	CAUSES FOR COMING	IMPORTANT PERSONS

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The text says: "There was no way of forcing the Indian to adopt the white man's manner of living." From a study of the life and habits of the Indians make a list of the most important differences between uncivilized and civilized peoples. Try to arrange the differences in the order of their importance. Put the most important difference first.

For descriptions of Indian life, see Hart's *Colonial Children*, pp. 91–130; Hart's *Source Book of American History*, pp. 23–26; Eggleston's *Our First Century*, pp. 207–209; Smith's *The Colonies*, ch. xviii; Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 460–472, 479–486; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xvi.

2. Select one of the following topics for special study and report:

(*a*) The Jamestown settlement: See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book I, pp. 73–78; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 38–49; Eggleston's *Our First Century*, chs. ii, iii, iv, v; Smith's *The Colonies*, ch. i; Johnson's *Captain John Smith*, chs. ix–xix; Nida's *Following Columbus*, chs. xix, xx.

(*b*) The Plymouth settlement: See Southworth, pp. 89–100; Tappan, pp. 59–72; Hart's *Colonial Children*, pp. 133–136; Tiffany's *Pilgrims and Puritans*, pp. 20–91; Eggleston, pp. 61–72; Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 15–39; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xxi.

(*c*) The New York settlement: See Southworth, pp. 130–141; Tappan, pp. 73–83; Eggleston, ch. x; Smith's *The Colonies*, chs. vi, vii; Nida's *Following Columbus*, chs. xxiii, xxiv.

(*d*) Pennsylvania: See Southworth, pp. 187–196; Tappan, pp. 108–116; Smith, chs. xii, xiii; Eggleston, ch. xiv; Holland's *William Penn*, chs. viii, ix, xii; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xxvi.

(*e*) The Carolinas: See Eggleston, ch. xiii; Smith, ch. v; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xxvii.

3. Suppose you had lived in England in the seventeenth century and planned to move to America, how would you decide which colony to settle in?

4. Why did so many people die of disease in the early colonies?

CHAPTER V

PEOPLING THE AMERICAN COLONIES

THE history of the English colonies from the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the eve of the American Revolution is largely a story of the migration of thousands of settlers — men, women, and children — across the ocean and of the westward movement of the people as they pressed inland, clearing the forests, laying out farms, and building homes, villages, and towns. There were many Indian wars and many battles with the neighboring French and Spanish, but the chief business was the task of making the wilderness a more desirable place in which to live. That called for people able and willing to do the hardest kind of work, and at first it was rather difficult to find enough strong and intelligent men and women to undertake it.

I. HOW THE COUNTRY WAS FILLED UP

1. The Search for Religious Liberty. It would have been far harder for the companies and proprietors to get settlers for the colonies if it had not been for the bitter religious quarrels raging in the Old World. Religious persecution sent Pilgrims and Puritans to New England, Catholics to Maryland, Quakers to Pennsylvania, Presbyterians to the middle colonies and the South, German Protestants to the same regions, and French Huguenots to many sections. For religious liberty thousands came to America who would otherwise have never braved the discomforts of the long ocean voyage and the dangers of the wilderness.

2. Land Hunger. Peasants, farm laborers, yeomen, and their families made the bulk of the people who came to America. They knew the soil, they had tilled it, and they loved it. The fertile land of the new country drew them as a magnet draws iron filings. This desire to own rich farm lands brought many immigrants from Europe.

3. Advertising by Great Landowners. Companies, proprietors, and individuals who held large tracts of land were eager to get settlers so that the value of their property might be increased. Land without hands to labor on it was worth practically nothing to its owner. In order to get workers to go to the New World, wonderful stories of easy life and riches in America were told by land agents. When William Penn secured his grant from Charles II, he advertised widely in England and on the Continent to attract immigrants to his wilderness.

Moreover wild tales about chains of gold, plates of silver, and ornaments of precious stones were spread abroad among the people. As time went on, such foolish stories were not so readily believed; but very alluring stories of the ease with which a few hundred acres could be secured and a home built drew thousands of English, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, and German peasants to the New World. Pamphlets, poems, booklets, and handbills were printed and widely distributed, setting forth the wonderful opportunities in the colonies for those who wished to escape from the serfdom and poverty of the Old World.

4. The Activities of Shipowners. Owners of ships soon joined the great landowners in encouraging emigration to America. Each passenger had to pay a sum equal to from three to five hundred dollars in our money for the passage across the ocean. The more passengers there were, the greater were the profits for the shippers. They therefore established offices at various ports and sought out emigrants. Their agents showed samples of the products of the new country and told the people that an abundance of good land could be had almost for the asking.

5. Bond Servants. Thousands of poor men and women in the Old World wanted to come to America, but they did not have the money to pay their way. To enable them to make the voyage, a special plan was agreed upon. They were brought to America by the captains of ships and sold to masters for the price of the passage. To their masters they bound themselves as servants for a term of years, thus paying in labor the amount which was given to the ship's captain for the passage. Such persons were called bond servants. Though sold, they were not really slaves, for their term of service was from three or four to seven or ten years, as the case might be, instead of for life. Women were generally sold at the same price as men and often worked in the fields with men.

The Extent of White Bondage. Bond servants were common throughout the colonial period and well into the nineteenth century; in fact, until the free labor supply became large enough to meet the growing demand for men and women on the farms and in the shops.

The system began with the foundation of the colonies. The well-to-do Puritans who settled Boston and the surrounding regions brought bond servants with them. Bond servants were very common in Virginia during the early years of that colony and for a long time rivaled negro slavery as the source of labor supply. Slavery won at last, for slaves were easier to get and less troublesome than white servants; and they were bound for life instead of for a few years.

William Penn, eager to get settlers for his colony, offered special advantages to those immigrants who would bring one or more bond servants with them. As the Quakers disliked negro slavery, bond servants seemed to offer a way out of the difficulty of securing laborers. It is estimated that two thirds of the immigrants into Pennsylvania between the years 1707 and 1784 — especially the German settlers — were bond servants. The newspapers at the time were full of advertisements like this, taken from a Philadelphia paper of 1728: " Lately imported and to be sold cheap, a parcel of likely men and women servants."

Hardships of the Bond Servants. Like the negro slaves the bond servants were crowded into the ships that brought them over. Each captain's profits depended upon the number he could bring on each trip. England wished to see the colonies settled rapidly, and the colonists were always eager to get more laborers. So the overcrowded conditions on ships were nothing short of dreadful. It was a common thing for the immigrants to have to supply themselves with food for the voyage; if there were long delays due to calms or storms, many died of starvation and lack of water.

The condition of the bond servant on landing depended largely upon luck. Some found good masters and were generously treated; others were beaten and overworked.

Cruel as the system was in many ways, it gave to tens of thousands of poor people in England, Scotland, Ireland, and on the Continent the opportunity to reach America. After the expiration of their terms of service, bond servants often settled on lands of their own. At all events they took their places among the free citizens.

6. Forcible Migration. A great many people who came to America did not wish to come at all. Besides the slaves who were carried by force from Africa, there were brought large numbers of men and women, boys and girls, who had been kidnaped in the streets of English cities or sold by cruel relatives. It was estimated that no fewer than ten thousand were carried off in one year from England alone. Shiploads of weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and other skilled workingmen were taken in this manner; thousands of poor girls were dragged to America to be sold as wives to colonists or as household servants. It was openly said in the English Parliament that the plantations could not be maintained "without a considerable number of white servants." Finally thousands of men and women charged with various crimes were sent to America in order that England might be rid of them. Many of them were innocent or the victims of harsh laws and cruel judges. Some of them made good citizens; others did not. After a while the colonists protested against such immigrants and demanded that the English government stop sending them.

II. THE COLONIAL MELTING POT

The English. Early settlement in all the thirteen colonies except New York and Delaware was by the English. The Puritans, Quakers, and Baptists were nearly all English. New England and Virginia for a long time drew the greatest number of their immigrants directly from England. English law, language, literature, and ideas of government were everywhere introduced. The English settlers came from every walk of life. The larger portion of them were from families of small landowners, farm laborers, and artisans. Many merchants, however, brought their stocks of goods or fortunes to the New World. Scholars came from Oxford and Cambridge to teach or to preach the gospel. Now and then the son of an English nobleman left his father's home and sought a different life in America. When the first census was taken in 1790, it was estimated that over eighty per cent of the white population was of English origin.

Second in number to the English, but far less numerous, were the Scotch Irish, who were Presbyterian in religion and spoke the English language. Their ancestors had left Scotland about the middle of the seventeenth century and settled in the north of Ireland. It was there that the term "Irish" was added, although they differed in race and religion from the native Irish. After the founding of Pennsylvania, the Scotch Irish began to migrate to America in large numbers and made their homes mainly in the Middle and Southern colonies.

The Other Nationalities. Third in number were the Germans. Some of them appeared among the early settlers of Virginia and still more in the Dutch province of New Netherland. After William Penn obtained his grant, Germans came by the thousands to Pennsylvania. They were mainly Protestants from the Rhine Valley, industrious peasants driven out by wars, religious persecution, and hard times. In New York there were the descendants of the original Dutch; in Delaware, a few Swedes. Scattered among the middle colonies especially, were some genuine Irish. They were Catholic in religion. Exactly how many there were, we have no way of knowing, but Irish names are numerous among the colonial records. In the larger towns there were to be found a few Jewish merchants and their families. According to the strict law they had no right there, but freedom overlooked the law and permitted them to settle. To all these nationalities were added French Huguenots fleeing from religious persecution.

The "melting pot" of America had begun to work. Slowly the various nationalities became colonial Americans. They developed a love of America and an American patriotism. In due time this was to change them from colonists dependent upon a mother country into an independent nation.

The Population of the Colonies. There were in all about three million people in the colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution. This was not many, compared with America's population to-day, but it was more than a third of the population of England at that time. Moreover they were somewhat closely settled along the Atlantic seaboard. Certainly the major portion of them lived within fifty or sixty miles of the coast.

At a few points the frontier line had been pushed farther inland. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, New Jersey, and Maryland had been explored, laid out, and thinly populated almost to their present boundaries. In New York, settlements had spread up the Hudson Valley beyond Albany, and posts had been planted as far westward as Schenectady and Little Falls. The frontier line of Pennsylvania did not extend far beyond Harrisburg, although, just before the Revolution, there was a little village at Pittsburgh.

The Virginians, farther south, had been very active in taking up the western lands. They had pushed up the river valleys to the foothills of the Appalachian Highland. Scotch Irish and Pennsylvania Germans had occupied the fertile Shenandoah Valley in great numbers. Still bolder pioneers had dared to brave the wilderness and the Indians of Tennessee and Kentucky. As early as 1769 that mighty hunter, Daniel Boone, accompanied by a few friends, had gone from his home in North Carolina through Cumberland Gap into the Blue Grass Region of Kentucky and had brought back news of a wonderful country beyond the mountains. In North and South Carolina and Georgia the settlers had clung to the coast more closely than their neighbors in Virginia; but the thin frontier line was slowly advancing into the uplands, and there were well-settled counties in the western regions of the Carolinas.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *Religious liberty, bond servants, bondage, migration, emigration, immigration, "melting pot."*

I. In what colonies were the settlers made up largely of those who left the Old World in search of religious freedom? Why were so many European tillers of the soil ready to migrate? Why were companies, proprietors, and shipowners tempted to praise too highly the opportunities for settlers in America? How did a bond servant differ from a slave? What advantages did bond service offer to poor people who wished to escape from poverty in Europe? What were its disadvantages and dangers?

II. What is meant by the expression "The Colonial Melting Pot"? Explain why the English led in settling the colonies. How did the Scotch Irish get their name? Make a list of the other nationalities found in the colonies. Where was the western frontier of the New England colonies in 1774? Of the Middle colonies? Of the Southern colonies? What signs were there of a coming movement into the Mississippi Valley?

Review: State the important differences among the following types of colonists: Puritans, Cavaliers, patroons, and bond servants.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Imagine yourself a passenger on a ship from England to America in early colonial times. Tell about the length of the voyage, what you have to eat, the characteristics of your fellow passengers, and the dangers and discomforts of the trip.

See Hart's *Colonial Children*, pp. 25–28, 34–35, 52–53.

2. The companies and proprietors in colonial times were eager to get immigrants for the colonies. Is the Government of the United States to-day as eager to encourage immigration? Give reasons for your answer.

3. Many people have thought that most of the early immigrants came to America in search of religious freedom. Can you explain why this view has been widely held? What other reasons led people to come here?

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE AMONG THE NATIONS OF EUROPE FOR NORTH AMERICA

The two preceding chapters have dealt principally with the English colonies in America, but it must not be thought that other European countries were not interested all this time in the advantages which the New World offered. In the business of exploration, the French did even more than the English; only the lack of settlers prevented them from making New France as strong as New England. The Spanish were all the while busy in the Southwest converting Indians and making settlements, and in the Far Northwest the Russians were exploring and establishing trading posts.

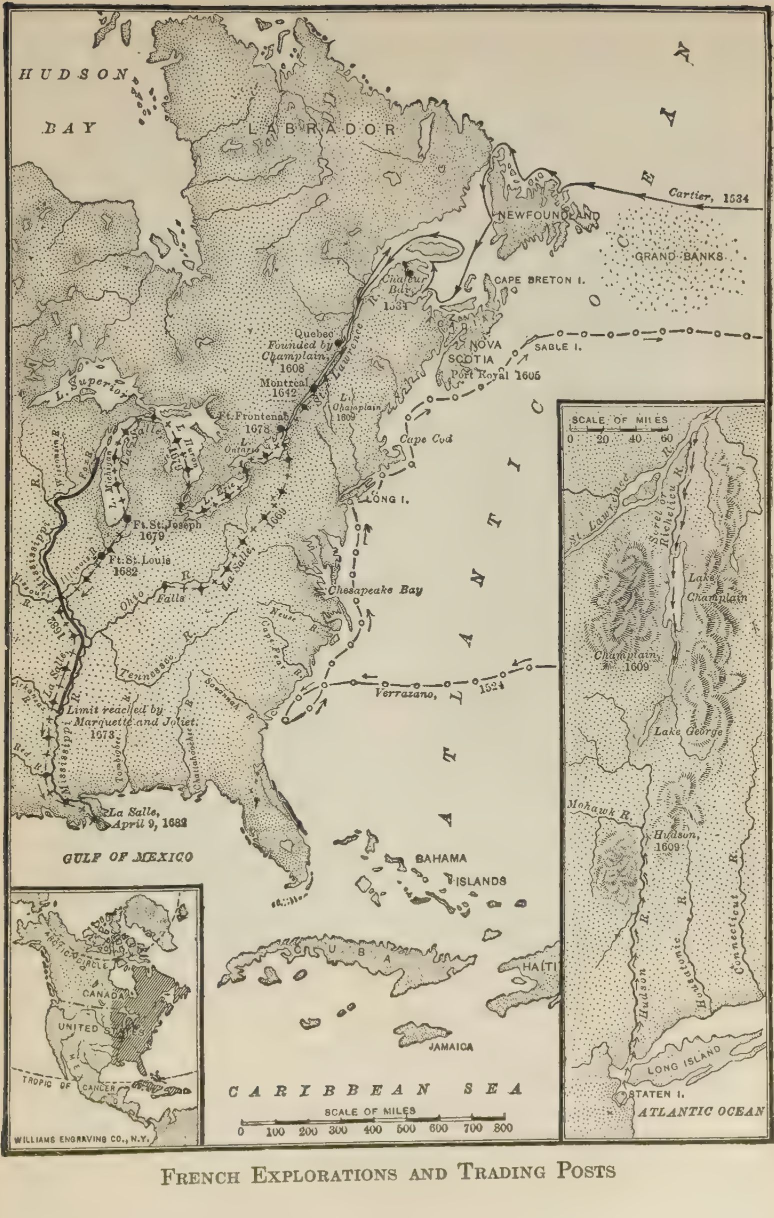
I. French Explorations and Settlements

Early French Explorations. French sailors were as brave and daring as their rivals across the English Channel. Long before the foundation of the first English colony, there were hundreds of French fishing vessels off the coast of Newfoundland every year. French explorers early began a search for lake and river routes to the Pacific Ocean. As we have seen (p. 36), one year after the foundation of Jamestown and twelve years before the landing of the Pilgrims, the French under Champlain had erected a fort far up the St. Lawrence River at Quebec. In 1642, just a little while after the outposts of Connecticut were planted, the French established Montreal farther up the St. Lawrence.

The French Explore the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. From Quebec and Montreal the French pressed farther inland, seeking first a way to China and then, when they found this hopeless, turning to the exploration of the vast unknown interior. The early voyagers were so certain of finding the Chinese far to the west that they took special goods with them to trade and special costumes to wear on their arrival. They explored the regions of the Great Lakes; they planted a cross at Sault Sainte Marie. In 1673 two of the most famous explorers, Marquette, a Catholic missionary, and Joliet, a merchant and fur trader, reached a stream that flowed into the upper part of the Mississippi River. These daring men and a few companions then drifted down the Mississippi far beyond the present site of St. Louis until they became satisfied that the great river flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Pacific Ocean. Fearing that they might meet the Spaniards, known to be in the south, they turned and made the long weary trip by rowing upstream. After they reached the upper Mississippi they explored new territory on their way back to the St. Lawrence Valley.

La Salle's Work in the Mississippi Valley. Nine years after Marquette and Joliet made their voyage, another explorer, La Salle, went all the way down the Illinois and the Mississippi rivers to the Gulf of Mexico. He took possession of the fertile valleys far and wide in the name of the French king, Louis XIV, and in his honor called the land Louisiana. One of La Salle's officers sent back this description of the region:

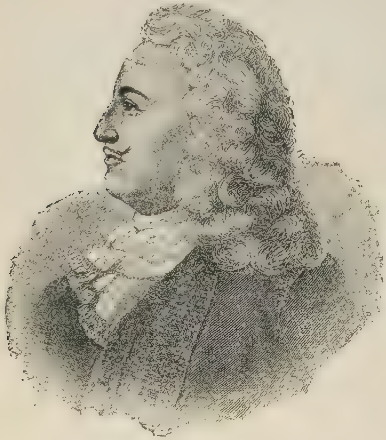
> In the rich bottom lands were cornfields and smiling meadows, mulberry trees and grape vines, and a great variety of fruits grew wild in the woodlands; magnificent pine forests offered an inex-


HUDSON BAY
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Cartier, 1534
GRAND BANKS
CAPE BRETON I.
Chaleur Bay 1534
NOVA SCOTIA
SABLE I.
Port Royal 1605
Quebec Founded by Champlain, 1608
Montreal 1642
St. Lawrence R.
L. Champlain 1609
Ft. Frontenac 1678
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Ontario
L. Erie
La Salle
Fox R.
Wisconsin R.
Ft. St. Joseph 1679
Ft. St. Louis 1682
Illinois R.
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
Ohio R.
Falls
La Salle 1669
La Salle, 1682
Tennessee R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
Limit reached by Marquette and Joliet, 1673
Tombigbee R.
Chattahoochee R.
Savannah R.
Cape Fear R.
Neuse R.
La Salle, April 9, 1682
GULF OF MEXICO
Cape Cod
LONG I.
Chesapeake Bay
Verrazano, 1524
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
HAITI
JAMAICA
CARIBBEAN SEA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800
ARCTIC CIRCLE
CANADA
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60
St. Lawrence R.
Sorel or Richelieu R.
Lake Champlain
Champlain 1609
Lake George
Mohawk R.
Hudson, 1609
Hudson R.
Housatonic R.
Connecticut R.
LONG ISLAND
STATEN I.
ATLANTIC OCEAN

French Explorations and Trading Posts

haustible supply of naval stores,[1] while lead deposits that would yield two parts of ore to one of refuse only waited the miner's pick. Beaver were rare, but buffalo, bear, wolves, and deer abounded. The trade in furs and skins alone could be made to yield 20,000 écus[2] per year. When the Indians are trained to tend silkworms, that industry alone would furnish a valuable article of trade.

Eager to plant colonies in this rich country, La Salle hurried back to France for help. A few years later he brought over settlers with a view to founding a post at the mouth of the river. Owing to a mistake he missed the outlet and drifted westward to the shores of Texas. A little later he was murdered by his discouraged companions.



La Salle

The French Found New Orleans and St. Louis. Not alarmed by the disaster which befell La Salle, another French soldier, Iberville, with an armed force set out from France in 1698. He landed at Biloxi on the Gulf of Mexico, in what is now the state of Mississippi. Here he started a colony (1699). Twenty years later, in 1718, the governor of Louisiana, Bienville, the brother of Iberville, founded the settlement of New Orleans. In the meantime (1701) a French trading post had been firmly established at Detroit.

After difficult beginnings the French colonies began to grow rapidly. Under Bienville the settlement at New

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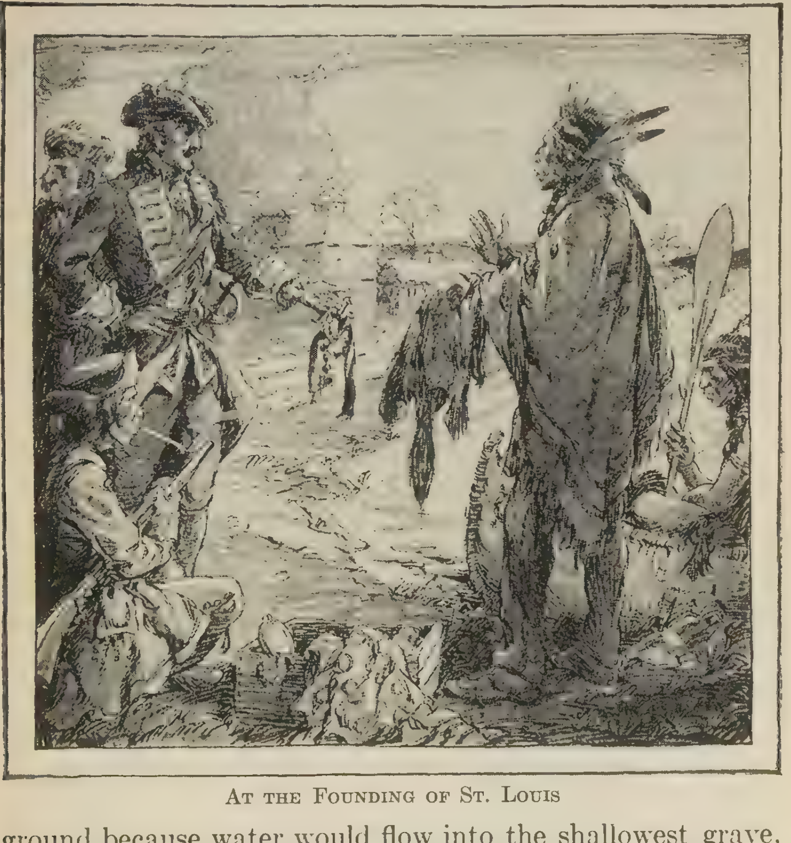
[1] Tar, pitch, turpentine, etc.

[2] About $200,000 in money at present value.

Orleans flourished, until it compared favorably with other colonial ports in population and commerce. Traces of old days are still to be found in New Orleans. The French quarter with its narrow streets, the old cemeteries built above ground because water would flow into the shallowest grave, the French names of the streets, the French newspapers, and the "Creoles," or inhabitants of French descent, all tell of the times when Louisiana was a French province.



At the Founding of St. Louis

From the settlement at New Orleans the French began to work northward along the Mississippi to meet their fellow countrymen who were building posts on their way down the river. Catholic missionaries went far out into the wilderness in every direction. French hunters and traders planted post after post around the Great Lakes and at other points in the northwestern territory. Detroit and Fort Mackinac in Michigan, and Vincennes in what is now Indiana, were three of the important posts. In 1762 a company of French merchants secured the right of trading with the Indians on the Missouri River, and two years later they founded St. Louis, building a house and four stores. Here rich stocks of furs were collected from all points west and north for shipment down the river and to Europe. Although the trapping of fur-bearing animals is no longer a great industry in the United States outside of Alaska, St. Louis still remains one of the important fur markets of the world.

II. Differences between English and French Methods of Colonization

Policies of the French. Claiming territory and holding it by actual settlement were, however, totally different things. In the management of its American colonies the French government hindered their growth in several ways:

1. The French king, who was a Catholic, would not permit any Protestants to live in France after 1685. Neither would he let them cross the Atlantic to build up his colonies in America. Consequently they had to suffer persecution at home, become Catholics, or flee to England, Prussia, or the English settlements in America. (See p. 51.)

2. The colonization of New France was carried out under the strict control of the government. The French king, who furnished a great deal of money for the expeditions, did not give to the leaders whom he sent over full liberty to do things as they thought best.

3. The Frenchmen in the New World were not allowed to manage their own affairs. In all things they were made to obey the officers sent out by the king.

4. Even if the government of the French colonies had been more generous, it would have been difficult to find enough men and women to people the wilderness at that time; because, from about 1660 until his death in 1715, Louis XIV was engaged in costly and bloody wars in Europe, trying to gain more lands for himself and his family. Many thousand French peasants who might have built a Greater France beyond the seas were killed in battle in Spain, Germany, Holland, and France.

Policies of the English. In most respects England followed different methods. Each English king, though by no means tolerant in religious matters, let Puritans, Dissenters, and Catholics go out and people his colonies. Since he was not so rich as the king of France, he allowed English merchants to supply most of the money for colonial expeditions and business concerns in the new settlements. Finally, as we have seen (p. 54), each English king had trouble with his Parliament during the seventeenth century. With so many cares at home, he had little time to look abroad for more. Accordingly the English colonies in the New World were not interfered with constantly by the home government.

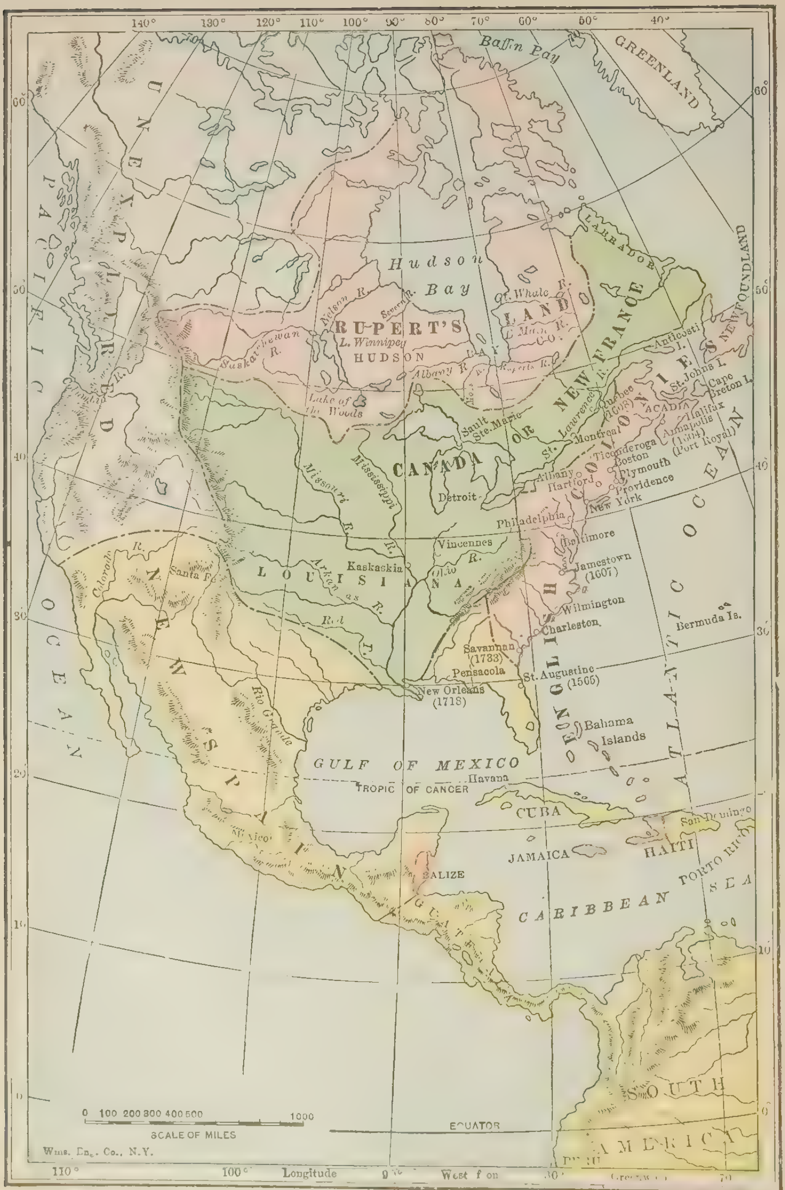
In every colony there was soon set up a little parliament, or legislature, to make laws for the community. Although by no means all the white men were allowed to vote for members of the legislature, at least many of the people were given a share in their own government. In two colonies, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and during early days in Massachusetts, the people even chose their own governors.

For only a short time during the seventeenth century did any English king interfere directly in colonial affairs.

When James II came to the throne in 1685, he tried to rule like his brother monarch, Louis XIV, across the Channel. He sent over to America a stern governor, Sir Edmund Andros, with full power to issue orders and collect taxes in several Northern colonies without the consent of the voters. The charter of Massachusetts, granted long before, in 1629, was taken away from her, and all New England was governed in a high-handed fashion. Things were going badly with the colonists when James was driven out of England by his subjects in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688. Thereupon Andros was expelled from New England. In 1691 Massachusetts was given a new charter; she got back most of her old rights except one — henceforth the governor was to be appointed by the king. There now opened, however, a new period of freedom from direct interference by the English king.

Comparative Strength of the French and the English. Although France had three times the population of England and great strength on the sea, her colonies were not very prosperous. At the end of more than a century of exploration and settlement, there were not a hundred thousand French colonists in America, while the English numbered over a million.

Although the French were few in number, they had certain advantages over the English. They had strong forts at Quebec and several other points, so that numbers alone did not count for everything. They had also made agreements with many Indian tribes who promised to fight on their side. Finally the French settlements were accustomed to obey royal officers without question and were not, like the English colonies, jealous of one another.


140°
130°
120°
110°
100°
90°
80°
70°
60°
50°
40°
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
60°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
0
UNEXPLORED
PACIFIC OCEAN
Hudson Bay
Nelson R.
Severn R.
Gt. Whale R.
RUPERT'S LAND
L. Winnipeg
HUDSON BAY CO.
Saskatchewan R.
Albany R.
Ruperts R.
L. Main R.
Lake of the Woods
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
Anticosti I.
St. Johns I.
Cape Breton I.
NEW FRANCE
OR
CANADA
Sault Ste. Marie
St. Lawrence R.
Quebec (1608)
Montreal
ACADIA
Halifax
Annapolis (1604) (Port Royal)
Ticonderoga
Boston
Plymouth
Providence
Albany
Hartford
New York
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Jamestown (1607)
Wilmington
Charleston
Savannah (1733)
Pensacola
St. Augustine (1565)
New Orleans (1718)
Detroit
Vincennes
Kaskaskia
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Arkansas R.
Red R.
LOUISIANA
ENGLISH COLONIES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Bermuda Is.
Bahama Islands
NEW SPAIN
Colorado R.
Santa Fe
Rio Grande
Mexico
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
Havana
CUBA
JAMAICA
HAITI
San Domingo
PORTO RICO
BALIZE
GUATEMALA
CARIBBEAN SEA
SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
EQUATOR
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
SCALE OF MILES
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.
110°
100°
Longitude
90°
West from
80°
Greenwich
70°

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, 1750

III. The Struggle between the French and the English

The Earlier Intercolonial Wars. For a long time wise men saw clearly that a contest between England and France in North America was bound to come. The traders and pioneers of both countries were constantly coming nearer and nearer to each other as they spread their forts and settlements in the interior. Sooner or later they would come to blows.

As it happened the clashes in America were connected with frequent wars between England and France in Europe. In 1689 war broke out between the two countries over a question that was of no importance to the American colonists; but because the two mother countries were at war, the settlers in America had to take up the struggle. This war — called King William's War in the colonies because William the Third happened to be king of England at the time — lasted from 1689 to 1697.

Four years after its close England and France again came to blows. Again the immediate causes of the war had nothing to do with the American colonists, but again each group took up arms against the other. The English ruler at this time was Queen Anne, and Queen Anne's War lasted from 1701 to 1713. There followed a period of peace covering more than thirty years, known in the colonies as the "Long Peace"; then England and France again fell out, and the American settlers took up the contest in what they called King George's War, which raged between 1744 and 1748.

In each of these three wars, the settlers along the northern frontier suffered severe hardships. Indian raiding parties, often led by French officers, would swoop down upon the outlying settlements in New York and New England, kill many of the people, capture others to carry back to Canada to be held until friends and relatives could send money to pay for their *ransom* or release; burn farm houses, barns, and the standing crops; then quickly retreat before the soldiers of the English colonies could reach them. Especially cruel attacks were made upon Deerfield and Haverhill in Massachusetts and upon Schenectady in New York. All along the Northern frontier, while one of these wars raged, the settlers lived in constant fear of the torch and tomahawk of the savages.

The Final Struggle between the English and French in America. During the years covered by the earlier "inter-colonial" wars, the English settlements were being pushed slowly westward, while the French were building forts and trading posts along the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley. The English began to see that they would be cut off from the western country if the French succeeded in controlling all of the region beyond the Alleghenies.

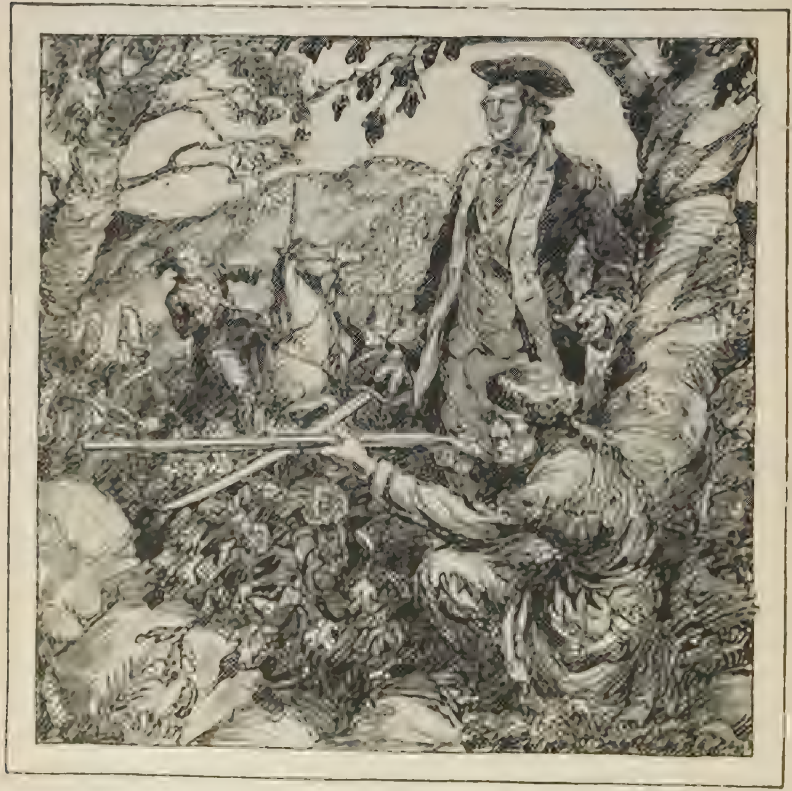
In 1749, the year after the close of King George's War, a group of Virginian colonists joined with some London merchants to form the Ohio Company. The purpose of this company was to encourage settlements beyond the mountains. The French learned of this plan and decided to hold the Ohio Valley. They built a fort on the headwaters of the Allegheny River, almost at the very back door of the English settlements and on land claimed by the English. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a messenger to this fort to demand that the French leave the region. After a journey filled with hardships and dangers, this messenger and his companions reached the French post, stated bluntly the demand of the English, and received the reply of the French commander, which was that the French would continue to hold the fort. This answer was carried back to Governor Dinwiddie.

George Washington's First Battle. Dinwiddie's messenger was a young man, then only twenty-one years old, who was destined to become one of the great figures of modern history — George Washington. He had done his work so well on the journey to the French outpost that the governor now gave him command of a company of soldiers and directed him to take them to the "forks of the Ohio" and build there a strong fort to protect the English possessions west of the mountains. The place where the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers join to form the Ohio was what military men call a *strategic* position, meaning a position which, if held by an army, could control important routes of travel and communication. It is not difficult to see why the forks of the Ohio formed such a position. The only ready means of travel in the western country at that time was by canoes along the rivers. The control of the Ohio River might well mean the control of the entire Ohio Valley.

Unfortunately, the French were able to occupy and fortify this important position before Washington could do so; and because they had a much larger force than he, it was not possible for him to drive them out. He, therefore, withdrew his command to the Great Meadows, where he built a small fort which he named Fort Necessity. Here the French attacked him, helped by their Indian allies. After a stubborn fight against much larger numbers, Washington was forced to surrender. Thus the first battle of one of the world's great military leaders ended in defeat, as did some of his later battles. It was not a dishonorable defeat, however, and Washington and his soldiers were permitted to return to Virginia.

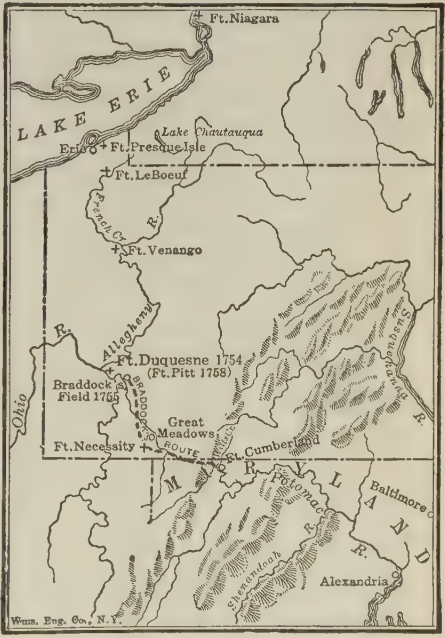
The French and Indian War. The engagement at Fort Necessity in 1754 marked the beginning of a long war. The struggle is known in America as the "French and Indian War." The earlier intercolonial wars had begun in Europe and spread to the American colonies. This war began in America and later spread to Europe, bringing about there what is known as the "Seven Years' War" — a struggle which, in the end, gave England a decisive victory over France.

Braddock's Defeat. In America, however, the war at first went decidedly against the English arms. In 1755, a strong British force was sent over in command of General Braddock to drive the French from Fort Duquesne, as they had named their strong post at the forks of the Ohio. Washington and several companies of colonial soldiers joined this force. With drums beating and colors flying, the proud



Washington Covering Braddock's Retreat

English general led his army along the rough road toward the French fort. He would not listen to Washington's warning that fighting Indians in the wilderness was a quite different kind of warfare from that to which soldiers had been accustomed in Europe.


Ft.Niagara
LAKE ERIE
Lake Chautauqua
Erie
Ft.Presque Isle
Ft.LeBoeuf
French Cr. R.
Ft.Venango
Allegheny R.
Ft.Duquesne 1754
(Ft.Pitt 1758)
Braddock's Field 1755
BRADDOCK'S ROUTE
Great Meadows
Ft.Necessity
Ft.Cumberland
Ohio
Susquehanna R.
MARYLAND
Potomac R.
Shenandoah
Baltimore
Alexandria
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Fort Duquesne and Vicinity

The French did nothing to oppose the advance until the English army was within a short distance of the fort. Then they attacked. Taking cover behind the trees on either side of the long English line, the French and Indians had a great advantage. The English soldiers fought bravely, but they could do little with an unseen enemy. At first slowly and then more rapidly, they fell back. Panic-stricken finally, the retreat became a rout.

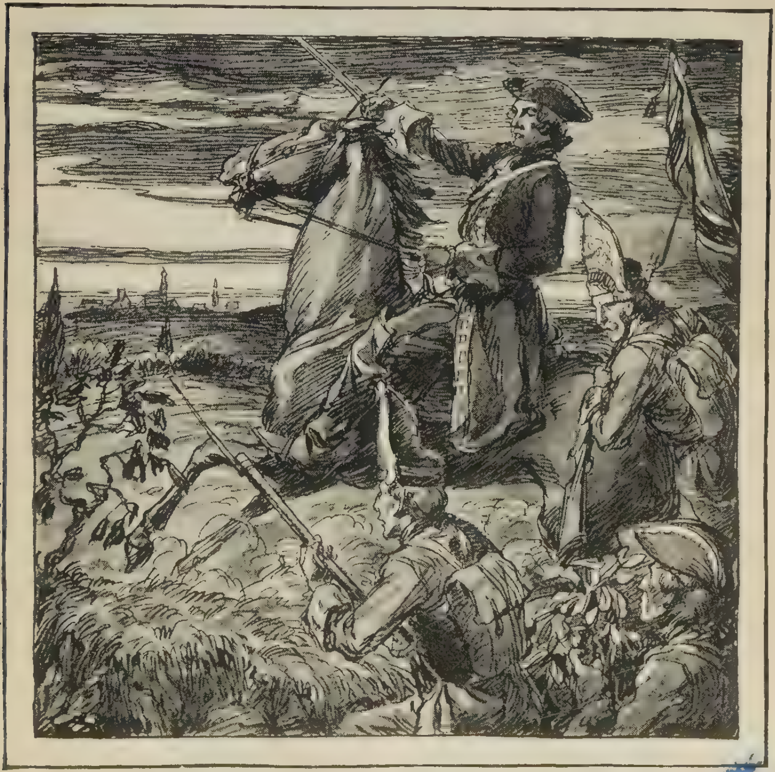
Braddock himself received a wound that caused his death four days later. As he was being borne off the field, he was heard to mutter: "Who would have thought it," and "We shall know better how to deal with them next time." Nothing but the skillful action of Washington saved the retreating British from total destruction. It was said that Washington behaved on that occasion "as bravely as if he really loved the whistling of bullets."

The Seven Years' War. In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out in Europe and soon many nations were engaged in it. England and Prussia struggled for victory over France, Austria, and Spain. In Asia the English and the French waged war for the possession of India, while in North America they continued the final struggle for Canada and the Mississippi Valley.

Happily for England, the king's chief minister, William Pitt, was a farseeing statesman. He had dreams of a world-wide British empire and knew that it could be won only with men, money, and ships. Instead of expecting the English colonists in America unaided to beat their French neighbors in battle, he sent from England a large army of regular soldiers with orders to capture all the French strongholds. Helped by the Americans, Pitt was able to carry out his plans. In a little while news of victory after victory came back to England.

Wolfe Captures Quebec. On the North American continent the most famous of the victories was the capture of the French fortress at Quebec on the St. Lawrence River. One dark night in September, 1759, the English commander, Wolfe, with a strong force of picked men slipped along the water's edge in small boats until he found a good landing place under the bluffs of the French city. In single file the men silently crept up the steep banks to the plains behind Quebec. In the morning the French general, Montcalm, whom Wolfe had described in a letter to his mother as "a wary old fellow," was astonished to see British soldiers marching in full array upon him. His men battled with courage, but by nightfall they were completely defeated, and their leader lay wounded.

When told by his surgeons that death was only a few hours away, Montcalm replied that he was glad of it, adding: "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." There was a sadness also in the English victory, for Wolfe too was fatally hurt. Hearing that the French were running from the field of battle, he gave final orders to cut off their retreat and then turned on his side, saying: "Now, God be praised! I shall die in peace."



General Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham

Other men took up the work which Wolfe had begun. The following year Montreal was captured by English forces. The fate of Canada was decided; it was to be a part of the British Empire.

The Treaty of Paris. Results of the War. Peace was at length reached in Europe. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1763), important changes were made in the map of North America. Briefly the terms were:

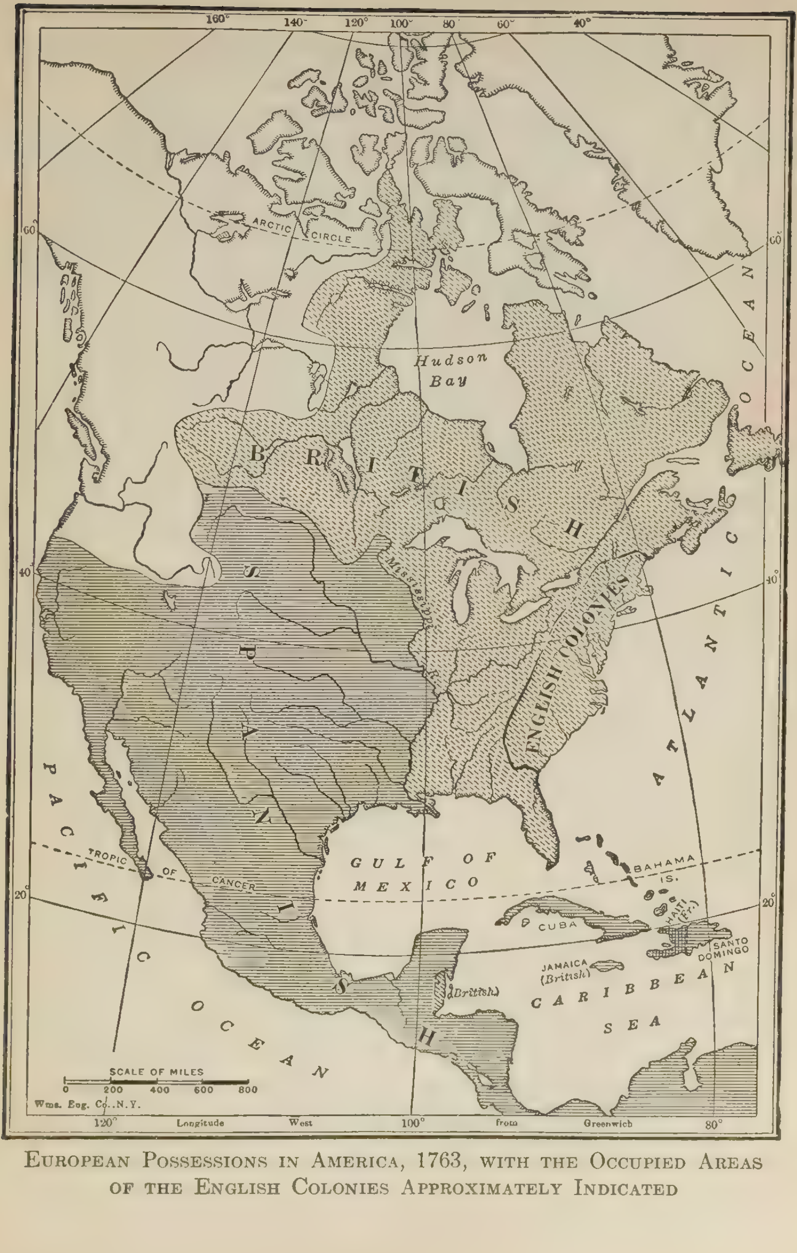
1. England took from France all Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi except a small region around New Orleans and two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland which France kept as fishing stations.

2. England took from Spain the province of Florida.

3. For the loss of Florida, Spain received from France the New Orleans district and all of her vast Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi River. (Compare maps p. 93 and p. 107.) In a little while the Spanish flag was flying over New Orleans.

Effects of the Treaty of Paris on the English Colonies. For the English colonies in America the Treaty of Paris was very important. The control of the French king being broken in Canada, that country could be opened up to Protestant settlers and explorers. The agreements between the French and the Indians were at an end; thus the Indians, now without help from the French, had to be more careful about raiding English settlements on the western frontier. It became safer for the English pioneers from the seaboard to push over into the fertile regions west of the Allegheny Mountains, and especially south of the Ohio River. Thus the Treaty of Paris opened the way for the rapid growth of the English-speaking population on the continent of North America. There was a still deeper meaning in the treaty. This was grasped by a wise Frenchman, Vergennes, who, on hearing of the downfall of New France, exclaimed:

> England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. They no longer stand in need of her protection; she will call upon them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her; and they will answer by striking off all dependence.


160°
140°
120°
100°
80°
60°
40°
60°
60°
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Hudson Bay
BRITISH
Mississippi
ENGLISH COLONIES
SPANISH
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
40°
40°
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
BAHAMA IS.
20°
20°
CUBA
HAITI (Fr.)
SANTO DOMINGO
JAMAICA (British)
(British)
CARIBBEAN SEA
SCALE OF MILES
0
200
400
600
800
Wms. Eng. Co..N.Y.
120°
Longitude West
100°
from Greenwich
80°

EUROPEAN POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA, 1763, WITH THE OCCUPIED AREAS OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES APPROXIMATELY INDICATED

The Effect of the War in Unifying the English Colonists. One of the most important results of the French and Indian War was to bring the people of the different colonies into closer touch with one another. The earlier wars had brought New York and New England together in defense of the frontiers (p. 99). During the last of the colonial wars, the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were plundered by the savages; the Middle and Southern colonies, as well as those of the North, came to know the value of working and thinking together. The way was being prepared for the rise of a new nation.

After-Effects of the War. Indian Troubles. The Treaty of Paris ended the French rule in the region of the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley, but the signing of the Treaty did not mean that these great areas could at once be settled by the English colonists. The Indians continued to be troublesome. Under the leadership of an able chief, Pontiac, the tribes around Lake Erie succeeded in capturing several forts and trading posts. Detroit, then the most important post in the Western country, was the scene of a brutal massacre. Not until many years later were the Indians overcome and the country north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi entirely safe for settlement by Europeans.

IV. The Spaniards in Louisiana and the Southwest; the Russians and English in the Northwest

Spanish Rule in the Louisiana Territory. The Seven Years' War decided the fate of all North America east of the Mississippi River. The future of the western Louisiana territory and of the southern and western regions now occupied by Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and the Pacific states was yet unsettled. Most of that country belonged to Spain in 1763, but Spain did little to colonize it. In the Louisiana territory Spanish officers took the place of French captains, and the whole region was governed from the City of Mexico. The humdrum life in the Mississippi forts continued as before. Some attempts to encourage trade at New Orleans brought poor results.

In fact, of all the old French settlements under Spanish rule, St. Louis alone enjoyed some prosperity. It remained the center of a lively fur trade, and its population was increased by many French families that had left the Illinois country when the English took possession of it. Fertile fields in the neighborhood were farmed, while the lead mines of Missouri gave employment to many workers.

The Far Southwest. Spanish officers and soldiers now knew that there were no more Mexicos and Perus to conquer, and they found little to interest them in the Louisiana territory; but the Spanish priests were busy all through the long years. They journeyed in every direction preaching the gospel, converting the Indians, and building missions. By 1630, ten years after the founding of Plymouth, they had built ninety churches and baptized 80,000 natives. With the aid of Spanish soldiers they forced the Indians to do the rough work in the fields and to irrigate dry lands. They taught them how to paint frescoes and to do work in wrought iron and silver. Signs of these labors are to be found all through the Southwest, as this section of our country is now called.

Why the Spaniards Failed to Colonize the Southwest Successfully. The Spaniards who followed the priests into the wilderness were not industrious workers, such as farmers, carpenters, and artisans. They were more like the men who had invaded Mexico and Peru for their treasures, and they had had no training for hard labor. These pleasure-loving, idle soldiers became owners of vast stretches of land which they had little desire to till or develop.

Some of the Spanish governors sought to build up large colonies. They knew that a few soldiers and priests could not create a nation; but there were many things that stood in the way of settling this huge region. It was too far from the mother country; there were no disputes among Christians in Spain such as drove the Puritans from England and the Huguenots from France. Moreover much of the Southwest was waste land. The Colorado Desert, the mountains, the arid plateaus of New Mexico and Arizona, and the dry regions of Texas were not inviting to Spanish settlers.

Size of the Spanish Settlements. By the year 1800 there were only about 18,000 white settlers in the Spanish regions which are now included within the borders of the United States. Santa Fé, New Mexico, founded in 1609; San Antonio, Texas, in 1718; San Diego, California, in 1769; and San Francisco, in 1776, were small villages. At many other points from the Gulf of Mexico north and west to the Pacific, there were Spanish missions and trading posts. American and British ships occasionally made voyages to California, taking supplies to the missions and carrying away in exchange hides, silver, furs, and other products gathered by the settlers and the Indians.

The Russians and English in the Northwest. The Spaniards were not alone in their interest in the Pacific coast. The Russians came along very early. Exploring expeditions were sent out by the czar, Peter the Great, who had heard the Europeans talk about the New World. As the result of a voyage made in 1728, Vitus Bering, a Dane who had been in the employ of Peter, gave his name to the strait that separates North America and Asia.

Russian fur traders were active all through the eighteenth century. In addition to cruising along the Pacific coast, they traveled inland a considerable distance. The otter herds of the North Pacific became almost as valuable to the

Russians as the gold mines of Mexico and Peru were to the Spaniards. The Russians built a fort at Sitka, Alaska. Being unable to grow grain there, they insisted on getting provisions from the Spanish settlements in California, although it was against the law of Spain.

When the news of what the Russians were doing reached the British, they too began to sail into the Pacific regions, looking for a share of the fur trade which was making great fortunes. So it happened that even before the American Revolution, Englishmen were beginning to think about a contest with Spain over the Far West. It was a long time, however, before the Pacific Northwest came under the rule of English-speaking people, and it was not until 1867 that Alaska was purchased from Russia by the United States.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *Jesuit, naval stores, Creoles, intercolonial wars, ransom, strategic position, outpost, retreat, rout, treaty of peace.*

I. On a large map of North America (a relief map, if one is available) locate the principal English settlements and the early French posts and settlements. Trace on the map the route that the French explorers took to reach the interior of the continent. When the French explorers reached the Great Lakes in their canoes, what routes could they take to get to the Mississippi? Look now for the routes that explorers from the English settlements had to follow to reach the Mississippi Valley. Contrast the difficulties of these routes with those of the French route.

II. What European and American conditions made the French and English colonies quite different? Why were the English colonists more independent of the mother country than were the French colonists?

III. Name the four Intercolonial Wars in their order. Counting the four wars and the years between them as marking a long struggle for supremacy in America, how many years did this struggle cover? How old was Washington when he first gained prominence in the French and Indian War? Why was the present site of Pittsburgh an important point in the struggle of France and England for supremacy in America? What war in Europe was going on during the French and Indian War in America? What countries took part in it? State the principal terms of the Treaty of Paris. In what ways did the Intercolonial Wars unite the English colonies?

IV. State the reasons for the lack of success in the Spanish government of the region now comprising California and the Southwestern states of the American Union. What did Spain accomplish during the time that she ruled this region? What led the Russians to establish settlements in the region now known as Alaska?

Review: With what important events or achievements is each of the following names connected: Marquette, La Salle, Iberville, Andros, Washington, Braddock, Wolfe, Montcalm, Pontiac, Bering?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Champlain has been called the "Father of New France." Find what he did to merit this title.

See McMurry's *Pioneers on Land and Sea*, ch. 1; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 49–58; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 14–17; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, pp. 153–160; Baldwin's *Discovery of the Old Northwest*, pp. 22–34; Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 83–124; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xii.

2. Imagine yourself an explorer with either Marquette or La Salle. Be ready to give the class an interesting account of your explorations or of some important part of them and to trace the journeys on a map.

See McMurry's *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*, chs. i, ii; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 96–98; Baldwin's *The Discovery of the Old Northwest*, pp. 131–180; Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 186–222; Nida's *Following Columbus*, ch. xiii; Hasbrouck's *La Salle*.

3. Several posts and settlements about the Great Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley were important during the Intercolonial Wars and afterward. Locate the following, and tell why, from its

position, each would be likely to be important: Oswego, Detroit, Mackinac Island, Vincennes, Fort Kaskaskia (now Utica, Illinois).

4. Tell the story of Braddock's defeat and the story of the capture of Quebec.

See Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 103–107; Hart's *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*, pp. 138–141, 146–150; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 117–135; Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 382–450; Woodrow Wilson's *George Washington*, ch. iii.

5. Pontiac is regarded as the greatest military leader that appeared among the American Indians during the period of English settlement. Find what he did to win this reputation.

See Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 473–513.

6. Where does the world's fur supply come from to-day?

7. Find out something about the first explorations of white men in the early history of your state.

8. Make a *time line* (p. 21) for the important dates on p. 115.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE PERIODS OF EXPLORATION, SETTLEMENT, AND COLONIZATION (CHAPTERS I, II, III, IV, V, VI)

I. Preparations for discovery and exploration
  A. The work of the traders and travelers
  B. The work of map-makers and navigators
  C. The rise of four commercial nations bordering the Atlantic Ocean
  D. Searching for a trade route to India and China
II. Early explorations and conquests
  A. Columbus, Da Gama, Vespucci, Balboa, and Magellan
  B. Spanish conquests in North and South America
  C. Early French explorations
  D. Early English explorations
  E. The conflict between England and Spain
III. The Old World Background
  A. Our debt to the Old World
  B. Social classes: peasants, nobles, merchants, and artisans
  C. The Catholic Church and the Protestant Reformation
  D. Governments in the Old World

IV. Settlement and development of the colonies
  A. The English colonies
    1. The colonies first settled by English immigrants
      a. Virginia
      b. The New England colonies: Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Hampshire
      c. Maryland, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, Georgia
    2. Other settlements that became English colonies
      New York, New Jersey, Delaware
    3. Kinds of settlers in the English Colonies
      a. Immigrants seeking religious freedom
      b. Immigrants seeking land
      c. Bond servants
      d. Immigrants forced to come

  B. The French explorations and settlements
    The settlements at Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, New Orleans, and St. Louis

  C. The struggle between the French and the English for the control of the continent
    1. Differences between the French and English colonial policies
    2. The three early Intercolonial Wars
    3. The final struggle: the French and Indian War in America; the Seven Years' War in Europe
    4. The Treaty of Paris and its effects
    5. After effects of the War: Pontiac's Conspiracy

  D. The Spanish colonies in Louisiana and the Southwest

  E. Russian settlements in the Northwest

V. Important names which should be remembered in connection with one or more of the above topics

Explorers: Columbus, Da Gama, Cabot, Magellan, Balboa, De Soto, Coronado, Verrazano, Cartier, Champlain, Hudson, Marquette, La Salle, Raleigh

Colonial Pioneers: John Smith, John Winthrop, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, John Davenport

Proprietors and Governors: Penn, Baltimore, Berkeley, Carteret, Oglethorpe, Stuyvesant, Sir Edmund Andros

Soldiers: Standish, Washington, Braddock, Wolfe. Montcalm, Pontiac

Important dates: 1492, 1497, 1498, 1519–22, 1588, 1607, 1619, 1620, 1754, 1763

British rulers during the periods of exploration, settlement, and colonization:

Henry VII, 1485–1509
Henry VIII, 1509–1547
Edward VI, 1547–1553
Mary, 1553–1558
Elizabeth, 1558–1603
James I, 1603–1625
Charles I, 1625–1649
Puritan Revolution and Cromwell, 1649–1660
Charles II, 1660–1685
James II, 1685–1689
William and Mary, 1689–1694
William III, 1694–1702
Anne, 1702–1714
George I, 1714–1727
George II, 1727–1760
George III, 1760–1820

PART TWO

The Struggle for Independence and the Founding of the New Nation

TIME CHART — Chapters VII to X

CAUSES AND EVENTS OF THE REVOLUTION	OTHER EVENTS LEADING TO THE BIRTH OF THE NATION
George III, King of England (1760)	
Enforcement of Trade and Navigation Laws (1763)	
Restrictions on Western settlement (1763)	
Taxation of certain imports (1764)	
The Stamp Act (1765)	The Stamp Act Congress (1765)
Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766)	
The Townshend Acts (1767)	
The "Boston Massacre" (1770)	
Repeal of Townshend Acts, except a tax on tea (1770)	
Boston "Tea Party" (1773)	
Boston Port Bill and other acts to punish colonists (1774)	First Continental Congress (1774)
Lexington and Concord (April, 1775)	
Siege of Boston (April, 1775 to March, 1776)	Second Continental Congress (1775)
Ethan Allen at Crown Point and Ticonderoga (May, 1775)	
Bunker Hill (June 16, 1775)	
Washington commands (July, 1775)	
Quebec Expedition (1775)	
	Tom Paine's *Common Sense* (Jan., 1776)
Evacuation of Boston (March, 1776)	
	Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776)
Battle of Long Island (August, 1776)	
Battle of White Plains (October, 1776)	
Retreat through New Jersey and Delaware (November, 1776)	
Battle of Trenton (December, 1776)	Benjamin Franklin's mission to France (1776–1785)
Battle of Princeton (January, 1777)	
Burgoyne at Ticonderoga (July, 1777)	
Stark at Bennington (August, 1777)	
Battle of Brandywine (September, 1777)	
Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga (October, 1777)	
Battle of Germantown (October, 1777)	Articles of Confederation (1777)
Valley Forge (Winter 1777–1778)	Treaty giving the Americans the aid of France (1778)
British retreat from Philadelphia and Battle of Monmouth (June, 1778)	
George Rogers Clark at Kaskaskia and Vincennes (1778)	
Paul Jones' capture of the *Serapis* (1779)	
Treason of Benedict Arnold (September, 1780)	
British Occupation of Charleston (1780)	
Battle of Camden (August, 1780)	
Battle of King's Mountain (October, 1780)	
Battle of Cowpens (January, 1781)	
Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown (October, 1781)	Final acceptance by thirteen colonies of Articles of Confederation (1781)
Washington's retirement as commander-in-chief (1783)	
	Treaty of Paris (1783)
	Northwest Ordinance (1787)
	Constitutional Convention (1787)
	Constitution ratified by nine states (1788)
	Washington the first president (1789)

CHAPTER VII

LIFE, LABOR, AND LIBERTY IN AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

British Plans and the American Spirit. Never were the hopes of English statesmen higher than they seemed on February 10, 1763, when the treaty which brought the French and Indian War to an end was agreed to. "England never signed such a peace before!" exclaimed George III. "The country never saw so glorious a war or so honorable a peace!" declared one of his great ministers.

Well might they rejoice. Spain had been humbled; France had been humbled. From the Ganges River in India to the Mississippi in North America the British flag floated proudly over the empire of which Pitt had dreamed. Nothing remained but to bring these wide-flung dominions into closer union with the mother country and defend them with the army and navy against the Spanish and the French. The task was an interesting one to patriotic Englishmen, and nothing seemed easier; but they did not understand that the people of the North American colonies might have different plans and ambitions.

From tiny settlements along the Atlantic coast there had sprung a nation. The majority of the white men living there were not mere servants, tilling the soil of their masters. Most of them owned the ground they plowed and were proud of their independence. Those who were not yet landholders could look forward with confidence to owning farms and homes of their own.

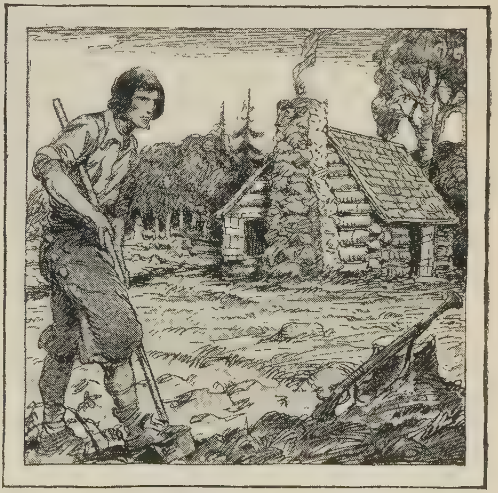
Moreover many of the people had learned something about the art of government. In every colony there was an assembly of representatives, chosen by men of property and ready to uphold the right of the people to govern themselves.

Far and wide American merchants were building up trade. They collected the products of American farms, plantations, and forests and exchanged them for the manufactured goods of England and the Continent. In the shipyards of New England could be heard the sound of the saw and hammer as swift sailing vessels were being built to sail the seas in search of trade. People so full of industry and ambition were prepared to state the terms on which they would stay in the British Empire.

I. The Independence of the Farmers

Farming the Principal Occupation. First of all, it should be remembered that land in America was cheap and that large numbers of small farms were tilled by their owners. Nine tenths of the people got their living from the soil. The farmers and their families produced nearly all they needed. Foodstuffs came from the fields or the neighboring forests and streams. Hewn logs furnished the building materials; houses and barns were cheaply and quickly built with the aid of neighbors, the settlers helping one another by swapping work, as it was called. Grain was ground by mills driven by wind or water power. Tea, coffee, sugar, and salt were the only foodstuffs bought at towns. Even sugar was made from maple sirup in the North, and salt was obtained from sea water. Hardware and tools had to be bought, however, and to meet the demand for iron and steel, mines were opened and furnaces erected in various parts of the country. Axes, plow-points, chains, horseshoes, nails, wagon-fittings, and other necessities of farm work were usually made by the local blacksmiths.

By hard labor men, women, and children could live in safety and independence. A young married couple needed only a little cash to make a payment on some land and, in addition, as a writer of that time remarked, "a gun, some powder and shot, a few tools, and a plow." Many even refused to pay for land; they merely went back into the interior beyond the settlements and took up as many acres as they wanted. While there were laws against this method of getting land, these laws were difficult to enforce.



A Colonial Log Cabin

Small Farms the General Rule. Nearly all the peasants of Europe were serfs or renters or farm laborers who worked on great estates owned by landlords. In America conditions were different. It is true that there were slaves on Southern plantations, tenants on the estates of the patroons along the Hudson River, and bond servants in many colonies; but nowhere else in the world was there so large a proportion of free, home-owning farmers.

The founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony gave every "adventurer" who went to the colony fifty acres. The practice of giving small plots outright to settlers was common in New England and drew thousands of immigrants to that section. In New York there were many rich landlords who owned vast estates which had been founded in Dutch times or later by grants from the English king. With such large areas of land owned by a few persons the spread of the settlements in that section was checked until after the middle of the eighteenth century; about that time the Mohawk Valley was opened and the land was given in small lots to farmers, as in New England.

WILLIAM PENN'S HOME IN FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA

In Pennsylvania William Penn tried to establish a system of large landowners by selling five-thousand-acre estates at a lump sum plus a small annual rent. It was difficult, however, to secure tenants; so Penn and the purchasers of large estates were forced to sell land in small lots to men who were free or to men who had been bond servants and had completed their terms of service.

In the Southern colonies, the great estates were found along the coasts; further inland among the hills and mountains where slavery was not profitable farmers bought their plots outright.

Landowning and Liberty. It was these landowning citizens, "the embattled farmers," who made possible the American Revolution. As Jefferson said, the man who owns his own land and looks to the sun in heaven and to the labor of his hands for his daily bread can have the spirit of independence which is the life breath of republics.

It was in the homes of these free farmers that the people came to have the courage to defy kings and aristocrats. They had to bow before no lords. They paid no tribute to owners of immense estates. They loved the fields they owned and tilled and were determined to keep the produce of their labor. The man who owned his own land drew deep the breath of liberty.

If it is true that the merchants started the American Revolution, it must be said that the farmers finished it. With their muskets in hand they went to the front; their wives and children, accustomed to labor and independence, managed the farms, made bullets, wove cloth, and prepared supplies. Such is the story of the land. More than once as we continue our study of history we shall come back to it.

II. Manufacturing, Shipbuilding, and Commerce

The Beginnings of Manufacturing. Busy as were the people with clearing and tilling the soil, manufacturing was by no means neglected. Every principal industry in the United States had its beginnings before the Revolution. Hemp, flax, and wool were raised in abundance, and the weaving of cloth had a good start before 1776. The Scotch Irish especially made fine linens. There were, of course, no great mill towns such as we now find in Massachusetts or South Carolina. The textile industry, that is, the spinning of yarns and the weaving of cloth, was scattered throughout the country in the homes of the people and was carried on chiefly by the women.

Manufacturing in the Home. Although it is customary in our time to call attention to the number of women and children employed in industries, it should be remembered that they have always done their full share of work. In colonial days they made at home practically all the coarse cloth with the aid of the spinning wheel and hand loom. Only the finer fabrics were imported.

This domestic industry became so important by 1715 that British merchants were alarmed. The royal governor of New York declared that the American people made good woolens and would soon clothe themselves "not only comfortably but handsomely too without the aid of England." Here, he thought, were the beginnings of independence, for when the colonists could supply their own wants they would be ready to throw off English rule. This prophecy came true in later years.

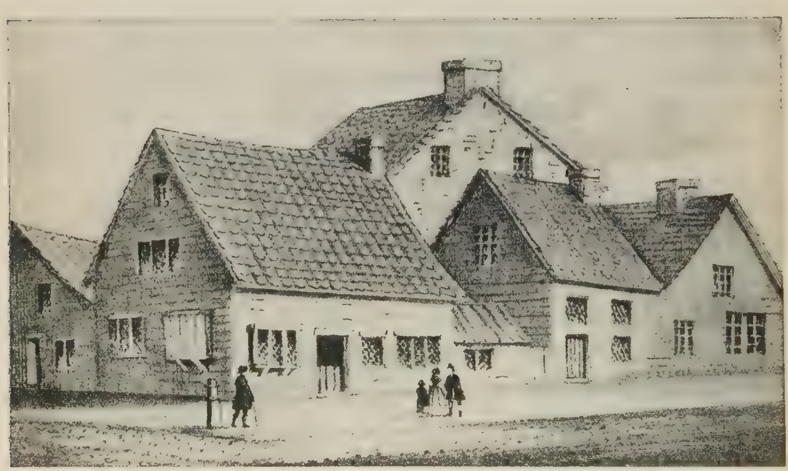
The Iron Industry. The iron industry also had a fair start before the Revolution. It seems that every colony except Georgia had its ironworks. Furnaces for smelting, and foundries for making chains, anchors, pig iron, and bar iron could be found within a reasonable distance of almost any farming section. Even some export trade had sprung up in spite of the laws made by the British government to keep down the iron industry in America.

Shipbuilding. Of all the industries in the colonies, shipbuilding was the most important. It is said that the keel of the first ship built in America was laid at Manhattan by Captain Block early in the seventeenth century. Certainly by the middle of that century shipyards were scattered along the coast of New England wherever there were good harbors. Within a few years New York had become a shipping center, and shipbuilding occupied several hundred men along the Hudson as far north as Poughkeepsie and Albany. Though the Southern colonies built many vessels, they were better known for the production of ship materials — naval stores (p. 94), hemp, cedar, and fir — than for actual shipbuilding.

While all the vessels built in the colonies in a single year could not carry as much freight as a modern ocean liner, the business gave employment to hundreds of ship-carpenters, ropemakers, sailmakers, and other workmen ; and the vessels, when completed, required sailors and ship officers to man them.

The Merchants and Traders. Trade and transportation soon followed the growth of farming and manufacturing, and on favorable harbors little cities grew up. Tobacco, rice, and ship materials from the Southern colonies, lumber, grain, and salt pork from the Middle colonies, and flour, salted fish, rum, and shoes from New England were carried to the markets of the Old World ; and manufactured goods were brought back to be sold to the colonists. Tons of salted fish, especially cod, were taken every month to France and Spain. New England products were shipped to the West Indies and exchanged for sugar, molasses, and dyestuffs. When the molasses reached New England, most of it was made into rum ; the rum was carried to the coasts of Africa, where it was exchanged for slaves, who were in turn taken to the Southern planters and to the West Indies. All this meant a growing class of shipowners, merchants, and traders who had to live in convenient centers for shipping, and so a few cities sprang up.

The Principal Cities. In 1763 Philadelphia, the largest city in the colonies, had a population of about 25,000. New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, Hartford, Providence, and Norfolk were counted among the other large cities, though we should call them towns rather than cities to-day. In these towns there were a few fine and well-furnished homes. Some of the well-to-do merchants rode in coaches and wore powdered wigs after the fashion of English gentlemen, while their wives were "resplendent in silks, satins, velvets, and brocades."

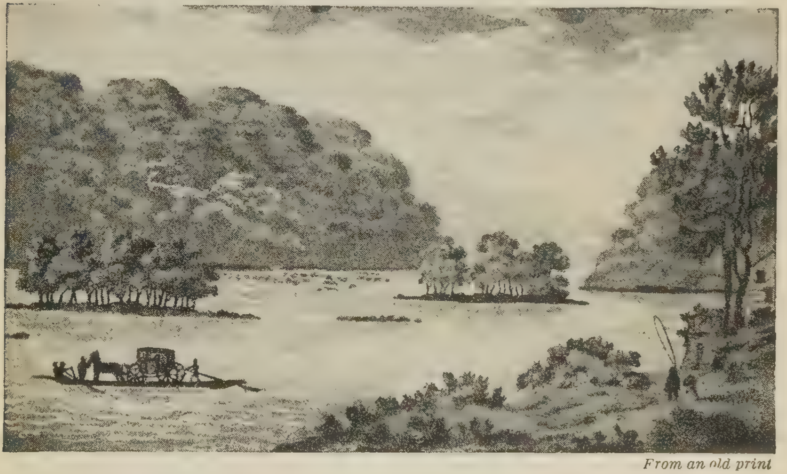


From Valentine's Manual

Dutch Houses in Old New York City

Travel in Colonial America. One thing that caused the towns to be located mainly on good harbors and especially at or near the mouths of rivers was the poor condition of the roads and the difficulties of travel by land. It is almost impossible for us to imagine the hardships encountered in colonial times by those who had to journey far from home. Trips from city to city along the coast were usually made in small sailing vessels. Sloops navigated the larger rivers — the Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware, Potomac, and James — while upon the smaller streams rowboats and canoes were used. Most of the rivers of New England were not navigable far inland; as a result better highways were to be found in that region than in any of the other colonies.

On the eve of the Revolution there had been opened the famous "Shore Road" from Boston through Providence, New London, and New Haven to New York City. There was also an overland route from Boston, through Medfield, Hartford, and Litchfield to New York. But both were merely widened trails, which were almost impassable during the rainy seasons. Regular stagecoach lines seem to have been opened between Boston and New York in 1732 and between New York and Philadelphia in 1756.



From an old print

FERRYING A STAGE ACROSS THE SUSQUEHANNA IN COLONIAL TIMES

To the south there were many navigable streams reaching far inland to the plantations. Most of the travel was by water routes, and the roads were sadly neglected. Except along the highways between the large towns wagons or coaches were seldom seen. Travel off these lines was by foot or on horseback, and goods were usually carried by pack horses.

III. Differences in Government between Northern and Southern Colonies

New England Towns Contrasted with Southern Plantations. The difficulties of travel shut the colonies off from one another and tended to develop peculiar ways of living in each locality — *provincialism*, as it is called. There were other reasons too for the wide differences among the several sections. The character of the country and the climate made a great difference in the methods of settlement. In New England the winters were long and cold, and there were few wide and fertile valleys bordering deep and navigable streams. There the great plantation system of the South with slave labor could not be adopted. Moreover the Indians were very troublesome, especially in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

For these and perhaps other reasons the New England frontier was advanced by planting close together tiny settlements, called *towns*, rather than by the rapid spread of huge estates like those in Virginia. A town in New England means not merely the village in the center but the surrounding farms as well. It is similar to the *township* in the Middle Western states. In the colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, the town was the unit, or smallest division of local government, and the colony was simply a collection of towns.

Local Self-government in New England. The Town Meeting. Each one of these little towns was governed by a *town meeting* in which every man entitled to vote could take part in deciding what the town should do. These meetings were usually held once a year. At the town meeting everything of importance to the people was settled: the size of houses to be built, the kind of roofs to be put on the houses, the laying out of roads, the taxes to be paid.

There also the voters chose the officers to carry on the government: the selectmen, constables, cowherds, poundkeepers, fence viewers, and hogreeves.

The town meetings were little "schools of government and politics," in which the men of New England learned how to manage local matters. Instead of having a royal officer sent down to tell them what to do and how to do it, they looked after their own affairs. In the debates at the town hall they formed the habit of talking about questions of government, such as taxation and the election of officers. People accustomed to looking after the public business themselves were not likely to look with favor upon having a king or his officers do it for them.

Other Sources of Independence in New England. The New England churches also added to the spirit of political liberty. Each little town had its own Congregational church. The men of the church chose the parson and conducted the business of the church to suit themselves. They would listen only to the kind of sermons that they liked, and they would not allow the preacher to tell them exactly what to believe and to do. The clergymen, being well educated, were very influential men in the towns; but they were by no means masters.

There were other reasons for "New England independence." The inland regions were largely settled by dissatisfied townsmen from the older districts who did not like the sermons of the preachers, the conduct of town meetings, or interference with their own ways of thinking and talking. Criticism of the town officers and the church was common; sometimes even the women took part in opposing the town officers and the parson.

One of them especially, Anne Hutchinson, wanted the right to believe what she pleased. She also objected to the preachers taking part in town government or in other affairs outside of church business. The ministers and the voters who had been accustomed to manage things in their own way were horrified at this "unwomanly" conduct. Therefore they drove Mrs. Hutchinson out of Massachusetts. She went to Rhode Island, where she became one of the founders of a new colony.

Statue by Cyrus E. Dallen

ANNE HUTCHINSON

Larger Units of Government in the Middle Colonies. In New York the patroon system which had been introduced by the Dutch (p. 78) made the government of many towns in the Hudson Valley very different from that in New England. Some of the great estates were in fact complete villages with thousands of acres of land attached, all owned by rich landlords. In general, however, New York was laid out after the English fashion into counties. This was true of New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. The county thus became an important unit of government; but at the same time the Middle colonies had many towns where local meetings and elections kept the spirit of independence growing.

The County as the Unit in the South. In the South, as we have seen, the wide valleys and mild climate made possible the cultivation of immense plantations by slave labor;

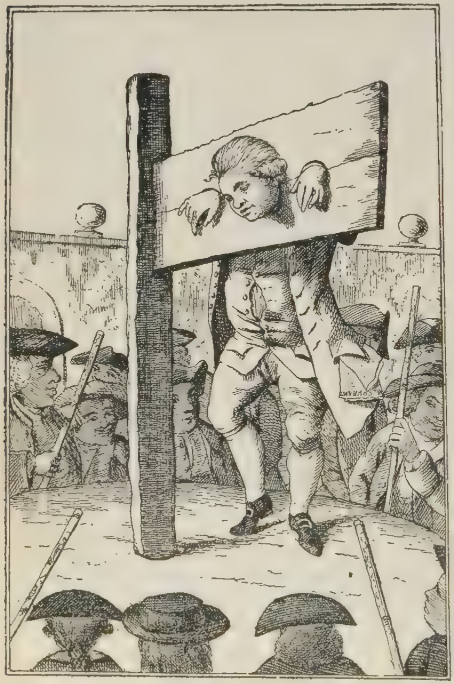
so the settlers spread out on broad estates, and the colonies were more thinly settled than in New England. In this section, therefore, the county was the important unit of local government. The sheriff, the justices of the peace, and other county officers were not elected by the voters but were appointed by the royal governor. There were no town meetings to stir up public opinion.

Nevertheless the Southern people had their colonial assemblies and were as ready as the people of the North to defend their rights. Planters took the leadership, and the small farmers of the inland regions supported the American cause by giving freely their blood and treasure.

IV. LIKENESSES IN GOVERNMENT BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

Few Differences in Language, Religion, and Law. In spite of the many differences in the colonies there were certain things which helped to draw them together: (1) They had a common language and a common literature. (2) Although they were divided into many sects, they were nearly all Protestants. (3) From New Hampshire to Georgia the same system of law was applied — the common law of England — except so far as it was changed by local legislatures. Trial by jury and a certain amount of religious toleration were found everywhere. (4) By no means least important was the likeness in the forms of government. Every colony had an assembly chosen by men who owned property. This assembly had a share in the making of laws, and no taxes could be collected without its consent. The right to vote was limited, and yet there grew up in every colony a large body of men who were accustomed to having an important part in making laws and laying taxes.

Representative Government in the Colonies. In the early days of settlement, when each colony was confined to a single post or community, its local affairs were managed by all those inhabitants entitled to a voice in government. When several settlements were added, it became difficult for the voters to meet in one place. The "general" assembly was then given up in favor of a "representative" assembly composed of delegates from each town, plantation, or county, as the case might be. Such a representative body was called in Virginia as early as 1619; and long before the Revolution every colony had an assembly chosen by the voters.



From an old print

STOCKS. A PUNISHMENT OF LAW BREAKERS IN COLONIAL TIMES

In all the colonies except Pennsylvania and Georgia, the legislature consisted of two houses, or groups. In the New England colonies except New Hampshire, both houses were elected; while in New York, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Virginia, and North and South Carolina the upper house consisted of a governor's council appointed by the king in England.

Restrictions on the Right to Vote. A large number of the people had no share in voting for representatives in the colonial assembly. Only those men who had property or paid taxes could take part in elections. A man could not vote in Virginia unless he owned a certain amount of land or in Massachusetts unless he had land or other property of a certain value. Moreover the law often provided that the voter or officeholder must believe in certain religious teachings.

It is estimated that about one fourth of the white males were denied the right to vote because they did not own enough property. Strange to say, not more than one half and frequently far less than one half of those entitled to vote took the trouble to do so.

The Resulting Growth of a Governing Class. These conditions made it possible in nearly every colony for a small number of well-to-do and active men to form themselves into a governing class. In the South, for instance, the rich plantation owners were the only persons who had the leisure and means necessary to travel and to take part in politics; they were at the head of affairs in the Southern colonies, particularly in Virginia. In Pennsylvania it was the Quaker merchants and landowners who ruled. In New York the great landlords of the Hudson Valley and the rich merchants and ship owners of New York City were the leaders in politics. In New England the clergy, the lawyers, and the merchants made up what was known as the *natural aristocracy;* but the free farmers also made themselves heard, especially in town meetings. Some of those who were shut out from a share in public affairs were discontented with their lot even before the Revolution; and after independence was secured, they began to demand a share in the government.

Contests between Royal Governors and Representative Assemblies. The men who could vote and who took part in the elections were very firm in holding that they had a right to carry on the business of the colony in their own way. They wished to make laws and to tax themselves as they pleased. Yet they were kept from having their own way entirely by certain public officers over whom they had no control. In none of the colonies except Rhode Island and Connecticut were the governors elected by popular vote. In New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, and the other Southern colonies, the governors were appointed by the king. In the proprietary colonies — Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware — the proprietor either acted as governor himself or selected someone to act for him.

There were often spirited contests between the governors and the legislatures. In these contests the voters took a lively interest. They learned that by resisting the king's governor they could frequently get their own way. Often they refused to vote any taxes until the governor promised to grant some favor which they demanded. By these struggles the men of the colonies were being prepared to declare and maintain their complete independence.

V. Life in the Colonies

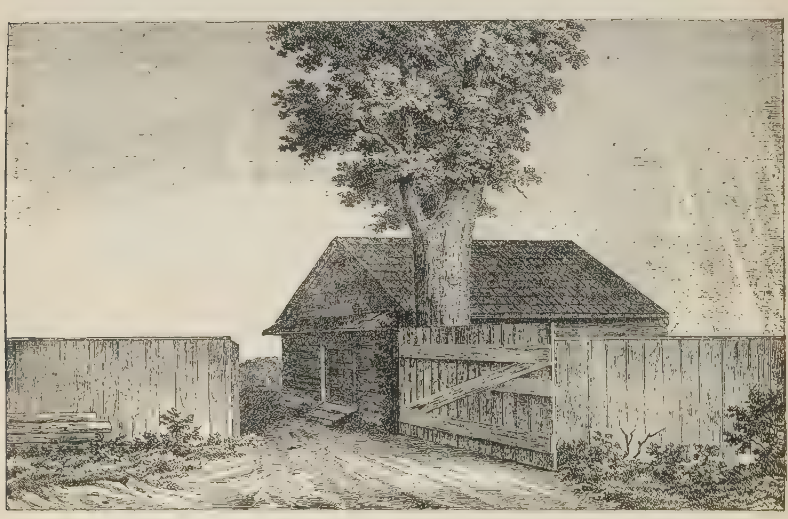
In colonial times there was no common system of public schools. There were few important books on American life and no newspapers and magazines with circulations extending from New Hampshire to Georgia. Newspapers there were, it is true, in Boston, Hartford, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and some other cities; but they were small sheets, which had only a few hundred readers in their immediate neighborhoods.

Elementary Education Strongly Religious. The English colonies had been founded long before free public schools were dreamed of, but one of the chief demands of each religious sect in America was the right to instruct all its youth in its own religious beliefs. The members of these sects laid great emphasis on teaching young people to read, so that they could learn the catechism and study the Bible. As a result many schools sprang up for teaching reading, writing, and religious doctrines. Massachusetts even went so far as to order, by law, every town of at least fifty families to establish a school, but the order was not always obeyed.

The Colleges. The colleges founded in colonial times, like the lower schools, were nearly all intended to advance the interests of religious sects. The Puritans had their Harvard, Yale, and Dartmouth; the followers of the Church of England had their King's College, now Columbia, in New York, and William and Mary in Virginia. The College of New Jersey, now Princeton, was under Presbyterian management. Unlike these, Brown, established in Rhode Island, and the Philadelphia Academy, the forerunner of the University of Pennsylvania, had members of various religious sects on their boards of trustees.

Puritan Influences. The Puritans were a very serious people, devoted to their church, attending services regularly, and keeping the Sabbath strictly. They thought that "stage plays" were wicked and that merrymaking was sinful on Sunday and a waste of time at best on other days. Many a boy was soundly thrashed for whistling a lively tune on Sunday, when he should have been thinking of his religious duties. Anyone who failed to attend services was likely to be brought into court and fined. The Puritans did not like to have people of other religious sects settle in their midst, and they tried hard to keep a tight hold on all affairs of government. In Rhode Island, however, religious liberty was early established by Roger Williams who believed that government should not interfere with the religious opinions of the people.

On the literature and thought of America the Puritans had a deep influence. They wrote a great deal, and in early colonial times much of what they wrote dealt with religion. Later, when the colonists were taxed directly by England, many of the men who first opposed the mother country were Puritans living in New England. They wrote letters, articles, and pamphlets which were widely read throughout the colonies and which had a powerful influence in bringing about the Revolution. As late as the nineteenth century New England gave the country many poets and historians whose writings showed plainly the influence of the Puritans.

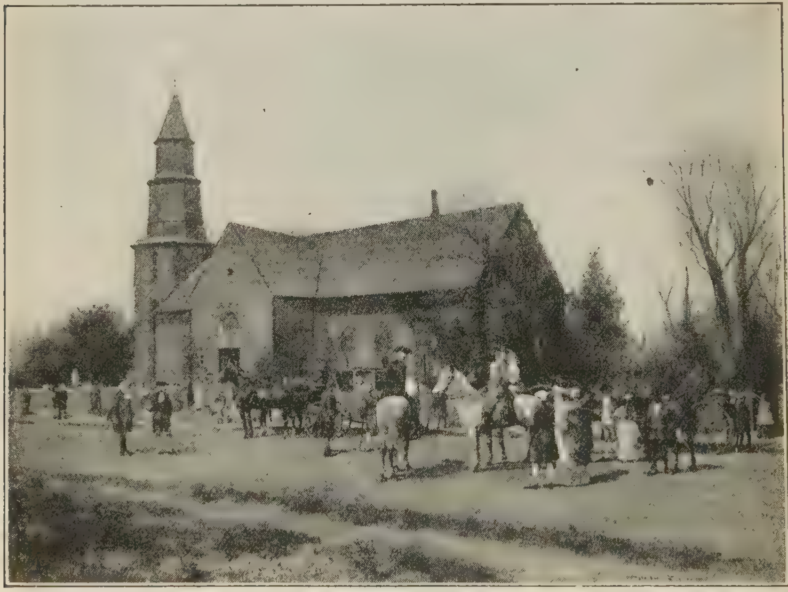


FRIENDS' MEETING HOUSE IN READING, PA., BUILT IN 1776

Religious Influences in the Middle Colonies. Outside of New England the influence of religion on the lives of the people was less marked but still very powerful. In the middle colonies no one religious sect was supreme. Many existed side by side. There were Huguenots, Dutch Reformed, Presbyterians, Quakers, Moravians, Dunkards, Lutherans, and Catholics. The most numerous of these groups, the Presbyterians, resembled the Puritans in their strict views and in their earnest ways of living. They too furnished many leaders in education and politics. The Quakers were unusual people in many ways. They wore plain garments and used simple words in their speech. They were firmly opposed to war and furnished few leaders in the Revolution on that account. They were very tolerant in religious matters (p. 74). They admitted members of other denominations to a voice in the government and invited to Pennsylvania all peoples who were " peaceably disposed " and believed in God. As in Maryland, where the Catholics from the beginning had practiced toleration, so in Pennsylvania religious freedom led to peace and prosperity. Under freedom, all religious denominations flourished and furnished leaders in every walk of American life.

Southern Life. In the Southern colonies the Church of England, as in the mother country, was established by law, notwithstanding the fact that there were many dissenters, that is, people who held other religious beliefs. The clergy, of course, were the religious leaders. The members of the Church did not elect their preachers; nor were they encouraged to debate all manner of religious questions as in New England. Often the parish church stood upon the plantation of a great landlord, and the clergyman and planter between themselves managed its affairs. The Virginians were not Puritans. Although they attended services regularly, they loved games, dancing, horse-racing, and social gatherings.

The planter was proud of his landed estates and his ancestors, and looked down a bit on merchants and other people engaged in trade. Although there were many white farmers who did not own slaves, the planter in the midst of his broad acres was a sort of English nobleman without a title. His children were taught at home by private tutors; if his sons did not go to William and Mary College, they were likely to be sent abroad to one of the English universities. In their leisure hours some of the planters devoted themselves to study in their libraries. By training in local politics and by study they became leaders in national affairs. Virginia gave to America Patrick Henry, one of the first orators to urge independence, and Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence. Between 1789 and 1825, Virginia, " the Mother of Presidents," furnished four out of six Presidents: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; while New England furnished two: John Adams and his son, John Quincy Adams.


From a painting by A. Wardsworth Thompson

OLD BRUTON CHURCH, VIRGINIA

Summary: America Prepared for Independence. When we think of the humble beginnings, we cannot but feel surprise that it was possible for the Americans to carry through the Revolution against the nation that had conquered Spain and France. The difficulties of travel and communication made it hard to unite the colonies and get them to work together. The long distances made it difficult to collect troops speedily at suitable points and often defeated the best-laid plans. The lack of great riches and large industries made it difficult for the patriots to procure money and supplies for the army.

And yet there were some things that gave the Americans a great deal of strength. Accustomed to self-government in their towns and colonial legislatures, the leaders had confidence in their own powers. Knowing that they could build ships as large and swift as any that sailed the seas, the Americans gathered courage for their contest with Great Britain. With more home-owning tillers of the soil and with more freedom than any European nation enjoyed, they had more independence of spirit than had the masses in Europe. America was prepared to challenge kings, princes, and lords and to prepare the way for the best democracy, with all its shortcomings and errors, that the world had ever known. Its strength was in the character and labor of the people — in their stern sense of duty, their firm will, and their tireless industry.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *textiles, the textile industry, smelting, transportation, provincialism, local self-government, town meeting, unit of government, trial by jury, representative government, a natural aristocracy, religious denominations.*

I. Compare the farmers of America in colonial times with the peasant farmers of Europe. In what ways does the ownership of land by the farmer develop his spirit of self-reliance and independence? In what parts of the Southern colonies were the farm lands usually owned by the men who tilled them?

II. How was manufacturing carried on in the colonies? Name the principal manufactured goods. Why were the Northern colonies more actively engaged in shipbuilding than the Southern colonies? In what colonies was commerce important and with what parts of the world was foreign commerce carried on? What were the principal goods exported and imported? How did people travel in colonial times?

III. Make a list of the leading differences in surface and climate between New England and Virginia. Why have the New England town meetings been called "schools of government and politics"? In what way did the organization of the churches in New England help to develop the spirit of independence? Who was Anne Hutchinson and why is her name remembered? Make a list of the principal differences between the government of the New England colonies and the government of the Middle colonies.

IV. In what ways were the colonies alike? What is meant by "representative" government? What differences would there be in our government to-day if the right to vote were determined by the value of the property one owns? In what different ways were the governors chosen in the various colonies? In what way did the voters sometimes control the royal governors?

V. Why did the colonists, especially in New England, place so much importance upon teaching children to read? What is meant by "Puritanism"?

Review: Locate on an outline map of the United States (*a*) the western limits of the settlements and (*b*) the principal cities of the colonies at the close of the Seven Years' War.

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. In your neighborhood do the farmers till their own lands or are the farms generally worked by renters? Can the renters in your neighborhood look forward to owning the land that they till? Compare the opportunities for landownership to-day with those of colonial times.

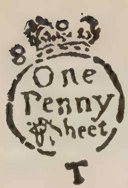
2. Give an account of the difficulties of travel in colonial days. See Mowry's *American Inventions and Inventors*, pp. 187-206; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, chs. viii, ix, xix.

3. Imagine yourself a colonial schoolboy. Tell what you study, what kind of teachers you have, and how you have been taught.

See Hart's *Colonial Children*, Part VII, especially pp. 206–207; 210–215; 218–232; Eggleston's *Our First Century*, pp. 192–200.

4. Explain why most of the English settlements were within fifty miles of the Atlantic Coast.

See Semple's *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, ch. iii; Brigham's *Geographical Influences in American History*, ch. iii.



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CHAPTER VIII

CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Until the close of the French and Indian War the English colonists had enjoyed a wide liberty in the management of their affairs. It is true that many laws regulating their trade had been passed by Parliament, but these laws were not strictly enforced. During much of the seventeenth century, when all the colonies except Georgia were being started, the English people at home were in almost continual trouble with their rulers. At the opening of the eighteenth century and for a long time afterward, Great Britain was engaged in European wars, which turned the attention of her statesmen away from the settlers in America.

I. England Begins a Strict Control over Colonial Trade

In 1763 England was at peace in Europe. The government had no reason to fear the outbreak of another revolution at home. The British navy ruled the seas and the king was secure on his throne. Spain had little power in the New World, and France had been driven from the mainland of North America altogether. Therefore the British government was in a position to give more attention to the American colonies.

British Imperial Policy. England was now ready to enforce what is known as an *imperial policy*. This meant keeping English trade in English hands. The colonies were to furnish raw materials and farm produce and buy their manufactured goods in England. Throughout the British empire the government would prevent, as far as possible, any foreigner from carrying on trade. This also meant, among other things, building up the English merchant marine to furnish sailors for the navy that " ruled the waves."

It should be noted, however, that England did not suddenly decide upon this *imperial policy* in 1763. A long time before, Parliament had begun to pass laws planned to control the colonies more strictly. Among them were the following:

1. *Navigation Acts.* These laws provided that all produce grown or manufactured in Asia, Africa, or America could be sent to England or to the colonies in English or colonial ships only. Likewise European goods shipped to the colonies had to be taken first to England and then carried overseas in English vessels. This meant that goods starting from Holland in a Dutch ship for an American port must first go to England and be transferred to an English ship. The Dutch vessel could not go to America itself.

2. *Trade Laws.* The colonists were required by these laws to sell their tobacco and certain other produce to English merchants only, even though better prices could be obtained from foreign merchants.

3. *Acts Forbidding Manufactures.* To force the colonists to buy in England, they were forbidden to manufacture such things as fur caps, steel, and woolen goods, to be sold to neighboring towns or abroad.

At the same time, it should be remembered, England sought to help her colonies in many ways. The colonists benefited from the Navigation Acts, in that the ships they built and sailed were English ships. They also enjoyed special privileges in English markets and were given bounties for growing certain things. It was argued at the time, and indeed it is still argued, that while the trade of the colonists was limited, their gains were greater than their losses. However, the American colonists did not think so.

A New King and a New Plan of Action. It so happened that a new king, George III, came to the throne in 1760, just as France was being conquered and England was in a position to manage the colonies in a new way. He was by nature a headstrong and obstinate ruler. He wanted to have his way, and he had it. His Parliament represented only a small number of his subjects, for most of the people were not allowed to vote; by bribery and other means he was nearly always able to get a majority of the members of Parliament to support his plans. He was just the kind of man who would take delight in forcing the American colonies to obey English laws and orders.

The English government was ready to adopt a new plan of action in the colonies. British territory in North America had been greatly increased, and more soldiers were needed to defend it. A huge debt had been contracted in the recent war, and money was needed for the treasury. The king and his ministers therefore decided to make the American colonies pay a part of the cost of defense.

Following out the new plan of action several things were done:

1. The Trade and Navigation Laws, mentioned above, were strictly enforced. Warships were ordered to search for vessels that smuggled goods into the colonies in violation of the laws. Smugglers, when caught, were tried in an admiralty court, or court for the trial of offenses committed at sea. No jury was used in such courts. This was decided upon because it was held that, when smugglers were tried in the ordinary courts, they were usually set free by juries made up of their neighbors. The Americans objected to the new ruling on the ground that it deprived them of the right of

trial by jury — a right that had long been recognized in English law.

2. In 1763 the king issued an order forbidding colonists to go into the western country and buy land from the Indians or to settle there without the consent of the royal government. The Americans looked upon this as a violation of their right to make their homes where they pleased — another right that English people had long enjoyed. The Indians in the Ohio country were far from friendly and the English government did not wish to be responsible for protecting settlers in these regions.

3. In addition to an old tax on sugar and molasses, special duties were laid in 1764 on many French, Spanish, and Portuguese articles imported into the colonies.

4. In 1765 a stamp tax was laid on a large number of articles, papers, and documents used in the colonies. This was the first time the British government had laid a tax *within* the country. The earlier taxes had been placed on goods brought in from other countries. The Stamp Act provided that stamps, ranging in cost from a half-penny to several pounds, should be placed on newspapers, almanacs, playing cards, deeds, licenses, college diplomas, etc.

II. THE PROTESTS OF THE COLONIES AGAINST TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION

Opposition to the Stamp Act. While new taxes are never welcome, the Stamp Act especially angered the colonists. They objected to it because it was placed upon them without their consent by a Parliament three thousand miles away in London, where they had no representatives. It seemed unbearable. In the Virginia House of Burgesses (p. 66) Patrick Henry made a fiery speech against the stamp tax. Moved by his eloquence, members condemned the Stamp Act and declared that the people of Virginia had certain rights which could not be taken from them, including the right to be taxed and governed only by their own elected representatives.

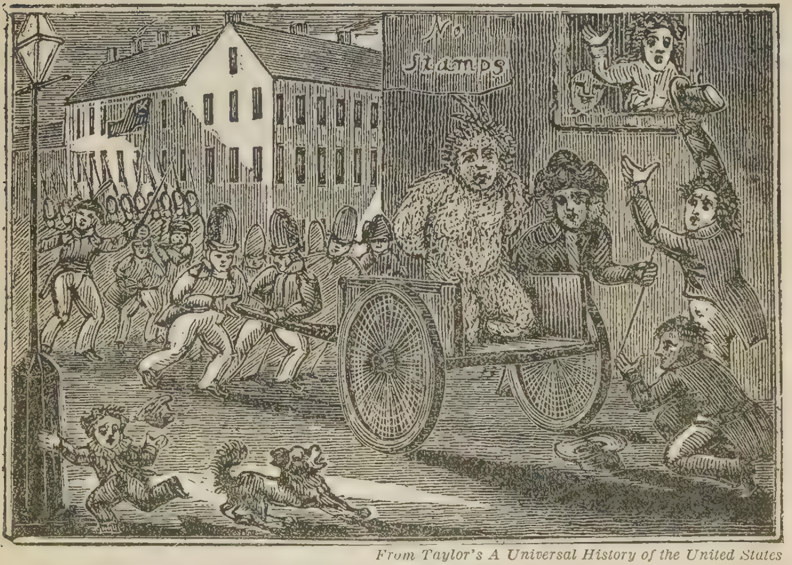
The Stamp Act Congress. Far away to the north Massachusetts also was stirred by the stamp tax. There Samuel Adams took the lead. James Otis in his speeches attacked the Stamp Act as unlawful and unjust. The lower house of the legislature issued a call to all the colonies to send delegates to a meeting in New York City. Nine colonies answered the call, and the famous Stamp Act Congress was held in New York in October, 1765.

This Congress passed a set of resolutions condemning the Stamp Act and other laws that hurt colonial trade. It declared that the colonists could be lawfully taxed only by their representatives in their own legislatures. It added also that the colonists could not very well be represented in the distant British Parliament. These resolutions, therefore, combined a protest against the British laws and a declaration that the colonists would not endure taxation by Parliament.

The Colonists Give Other Evidences of Disapproval. Those who were opposed to the stamp tax did not stop at passing resolutions. In a number of the larger towns they collected in the streets and shouted that they would cram the stamps down the throats of the agents who attempted to sell them. The houses of some of the British agents were stoned. In Philadelphia a document properly stamped as required by the British government was publicly burned to show the contempt of the people for the tax. At another town an agent was seized by a mob and compelled to shout at the top of his voice, " Liberty, property, and no stamps ! "

The colonists, in addition to protesting and rioting, did something still more dangerous to British trade. They agreed to boycott English goods ; that is, to buy absolutely no goods from English merchants. This *nonimportation* *agreement*, as it was known, was so bad for British business that the English merchants themselves begged Parliament to abolish the Stamp Act.

The Stamp Act Repealed. The Townshend Acts Passed. As a result of all this disturbance Parliament decided to abandon this part of its plan; in 1766 it gave up, or repealed, the unpopular law. At the same time a Declaratory Act was passed maintaining the right of Parliament to control the colonies "in all matters." The colonists rejoiced when they heard that the Stamp Act was no more, but they rejoiced too soon. The repeal did not mean that the British government intended to give up its plan of controlling colonial trade and manufactures. On the contrary, William Pitt, who was considered a friend of America, said to Parliament: "We may *bind* their trade, *confine* their



From Taylor's A Universal History of the United States

TAR AND FEATHERS FOR A COLONIAL WHO BOUGHT STAMPS manufactures, and exercise every *power* whatsoever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent."

The very next year, 1767, Parliament passed three important laws, known as the Townshend Acts, all of which angered the colonists. (1) One of them ordered the Legislature of New York not to do any further business until it had provided supplies for British soldiers stationed in the colony. (2) Another created a board of officers at the port of Boston to see that the Trade Laws were enforced. (3) The third laid a small tax on glass, red lead, white lead, paper, tea, and paints.

The excitement which had been aroused by the Stamp Act was all stirred up again. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania protested against the laws, and colonial merchants again boycotted British goods. They thought that doing the same things which had forced the British government to repeal the Stamp Act would compel it to yield again. This time the colonists were wrong in their guess.

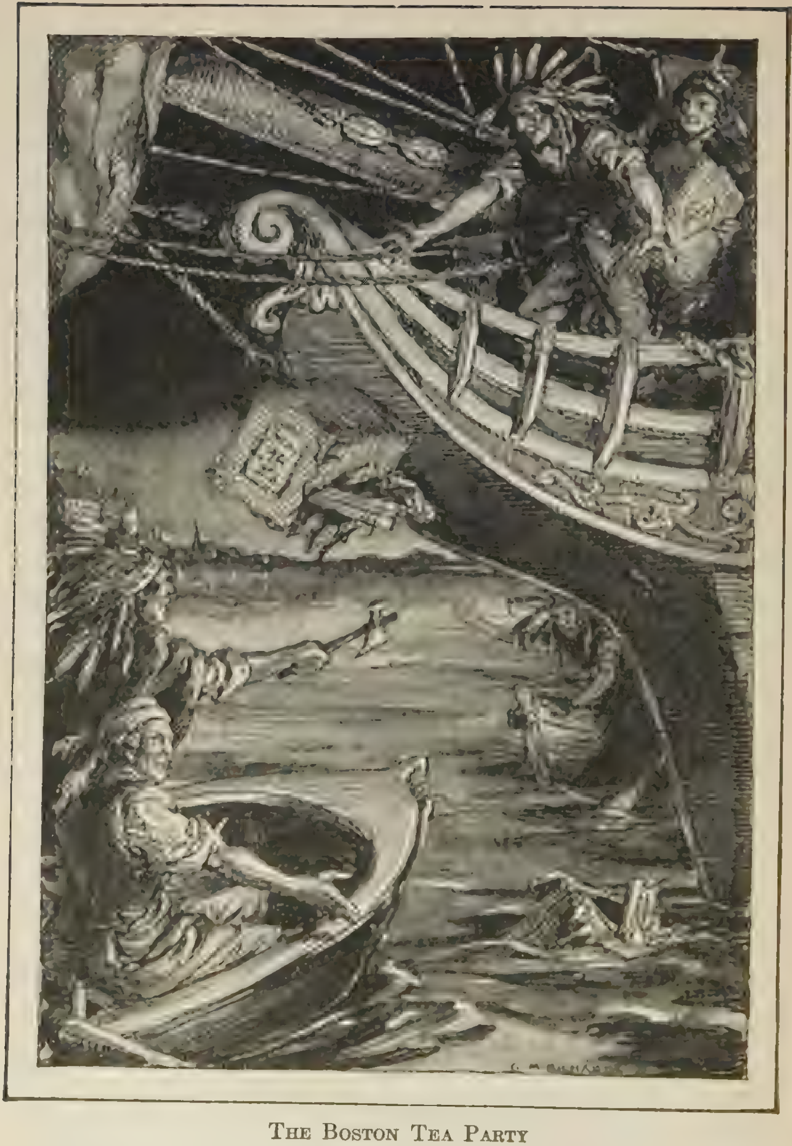
The "Boston Massacre." The passage of the Townshend Laws brought on riots in the colonies such as had followed the Stamp Act. When troops began to arrive from England to enforce the law, people in the streets made fun of them. In October, 1768, the royal governor of Massachusetts reported that " many of the people talked of dying in defense of their liberties."

On the night of March 5, 1770, a crowd, collected in the streets of Boston, began to annoy some soldiers on duty by pushing against them and calling them names. Things went from bad to worse until " some boys and young fellows " began to throw snowballs and stones ; thereupon the soldiers fired on the crowd, killing five and wounding half a dozen more. This " Boston Massacre " stirred the whole country from New Hampshire to Georgia.

The Tea Tax. The "Boston Tea Party." In 1770 Parliament did away with all the taxes laid by the Townshend Acts except the tax of three pence a pound on tea. This slight tax was kept mainly to show the colonists that Parliament still claimed the right to tax them without their consent. Smugglers now began to bring in tea from Holland without paying the tax; by unlawful methods thousands of pounds were brought into Boston and to other ports along the Atlantic coast. The British government, in order to make this smuggling unprofitable, allowed the East India Company to sell tea in America at an especially low rate. With government aid the Company could sell at a lower price than the Boston merchants who had either bought tea in the regular manner, paying full duties, or smuggled it in from Holland.

The merchants were angry this time, not so much at the three-pence tax on the tea, as at the favor shown by the British government to the East India Company. They feared that a company having such favors from the government would mean their ruin. Stirred by this danger, a band of men dressed as Indians boarded, in December, 1773, the vessels which brought the hated cargoes and dumped the tea into the Boston harbor. A year later at Annapolis the *Peggy Stewart* with bales of tea on board was burned with the consent of the owner to satisfy angry citizens. In Charleston captains of tea ships were roughly handled and forbidden to sell their cargoes.

The Colonists Punished for Their Resistance. Instead of yielding to this show of force the British government did several things to show the colonists that it was in earnest: (1) It ordered that colonial legislatures be closed and that no more meetings be held until the king's officers gave permission. (2) It passed the Boston Port Bill, which closed that port to merchant ships and thus cut off all its ocean trade. (3) It gave the governor of Massachusetts, who was



The Boston Tea Party

appointed by the king, the power to send to England or another colony for trial any royal official accused of committing murder while enforcing the laws. (4) It forbade the people of Massachusetts to hold town meetings without the consent of the governor except to elect officers.

III. THE CRISIS REACHED

The First Continental Congress. The answer of the Americans to the strong measures of the British government was a general Congress which met in Philadelphia, on September 5, 1774. This national assembly, like the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, was called by the lower house of the Massachusetts Legislature. It was attended by delegates from every colony except Georgia.

The Congress did two important things: It issued a declaration setting forth the rights of the colonists and the wrongs that they had endured, and it formed a general boycott association against British goods.

1. In the declaration of rights it protested against the recent measures of the British government. It announced that only the colonists themselves could lay taxes and make laws for their own government. The declaration further said that the colonists should be allowed to assemble peaceably; should have the right to petition the government and to state their grievances; should be free from a standing army in time of peace; and should have the right of trial by jury.

2. In the boycott agreement it was provided that no English goods should be imported or sold and that committees chosen by the voters in every town, city, and county should enforce the boycott. Many a merchant was tarred and feathered for selling English goods in violation of the agreement.

Before adjourning, the Continental Congress called a second Congress to meet at Philadelphia the following year, if necessary.

Committees of Correspondence. In the towns, counties, cities, and colonies, committees were formed to direct the struggle against Great Britain. The committees corresponded with one another and kept alive the spirit of revolution. After the Declaration of Independence they gave valuable aid to the state and national governments in carrying on the war.

The Americans Firm in Their Resistance. It was clear by 1774 that the more determined Americans were resolved to push the struggle to a finish if the British government did not yield to their demands. And it could not do this without also giving up a plan which promised to strengthen the British empire and to bring great profits to the English merchants and manufacturers. Americans could build swift ships and man them with skillful sailors; their merchants had already pushed out in every direction into Europe and Asia in search of trade; they had immense natural resources; they could grow wool and flax and make cloth for themselves. Therefore they were in no mood to have their progress checked by laws made by a distant Parliament for the benefit of Great Britain.

A people like the American colonists, with courage, industry, and enterprise, with a vast country at their disposal, could not long endure such laws as those by which the British Parliament sought to bind them. The colonists proposed to gather the profits of their own labors. Somebody had to give way, either the earnest colonists or the British government representing the British merchants, manufacturers, and traders. As there was a deadlock and neither side would yield to petitions or arguments, war was the only solution of the problem.

English Friends of America. Some of the most distinguished men in England — Pitt, Burke, and Fox — raised their voices against the way in which the English government treated the American colonists.

William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. First among these was William Pitt, the Earl of Chatham, under whose leadership the borders of the British empire had been extended during the Seven Years' War. When the news of resistance to the Stamp Act reached England, he frankly defended the Americans. In his speech in Parliament he said:

> The Americans are the sons . . . of England. As subjects they are entitled to the common right of representation and cannot be bound to pay taxes without their consent. . . . The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have even been in possession of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. . . . The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted.

Ten years later Pitt once more startled the House of Lords by demanding the instant removal of British troops from the town of Boston. Again he pleaded for peace and warned the government that it could not break the power of united America.

Edmund Burke. While Pitt was pleading in the House of Lords for laws dealing more fairly with the colonies, Edmund Burke was laboring in the House of Commons for the same end. In two speeches which rank among the splendid classics of the English tongue, one " On American Taxation " and the other " On Conciliation with America," Burke urged justice and generosity toward the colonists.

He told of the rise of the American colonies from little hamlets and lonely outposts to prosperous colonies and a great nation. He rejoiced in the courage of English people beyond the sea and in what they had done in the face of difficulties and dangers. He took pride in their spirit of liberty. Then he solemnly warned those who wished to tax the colonists that harshness and stubbornness would drive the Americans into revolution. To those who insisted on the " right " of Parliament to tax the colonists he said :

> The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable but whether it is not to your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do.

The advice of Pitt and Burke was unheeded. Those who favored harsh measures triumphed in Parliament and in the counsels of King George. One such man said : " Let the Americans talk about their natural and divine rights ! their rights as men and citizens ! their rights from God and nature ! I am for enforcing these measures." The government expected with its armies to compel the Americans to obey. Little did the king and his counselors understand the task that lay before them.

The Americans Not Wholly United. As Englishmen at home were divided over the treatment of the colonists, so Americans themselves were divided about resistance to the mother country. Some favored quick and firm opposition, even to the point of fighting for their liberties. Others, though they disliked British measures, urged milder action, such as petitioning the king and Parliament to change the unpopular laws.

There were many highly respectable citizens in every colony who warmly favored the British government. Some of them felt that the men who led the discussion against the laws deserved imprisonment for resisting their king. Such citizens looked with alarm on the growth of democratic government in America. A clergyman in New England prayed that " the monstrously popular constitution " of Connecticut be changed in such a way as to reduce the power of the voters. He rejoiced in the attempts of the king and Parliament to bring all the colonies under " one form of government." He wished to see bishops of the Established Church put in power in every colony and all charter governments made directly dependent on the king. Thousands of these citizens, *Tories*, as they were later called by the Revolutionists, remained loyal to the king to the end. Many joined the British army and fought against the *Patriots*. Others had their property taken from them and were driven out of the country.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *an imperial policy, Navigation Acts, smugglers, stamp tax, "taxation without representation," a congress, boycott, democratic government, the Established Church, Tories, Patriots.*

I. Why did England pay more attention to the American colonies after 1763? Why was she eager to control the trade of her colonies? Why were the colonies forbidden to do much manufacturing? Why were settlements west of the Appalachian Mountains discouraged? List the actions of the English government which the colonists found especially objectionable. To-day duties are levied on many kinds of goods imported into the country and the federal government has sometimes required stamps to be placed on certain documents, such as wills, contracts, deeds, and bank checks. What are the differences between these forms of taxation and the import and stamp taxes against which the colonists rebelled?

II. What was the Stamp Act Congress and why did it assemble? In what other ways did the colonists protest against the stamp taxes? With what results? What were the Townshend Acts? What was the effect of these laws upon the colonists? Why did the English government keep the tax upon tea after the other taxes laid upon the colonists by the Townshend Acts had been repealed?

III. Why was the first Continental Congress called? What two important things did it do? What reasons can you give for the statement that the American colonies did not revolt against the English people but rather against the English government?

Review: In what ways do you think that the English government might have avoided war with the colonists? What is "taxation without representation"? Is anyone who is not represented now taxed in the United States?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Recall the events of the Intercolonial Wars, and give some of the ways in which these earlier wars prepared the colonists for the Revolution.

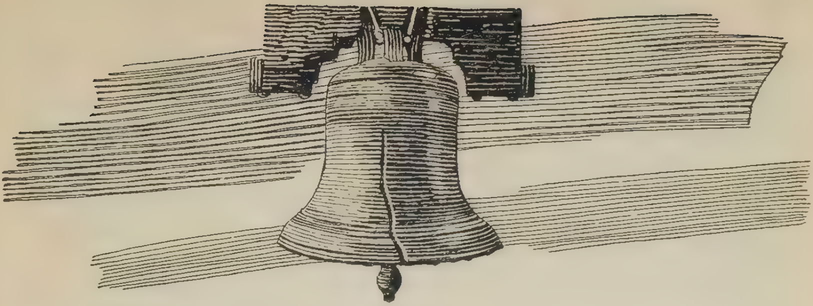
2. The following American patriots were prominent leaders in the colonies during the years just preceding the Revolution. Select one of these men for special study, and prepare a talk for the class which will tell what this man did to help the American cause at this critical time: Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, James Otis.

See Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, chs. i and ii (Franklin and Adams); Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book I, pp. 208–225 (Franklin); Book II, pp. 1–23 (Henry and Adams); Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 109–126 (Otis and Adams); Dudley's *Benjamin Franklin.*

3. Imagine yourself living in Boston during the period treated in this chapter. Describe what you might see and hear concerning the Boston Massacre and the Boston Tea Party.

See Hart's *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*, pp. 162–166; Hart's *Source Book*, p. 137; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 56–60, 64–69.

4. Perhaps you may be interested in the story of the burning of the *Peggy Stewart*, or in what was done with shipments of tea at Philadelphia or New York. Look up these topics in state histories.



CHAPTER IX

THE WAR FOR AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

I. The Beginning of the Revolution

Lexington and Concord. In the spring of 1775, General Gage, who was in command of the British soldiers in Boston, learned that the American patriots were collecting guns, powder, bullets, and other " military stores." He found that some of these were hidden away in houses and barns in Concord, a village about twenty miles northwest of Boston. He decided to send a force of soldiers to seize and destroy these war supplies.

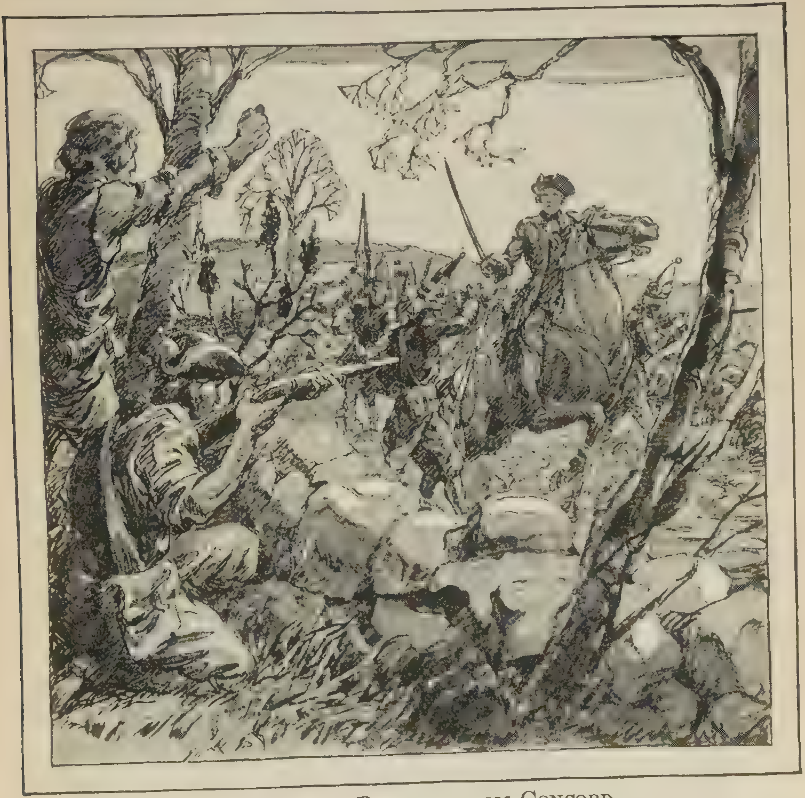
Although he tried to keep his plans a secret, some of the Americans in Boston learned about them. They arranged with other Americans outside of the city to show certain signals just before the British soldiers started, in order that the patriots might be warned in time either to carry away or to defend their supplies. The warning was given on the night of April 18. Paul Revere, who had been watching on the bank of the Charles River opposite Boston, and William Dawes, on Boston Neck, southwest of Boston, saw two lights shine out suddenly from the steeple of the Old North Church. This signal meant that the British were preparing to cross the river. Revere and Dawes at once mounted their horses and galloped off toward the north and west, meeting before they reached Lexington. The patriots had organized companies of *minutemen*, so called because they would be ready to assemble at a minute's notice. The messengers stopped at the farmhouses and villages just long enough to rouse these minutemen from their sleep and tell them that the British were coming; then on they sped.

Lexington. Long before daybreak on April 19, the British troops landed from their boats and took up their march along the road that led to Concord. They were not seriously opposed until they reached Lexington, still early in the morning. Here a company of minutemen were drawn up on the village green. The British officer ordered them to give up their firearms and return to their homes. The Americans refused. Thereupon firing began and several of the minutemen fell to the ground — eight of them dead.

Concord. The British soldiers then resumed their march toward Concord. Again there was little to disturb them. They reached Concord and found a part of the military stores, which they destroyed; but by this time most of the American supplies had been carried away and hidden in other places.

The minutemen were now pouring in from all of the surrounding country. At Concord Bridge, just north of the village, they made a determined stand. British soldiers were sent to attack them, but were driven back, and there were small losses on both sides. As compared with other battles, this may seem to be only a skirmish; and yet, as the poet Emerson said, the " embattled farmers " at Concord Bridge fired the " shot heard round the world."

The British Retreat to Boston. The minutemen now hurried along roundabout ways in order to get in front of the British soldiers as they marched back to Boston. Patriots kept coming in from all quarters, and these joined the groups that were running through the fields and along the country lanes toward the main road. Taking shelter behind the stone walls which the New England farmers built as fences around their fields, they kept up a constant fire on the retreating British column. After the British passed, the minutemen would run on ahead through the fields and come out at the roadside further on. The British soldiers, worn out with marching and fighting, bearing their wounded comrades along with them as best they could, finally reached the shelter of the cannon on the warships anchored in Boston harbor. It was a sorry group that



THE BRITISH RETREAT FROM CONCORD

tumbled into the boats on the Charles River. Out of eight hundred who had started out so bravely, more than a fourth had been killed or wounded in the day's fighting.

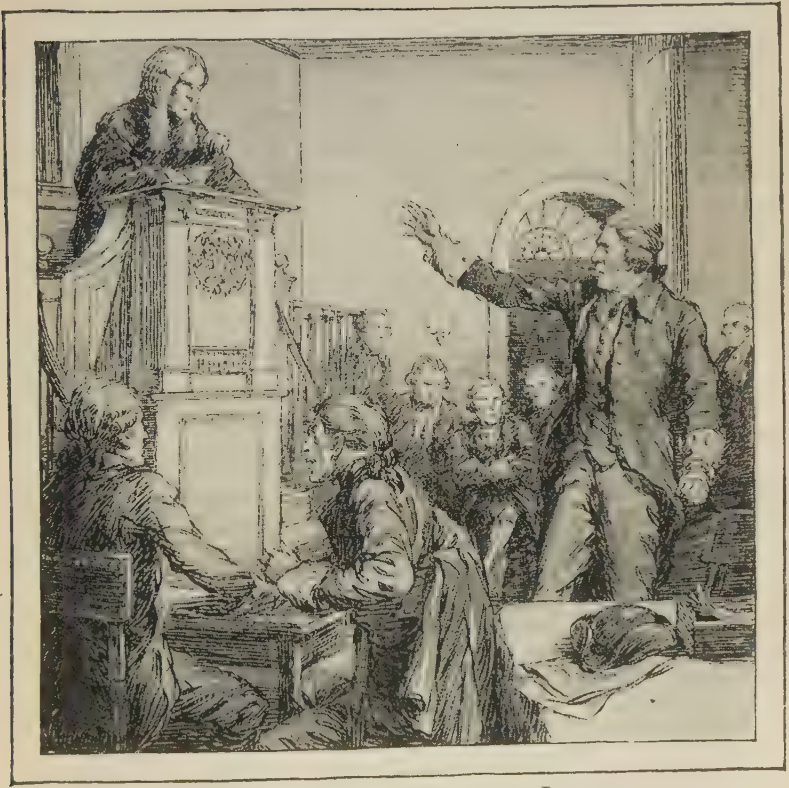
The War Begun. Thus the War for American Independence began. The British had brought on the first bloodshed by their march to Lexington. At Concord Bridge and all along the historic road that connects Concord and Lexington with Boston the American minutemen had answered the challenge.

The Nation Aroused. Blood had been shed; men had been killed; nothing now could be quite the same as before. Swiftly the news spread through the colonies. Farmers in the Hudson Valley, merchants in New York and Philadelphia, planters in the South — men and women in the homes, in the churches, in the shops, at the village stores — all talked about what had happened at Lexington and Concord.

Only a few months before, Benjamin Franklin, who had been sent to England to represent the colonies, told William Pitt that he had never heard anyone in America propose a separation from the mother country. In October of the preceding year (1774), Washington had written, "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America."

Now, however, some of the people began openly to say that the American patriots should throw off the British rule. In the Virginia legislature, Patrick Henry made a powerful speech, ending with the famous words, "I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!" Like the news of Lexington and Concord, these burning words spread through the land.

The Second Continental Congress. A few weeks after Lexington and Concord, representatives from all of the thirteen colonies met at Philadelphia. They made up what is known in our history as the "Second Continental Congress." Throughout the war, this Congress formed the only union or national government that the Americans had, although each colony continued its own local government. A hard time of it the Second Continental Congress had, as we shall see.



PATRICK HENRY BEFORE THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE

The Great Campaigns[1] **of the Revolution.** The War for Independence may be divided for clearness into the following groups of campaigns:

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[1] In describing the acts of war certain terms are used. A *battle*, for example, is an actual fight between armed forces. The word *skirmish* commonly

1. The Northern campaigns.
2. The Middle States campaigns.
3. The Southern campaigns.

Although fighting was going on frequently in various parts of the country at the same time, it will be helpful to take up the three groups of campaigns separately.

II. THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGNS AND THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Siege of Boston. In spite of the rough treatment that they had received at Lexington and Concord, the British forces succeeded for several months in holding the city of

means a battle on a small scale — often a chance encounter between small groups of opposing armies. A *siege* is usually a long-drawn-out battle in which one side holds a strong position which the other side wishes to capture, and in attempting to do this, tries to surround the enemy and cut off his supplies, and prevent all communications with the outside. A *campaign* is usually a large movement of armies which has a definite purpose in view, and which may include many battles, skirmishes, and sieges. Sometimes there are small campaigns within large campaigns.

In studying American history up to the time of the World War, the following meanings may usually be attached to the words named: A *company* is a body of about 100 soldiers commanded by a *captain*, under whom are two *lieutenants* and several *sergeants* and *corporals*. Usually ten companies (or about 1000 men) make up a *regiment*, which is commanded by a *colonel*, assisted by a *lieutenant colonel* and a *major*, each commanding half the regiment or a *battalion*. The lieutenant colonel is one rank higher than the major. Regiments are combined to form a *brigade*, in charge of a *brigadier general*, and brigades are combined to form a *division*, in charge of a *major general*. Only occasionally in American history have the two highest ranks, *lieutenant general* and *general*, been given to army officers. Strictly speaking, a lieutenant general would command an *army corps* made up of several divisions, and a general would command an *army* made up of several army corps. *Corporals* and *sergeants* are *non-commissioned* officers; all of the other ranks named represent *commissioned* officers, that is, officers who have received commissions from the government. The ranks of naval officers follow the same general plan, although there are important differences in titles. *Admiral* is the highest rank, followed by *vice admiral*, *rear admiral*, *captain*, *lieutenant*, and *ensign*. These are all commissioned officers. It should be noted that the naval ranks, *captain* and *lieutenant*, are higher than the army ranks of the same names.

Boston. They were shut off entirely, however, on the land side, for thousands of volunteers from the more distant parts of New England had by this time joined the minutemen, and a strong line of troops encircled the city, cutting off all communication except by way of the sea. The Americans, too, were being formed into the beginnings of a real army. Some of the older patriots had served in the French and Indian War (p. 101), and were quite able to organize companies and regiments and to teach the younger men something about the art of war. Among these former soldiers were Israel Putnam, who had hurried to Boston from his farm in Connecticut when the news of Lexington reached him; Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, who was destined to become one of the great generals of the war; William Prescott, who was put in charge of the American forces at Bunker Hill; and Artemas Ward, who was the first to command the new American army.

The Battle of Bunker Hill. The most important event during the long siege of Boston was a desperate battle between the Americans and the British for the possession of a hill[1] in Charlestown, just opposite Boston. The Americans knew that if they could dig trenches on this hill so that their gunners could be protected from the cannon fire of the British ships, they could use their own cannon to throw shot into the city of Boston and perhaps drive the British out.

On the night of June 16, 1775, Putnam led some men up this hill. With picks and shovels they dug a line of trenches, and in the morning the British awoke to find the threatening earthworks frowning down upon them. Preparations were at once begun to drive the Americans out of their favorable position. Boatload after boatload of British soldiers crossed from Boston to Charlestown, formed in a long line at the base of the hill, and then, at the command of their officers, began to storm up toward the trenches. The Americans held their fire until the British were so close that the Americans "could see the whites of their eyes." Then they gave them a deadly volley. The long line reeled back, but formed again and renewed the charge. Again the British soldiers were hurled back, and a third time they formed. The Americans were now out of gunpowder and it was necessary for them to withdraw. The British took possession of the hill, but at so great a cost that they were not anxious to have any more such victories.

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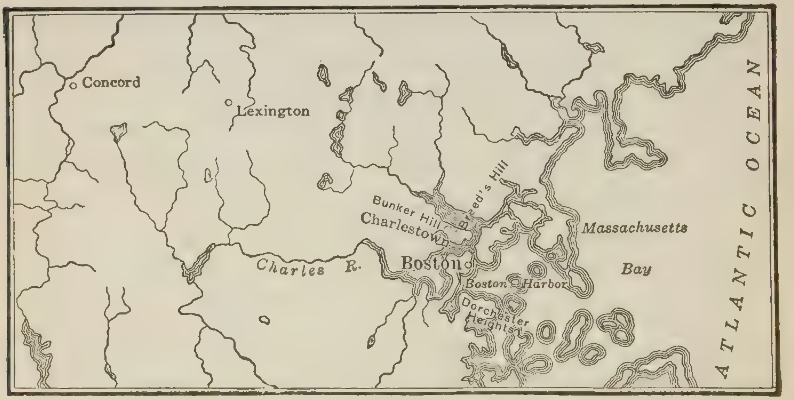
[1] The hill was known as Bunker Hill. There was another near-by and really a part of it that was called Breed's Hill. The latter was the one that was fortified by the Americans, but the struggle that took place there has always been known as the Battle of Bunker Hill.



Boston and Vicinity

Washington in Command. The day before the Battle of Bunker Hill the Continental Congress at Philadelphia chose a chief of the American army. This new leader was the Virginian who had been so brave in Braddock's fatal campaign (p. 102) and who was now to become one of the famous generals of the world — George Washington. On

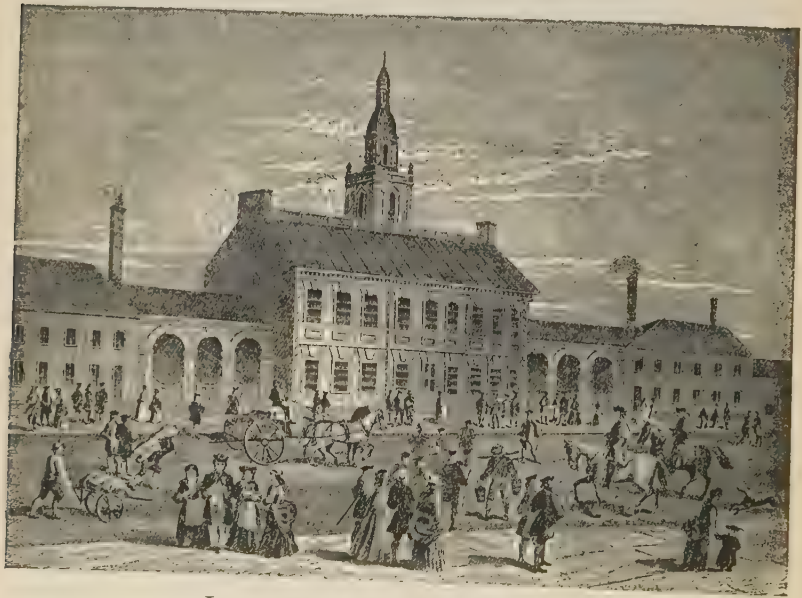
July 3, 1775, he took command of the army on the Cambridge Common. In his cautious and deliberate manner he began to prepare his raw and untrained men for serious warfare against the British regulars. Most of all he needed supplies, particularly powder.

Ethan Allen Takes Crown Point and Ticonderoga. In securing supplies great service had already been rendered by Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys from Vermont. In May, 1775, shortly after the Battle of Lexington and Concord, Allen and his men had captured Crown Point and Fort Ticonderoga on the west shore of Lake Champlain. There they seized large stocks of military stores, including powder and many cannon.

The British Leave Boston. From this source Washington secured a greatly needed supply, and early in the next year he was ready for action. He occupied Dorchester Heights, south of Boston, so located that cannon planted on the heights could be fired into the city. The British saw that it would be useless to hold Boston any longer. In March, 1776, they boarded their ships and sailed away to Halifax, leaving the Americans in possession of the city.

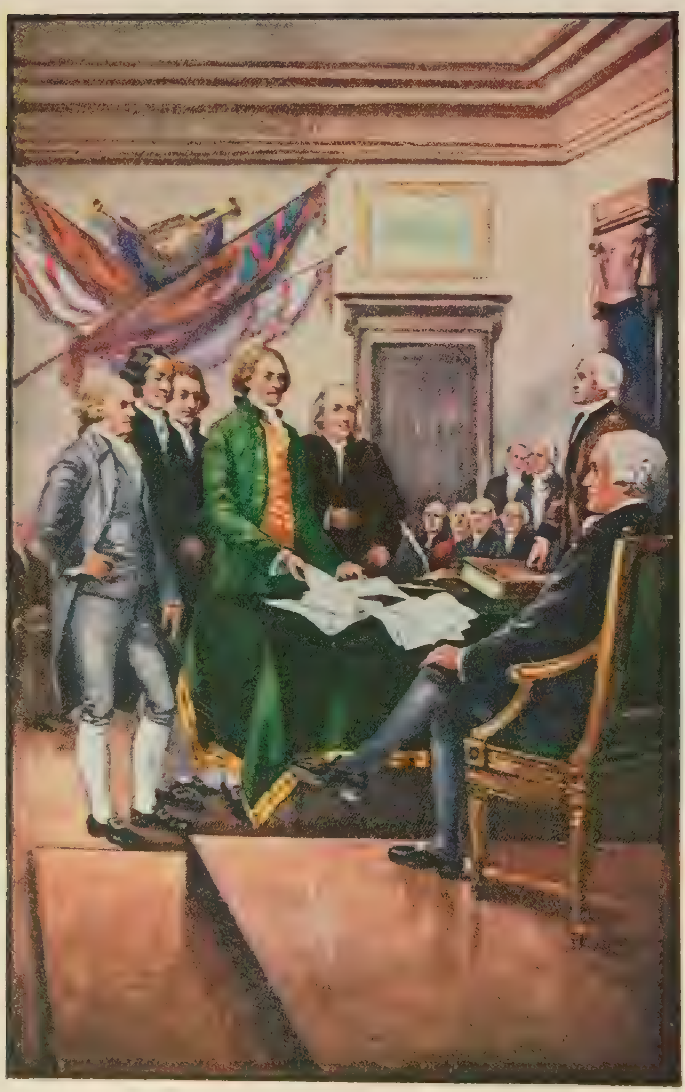
The Quebec Expedition. While Washington was preparing for this great stroke at Boston, a terrible disaster to American soldiers happened far to the north. Thinking that the French in Canada would be glad to get rid of British rule, the Americans in the fall of 1775 fitted out two expeditions to conquer that country. One under Benedict Arnold made its way through the wilds of Maine to Quebec. The other under Montgomery went up through the Lake Champlain region to the St. Lawrence River and thence down the river to join Arnold (see map, p. 171). On a day in the dead of winter when a fierce snowstorm was raging, the Americans attacked the British troops defending Quebec, but were beaten off with terrible loss. Montgomery was killed; Arnold was badly wounded; and the troops suffered cruelly. This expedition not only cost a large number of American soldiers, but also put an end to all hopes of a revolution in Canada.

The Declaration of Independence. Notwithstanding the failure in Canada, the British defeat at Boston encouraged the Americans, and the Continental Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, decided to issue a declaration of independence from Great Britain. At the beginning of the war most of the patriots were striving only to win back their rights as English colonists; they had announced their loyalty to the mother country and had expressed the hope that good feeling might be restored. As the struggle continued, however, many of the people came to feel that a complete separation from the mother country was the only possible solution of the prob-



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

From an old print



The Declaration of Independence

lem. That this would be a dangerous step they well knew. England would doubtless carry on the war much more vigorously if the Americans broke away entirely. Then, too, there were still Tory loyalists among the Americans who were prepared to resist a declaration of independence by the Continental Congress. Moreover, if the patriots were defeated, the men who declared independence would doubtless be hanged as traitors.

Thomas Paine's Pamphlet. It required great courage, then, to take this step, but courageous leaders were not lacking. In January, 1776, Thomas Paine published his pamphlet, *Common Sense* — a powerful plea for American independence. This famous pamphlet was sold by the thousands and read by the firesides and in the taverns where the people met to talk about the war. They took heart as they read the striking words:

> Arms as the last resort decide the contest. . . . The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a City, County, a Province, or a Kingdom; but of a Continent — of at least one-eighth part of the habitable Globe. . . . O! ye that love mankind; ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth!

Thomas Jefferson's Work. The Declaration Signed. Stirred by the same thoughts which inspired Paine and unmoved by selfish fears, the members of Congress, acting on the motion of the Virginia delegates, cast their votes for independence. The task of writing the Declaration was given to a young Virginian, Thomas Jefferson, and on July 4, 1776, after some slight changes, it was adopted. The tidings of American independence were rung out to the world from the old bell that hung in the belfry of the hall in which Congress sat, and messengers were sent in every direction, bearing copies of the Declaration.

This remarkable document, setting forth the grievances of the Americans, proclaimed the lofty principles that all men are created equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Not only were these principles a prophecy of the future of America; they also served as a source from which, ever since, those who have struggled for freedom have drawn inspiration and courage.

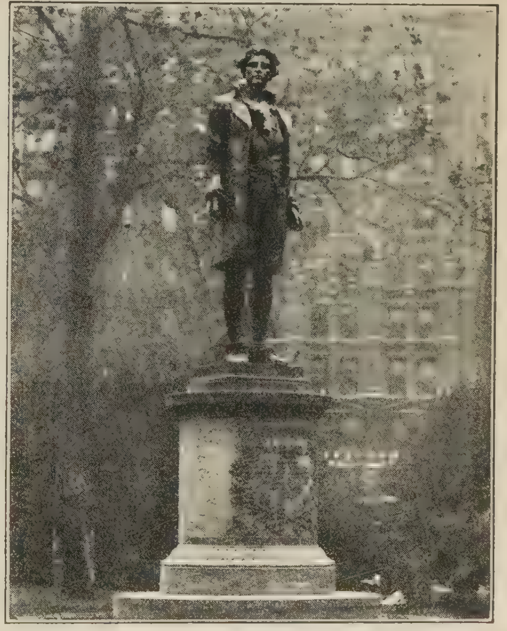
III. The Middle States Campaigns and the French Alliance

Battles of Long Island and White Plains. While the Congress was debating independence, Washington with a large body of men set out from Boston for New York, where it was certain that the enemy would make an attack sooner or later. In August, 1776, the British began to land troops on Long Island. They met with success. In the Battle of Long Island they cut the American army into two parts, captured one section of it, and forced the other to retire across the river to New York City. At this time Washington wrote that the situation was distressing, for the continued successes of the British had discouraged his army. From New York the American army retreated slowly northward to White Plains, where a brave stand was made and the advance of the British was checked for a time.

Nathan Hale. With New York and much of the surrounding country in the enemy's hands, things looked dark indeed for the American cause. The young patriot, Nathan Hale, sent by Washington into the British camp to get information, was caught and hanged by the British, bravely regretting at the end " that he had but one life to give to his country." Hundreds of American soldiers, thinking all was lost, left the army and went home. The Continental Congress was entirely discouraged. Turning over the entire control of the war to Washington, the members left Philadelphia, where the British soldiers were daily expected.

Retreat through New Jersey. Victories at Trenton and Princeton. Although his army was melting away and nearly everybody around him was discouraged, Washington never wavered. After the Battle of White Plains he took a part of his troops across the Hudson River and retreated rapidly southward through New Jersey, closely followed by the British forces under General Cornwallis. The Americans were the first to reach the Delaware River and, seizing all the boats for miles up and down that stream, they crossed into Pennsylvania.

Resting his men for a while, Washington then made a bold stroke which served to revive the hopes of the downcast Americans. Across the river at Trenton, a few miles away, there was a force of Hessians, that is, German soldiers from Hesse, who had been hired by George III to fight under British command against the Americans. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington and his men set out in a snowstorm, made their way through the ice which swept down the Dela-



Statue of Nathan Hale
City Hall Park, New York City

ware River, and the next morning surprised the British forces at Trenton, capturing more than a thousand prisoners. Not long after the Battle of Trenton Washington again succeeded in surprising a section of the British army at Princeton, and won another victory for the American cause.

These successes greatly cheered the patriots. The Hessian prisoners were marched through the streets of Philadelphia amid great rejoicing.

Burgoyne's Expedition. Nine months later, in the fall of 1777, some very important victories were won further north. The British leaders had decided to cut New England off from the rest of the country by occupying central New York and seizing the strong line of American forts along the Hudson River, Lake George, and Lake Champlain. A great campaign was planned as follows:

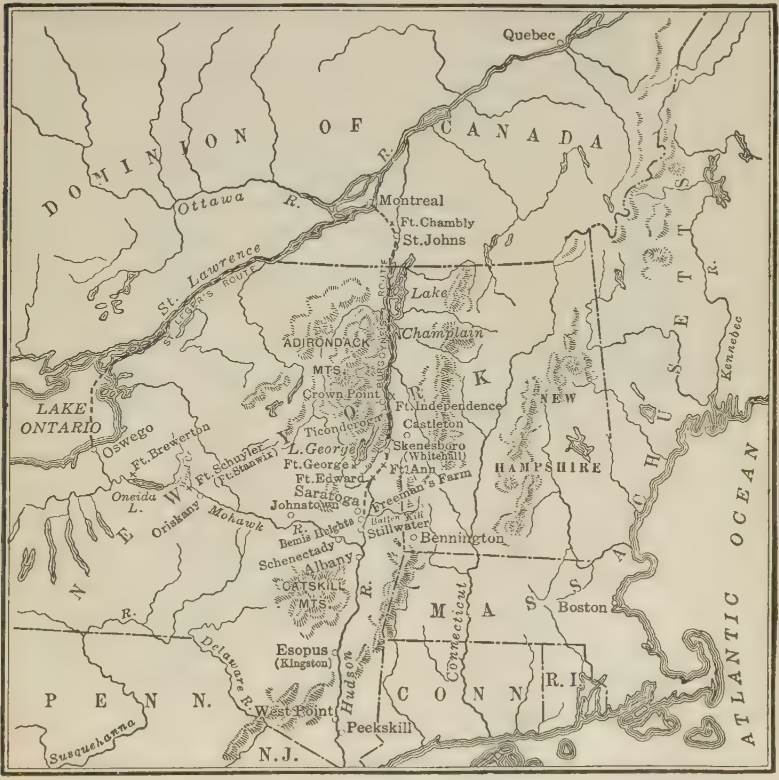
1. A British force was to move from Montreal up the St. Lawrence River and across Lake Ontario to Oswego, New York. Thence it was to go up the Oswego River, over into the Mohawk Valley, and down this valley to Albany.
2. A larger army under General Burgoyne was to move directly south from Montreal along the Lake Champlain and Lake George route to Albany.
3. General Howe, then in control of New York City, was to move with his warships and soldiers up the Hudson, capture the forts along the way, and join the forces from Canada at Albany.

If this great plan had been successful, it might have meant the defeat of the American cause. Fortunately it failed completely.

1. *Oriskany.* The expedition by way of Oswego was defeated at Oriskany and turned back to Montreal.

2. *Ticonderoga and Bennington.* For a time Burgoyne was successful. He captured Fort Ticonderoga which guarded the southern end of Lake Champlain, and crossed

over into the Hudson Valley. The first disaster came when he sent a party of soldiers into Vermont to collect supplies. They were met at Bennington by the Green Mountain Boys under General Stark and badly beaten in battle.


Quebec
DOMINION OF CANADA
Ottawa R.
Montreal
Ft. Chambly
St. Johns
St. Lawrence R.
ST. LEGER'S ROUTE
BURGOYNE'S ROUTE
Lake Champlain
ADIRONDACK MTS.
Crown Point
Ft. Independence
Ticonderoga
Castleton
Skenesboro (Whitehall)
L. George
Ft. George
Ft. Ann
Ft. Edward
Freeman's Farm
Saratoga
Johnstown
Batten Kill
Stillwater
Bennington
Bemis Heights
Schenectady
Albany
CATSKILL MTS.
Esopus (Kingston)
Hudson R.
West Point
Peekskill
N.J.
PENN.
Susquehanna
Delaware R.
NEW YORK
LAKE ONTARIO
Oswego
Ft. Brewerton
Ft. Schuyler (Ft. Stanwix)
Oneida L.
Oriskany
Mohawk R.
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
Boston
CONN.
R.I.
Connecticut R.
Kennebec R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Burgoyne's Expedition

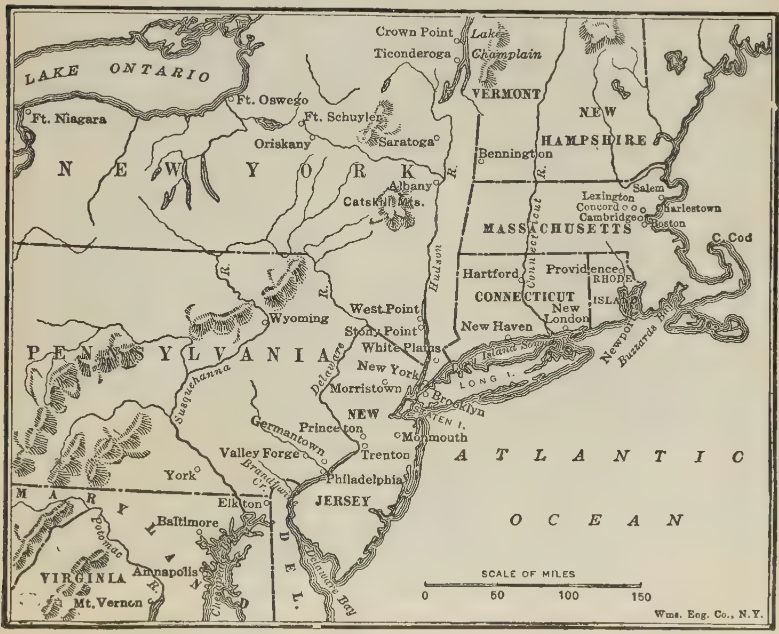
3. *Howe Fails to Join Burgoyne.* General Howe did not try to get his ships and men up the Hudson River. Washington was waiting for him, and the forts at West Point and other places were too strong to be taken without very heavy losses — if, indeed, they could have been taken at all.

Saratoga. Burgoyne found himself, then, quite without the support that he had expected. The Americans were surrounding him and his supplies were running low. At the Battle of Saratoga, his army was severely defeated and forced to surrender. On October 17, 1777, he yielded his sword to General Gates, to whom Congress had given command of the American forces late in the campaign, replacing General Schuyler, to whom much of the credit for the American success should be given.

This was all in all the most important American victory of the Revolution. Indeed, the Battle of Saratoga is listed among the "decisive" battles of the world's history — that is, the battles in which victory has meant an important turning-point in human affairs.

The British Take Philadelphia. The Battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. While the northern campaign was going on, and long before the Battle of Saratoga turned the tide of the war, events less fortunate for the Americans were taking place in Pennsylvania. General Howe, we found, did not try to join Burgoyne at Albany. Instead, he took some of his ships and a large body of troops and started south. Washington then saw that the British, unable to take Philadelphia from the New Jersey side, would try to reach that city from the head of Chesapeake Bay, to which point Howe's ships were bound. Hurrying to Pennsylvania Washington placed some of his forces across the route that the British would take from the Chesapeake to Philadelphia. He failed, however, to check the enemy's advance and suffered reverses in the Battle of the Brandywine and later in the Battle of Germantown. Philadelphia was taken by the British in the summer of 1777.

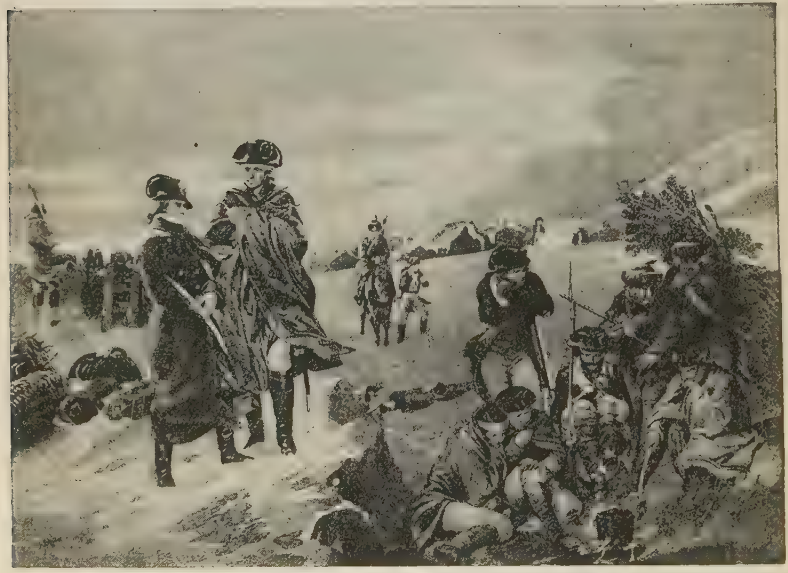
The Winter at Valley Forge. In spite of the successes in the northern campaign, the winter of 1777–1778 has been justly called the "darkest hour" in the War for Independence. With his defeated troops Washington went into camp at Valley Forge about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia. The hardships of the men during that dreadful winter cannot be described in words. The soldiers were in rags and were half-starved much of the time. Hundreds were without shoes and blankets, and seldom did they have anything but the coarsest food. Lafayette, a young Frenchman who had come over the sea to help the cause of liberty in America, wrote of Valley Forge:


LAKE ONTARIO
Ft. Niagara
Ft. Oswego
Ft. Schuyler
Oriskany
Saratoga
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
Lake Champlain
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
Bennington
NEW YORK
Albany
Catskill Mts.
Hudson R.
Connecticut R.
Salem
Lexington
Concord
Cambridge
Charlestown
Boston
MASSACHUSETTS
C. Cod
Hartford
Providence
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
New London
New Haven
Long Island Sound
Newport
Buzzards Bay
West Point
Stony Point
White Plains
Wyoming
PENNSYLVANIA
Susquehanna
Delaware R.
New York
Morristown
Brooklyn
LONG I.
STATEN I.
NEW JERSEY
Princeton
Monmouth
Trenton
Germantown
Valley Forge
Brandywine Cr.
Philadelphia
York
Elkton
Baltimore
MARYLAND
Potomac R.
Annapolis
VIRGINIA
Mt. Vernon
Chesapeake Bay
DEL.
Delaware Bay
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0
50
100
150
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN THE NORTH

> The unfortunate soldiers were in want of everything; they had neither coats, hats, shirts, nor shoes; their feet and legs froze until they became black. . . . The army frequently remained whole days without provisions, and the patient endurance of both officers and men was a miracle.

An undying faith in the cause for which they were fighting and in the wisdom and ability of Washington kept the remnants of an army together. In the midst of their hardships they prepared for battle. They drilled regularly and were gradually made into an excellent fighting force. In this work they had very important aid from Baron Steuben, a German officer, who, like Lafayette, had given his services to the patriots' cause.



WASHINGTON AT VALLEY FORGE

France Decides to Aid the Americans. One reason why the Battle of Saratoga is so famous lies in the fact that the surrender of Burgoyne had an important part in convincing the French king that it would be a wise thing for him to help the American patriots.

As early as December, 1776, Benjamin Franklin had sought aid for the Americans from the government of France.

Many liberal men in France, men who were preparing the way for the great revolution so soon to follow in that country, expressed deep sympathy with the American cause and greeted Franklin with warmth and encouragement.

The king, Louis XVI, was cautious. He wished to reduce the power of Great Britain and humble the country that twenty-five years before had broken the empire of France in India and North America, but he would not move hastily. When, however, the victory at Saratoga showed that the Americans could actually conquer a British army, the king decided to help them. In February, 1778, he made a treaty of alliance with the United States agreeing to furnish men, money, and supplies to the struggling young nation. Never was aid more timely. It is believed by many historians that, if it had not been for the help of France, the rule of Great Britain would have been restored in America and the patriots would have paid a heavy penalty for daring to resist. We are certain that French aid assured a victory that had before been in doubt.

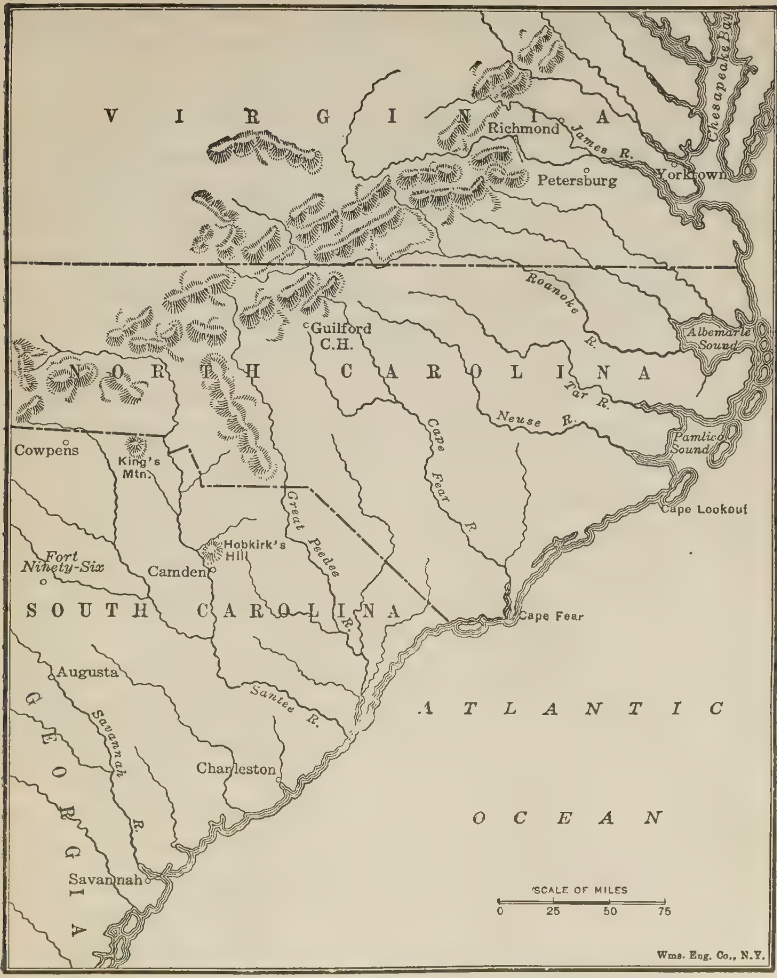
The British Leave Philadelphia. *The Battle of Monmouth.* When the British heard of the treaty between France and the United States, they decided to leave Philadelphia and gather all their forces in New York. On their way northward across New Jersey, they were sharply attacked by Washington at Monmouth on June 28, 1778, and would have been decisively defeated if it had not been for the misconduct of one of Washington's officers, General Charles Lee, who failed to follow an order given him. Nevertheless the battle had the effect of a victory and brought the fighting in the North to an end for a time. The British remained inactive in New York, and Washington was able to give his attention to the ever-present task of raising soldiers and collecting supplies — even yet a task so discouraging that only one with his faith and courage and patience could have met it.

Treason of Benedict Arnold. To all of Washington's difficulties was added the treason of Benedict Arnold, once a brave and trusted officer. Arnold had distinguished himself at Quebec and at Saratoga and thought that he ought to have more honors than he had received. Unable to put aside his belief that he had not been appreciated, he decided in September, 1780, to betray his country. He arranged with the British for the surrender of the very strong fort at West Point, which was under his command. Major André of the British army was selected to carry out the plan. André was on his way back to the British lines when he was stopped at Tarrytown by three Americans. Papers, written by Arnold to the British commander, were found in his boots, and he was taken to the American headquarters. Tried by court-martial and found guilty, he was hanged as a spy, Washington sternly refusing to grant pardon. Arnold, on learning of André's arrest, fled to a British warship in the Hudson River. Although despised by his fellow officers, he served in the British Army, fighting against the country he had once defended.

IV. The Southern Campaigns and the War on the Sea and in the West

Southern Resistance to Great Britain. Although Lexington and Bunker Hill, White Plains and Saratoga, Trenton and Valley Forge occupy a high place in the history of the American Revolution, it must be remembered that the Southern States did their part in winning American independence. In Charleston, South Carolina, patriot bands had been hurriedly formed when the news of the Stamp Act was received (p. 145), and they were quickly formed again to oppose the tax on tea (p. 149).

As early as 1771 some North Carolina citizens had been hanged for resisting British officers. Nearly a month before


VIRGINIA
Richmond
James R.
Petersburg
Yorktown
Chesapeake Bay
Roanoke R.
Albemarle Sound
Guilford C.H.
NORTH CAROLINA
Tar R.
Neuse R.
Pamlico Sound
Cape Fear R.
Cape Lookout
Cowpens
King's Mtn.
Great Pedee R.
Hobkirk's Hill
Fort Ninety-Six
Camden
SOUTH CAROLINA
Cape Fear
Augusta
Santee R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GEORGIA
Savannah R.
Charleston
Savannah
SCALE OF MILES
0
25
50
75
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

The Revolutionary War in the South

the Battle of Lexington, Patrick Henry had called his countrymen in Virginia to arms (p. 160). In May, 1775, a group of patriots in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, had declared their independence by proclaiming in a set of resolutions that all British military and civil authority, as far as they were concerned, was at an end. Men from the South were side by side with men from the North at the Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth.

The British Capture Savannah and Charleston. Although Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, which were so easy to reach from the sea, were especially valuable to the British, the southern seaports were not forgotten. In 1776 a British fleet attacked Charleston, South Carolina, but an attempt to land forces and capture the city failed. Two years after this failure the British took Savannah. In 1780 they again attacked Charleston, this time by land, and were successful. Cheered by this victory, General Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in command, with orders to overrun and hold the South.

Cornwallis against Gates, Greene, and Lafayette. For a while success seemed to be with Cornwallis. General Gates, who had won fame at Saratoga, was placed in command of the American forces in the south. Cornwallis fought him at Camden, and the Americans met in this battle their worst defeat of the war. Although Cornwallis later had heavy losses at King's Mountain and Cowpens, he seemed likely to conquer the Carolinas. But gradually the tide began to turn. Nathanael Greene was sent south to take the place of Gates, and in the campaign that followed he proved himself to be, next to Washington, perhaps the ablest American general. Although his forces were much smaller than those of Cornwallis, he divided them in such a way that the British commander was not able to win a telling victory. The Americans would retreat and the British would follow, continually suffering from sudden attacks of small forces that Greene left to worry them. Finally Greene succeeded in leading the enemy so far from their base of supplies that Cornwallis left the Carolinas to the Americans and turned north into Virginia where he hoped to capture a force that had been sent to that state in command of Lafayette.

The Siege of Yorktown. Cornwallis Surrenders. When Cornwallis marched boldly into Virginia and intrenched his army at Yorktown he had not counted on the plans of the French and Americans. France had sent over large forces under Rochambeau to join Washington's troops near New York and shortly afterward had dispatched a strong fleet under Admiral De Grasse. When Washington learned that Cornwallis had marched with his army to Virginia, he at once decided to take the French and American land forces south to meet the British there. Meanwhile the French fleet blockaded Cornwallis on the seaward side.

As a result of the combined action of the army and the French fleet Cornwallis was completely surrounded at Yorktown and on October 19, 1781, compelled to surrender. As the British soldiers marched out to lay down their arms, the bands played a popular old tune, " The World Turned Upside Down," which was entirely fitting. British rule in the American Colonies was at an end forever, even though King George's men still held New York City and Charleston.

The War at Sea. Although most of the important campaigns of the Revolution were along the Atlantic coast, there were other contests which must not be overlooked: those at sea and those west of the Alleghenies. Early in the war Congress gave permission to private shipowners to equip vessels, called *privateers,* to attack and capture British merchant vessels. Congress also created a small navy and put the American flag upon the sea. One famous captain, John Paul Jones, fitted out vessels in French ports and sailed along the coast of England and Scotland, destroying ships wherever he could find them. In 1779, with his flagship *Bonhomme Richard* he attacked the British frigate

Serapis and after a desperate fight captured it. These brave deeds at sea by Jones and other gallant commanders, such as John Barry, greatly encouraged the patriots in America.

George Rogers Clark in the Northwest. While John Paul Jones was playing his part on the sea, a young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, was playing another part beyond the Alleghenies. During many years of exploration he had learned the value of the western country. When the war broke out, he was determined to save it for the Americans by capturing the frontier posts of the British. After obtaining help from the Virginia government, he journeyed with a small body of picked riflemen down the Ohio River to the mouth of the Tennessee River and thence northward across country to Kaskaskia in what is now Illinois. Having seized this post and made secure the surrounding country, Clark struck back across the marshy lands of Illinois to the British post at Vincennes (Indiana), which he easily captured. When the time came for peace, the great Northwest was therefore claimed for the new nation. Settled by the French, taken from them by the British, it now came into possession of the United States.

V. THE TREATY OF PEACE; REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE AMERICAN CAUSE

The Treaty of Paris. It took nearly two years after the victory at Yorktown to arrange the final terms of peace. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay were instructed in 1781 to discuss the terms of settlement with the agents of Great Britain at Paris; but it was not until September, 1783, that an agreement was finally reached. In this treaty the independence of the thirteen American Colonies was acknowledged by Great Britain, and the boundaries of the new country were laid out. It was agreed that the

United States should extend from the Atlantic westward to the Mississippi River and from the Great Lakes southward to the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Canada was to be kept by the British, and Florida was given to the Spaniards, who had joined the French in the war on Great Britain. The United States was thus admitted to a place among the independent nations of the earth.

Washington. In that year, 1783, Washington resigned his office as commander in chief and retired to his beautiful home at Mount Vernon on the Potomac, hoping to enjoy a well-earned rest. For more than thirty years he had been busy in the affairs of government and of military life. In 1751 at the early age of nineteen he had been made an officer in the Virginia army; he had served capably and honorably in the campaigns against the French in the West (pp. 100–103); he had been a member of the Virginia Legislature. When the Revolution broke out, he was elected to the Continental Congress and then given the difficult task of commanding the patriot army.

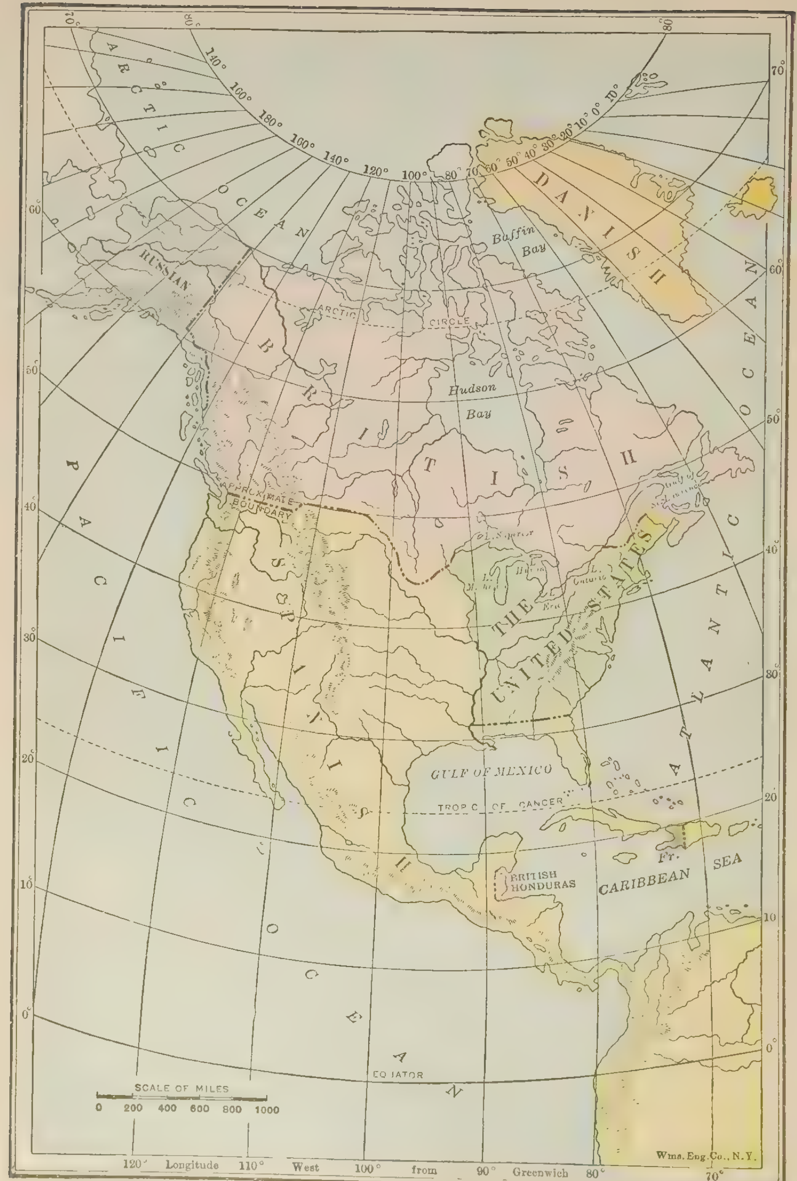
Seldom, if ever, in the history of the world has another man carried such heavy responsibilities. He had to plan the campaigns and lead in the conduct of battles in the field — that is a general's duty. Washington did more. By the failure of the Congress, he was forced to help secure troops, to keep together a straggling army of militiamen and volunteers, to raise money, to collect supplies, to cheer his men by his own example, and to suffer unnecessary hardships with them. Then he had to turn aside from military affairs to guide and lead Congress in the management of public business. In bitter defeat at Long Island, Brandywine, and Germantown, Washington never lost hope. His courage and faith kept the patriot cause alive when others were ready to give up. He was the inspiration of the Revolutionary Army.

No wonder that after victory he looked forward to the deep joy of peace at home. But he was not to have rest. Soon he was called away to help draft a Constitution for his country and then to serve for eight long years as President. In 1797 he again retired to Mount Vernon, only to be called a few months later to command the army again in view of a threatened break with France. When he died in 1799, the whole nation could truly say that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Benjamin Franklin

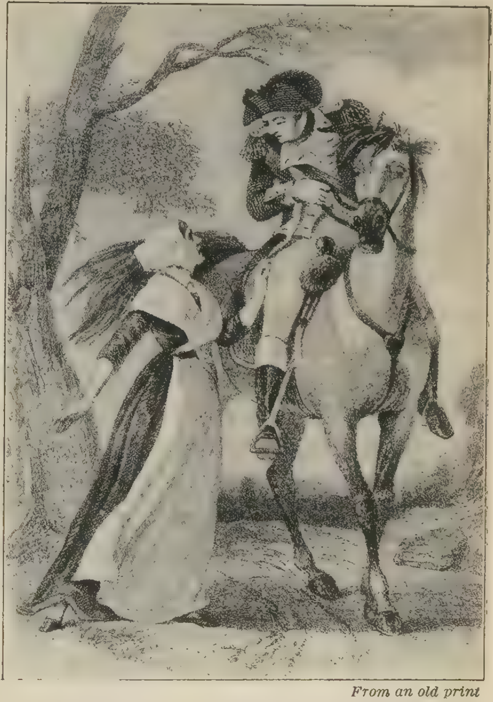
Aid from Distinguished Foreigners. Americans have always cherished the memory of foreign friends who aided them by serving in the armies of the Revolution. From France came Lafayette; from Poland, Pulaski and Kosciuszko; from Germany, DeKalb and Steuben.

The Civilians' Part in the Revolution. *Benjamin Franklin.* Always remembering the courage of the men and officers who braved the dangers of the battlefield, we should add that they were not alone responsible for the glorious outcome. To the able representatives abroad who won for the United States the support of France and the aid of Hol-


ARCTIC OCEAN
RUSSIAN
BRITISH
DANISH
Baffin Bay
Hudson Bay
ARCTIC CIRCLE
APPROXIMATE BOUNDARY
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
L. Ontario
L. Erie
Gulf of St. Lawrence
THE UNITED STATES
SPANISH
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
BRITISH HONDURAS
Fr.
CARIBBEAN SEA
EQUATOR
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600 800 1000
120° Longitude 110° West 100° from 90° Greenwich 80° 70°
140° 160° 180° 160° 140° 120° 100° 80° 70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° 10° 0° 10°
70° 60° 50° 40° 30° 20° 10° 0°
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

North America According to the Treaty of 1783 land great credit is due. Benjamin Franklin, the printer from Philadelphia, had already become famous as a deep thinker and a man of science. He added to his fame by the skillful way in which he won the help of France for the Revolutionary cause.

Robert Morris. The civilians also who raised the money and the supplies for the army must not be forgotten. Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, labored day and night with all his great ability to find funds to pay the bills of an almost bankrupt government.[1]



From an old print

An American Woman Giving Secret Information to an Officer in the Patriot Army

The Work of the Women. Women too did their full share. They made ammunition, giving their pewter dishes and cooking utensils to be melted and molded into bullets; they spun and wove and made clothing and hospital supplies; they tilled the fields and gathered the crops while the men were away; they carried supplies to the army, often at the risk of their lives. On Washington's call they gave gold and silver jewels and plate to be melted and turned into coin; they begged money for the army from door to door; and not a few of them, like Mollie Pitcher at the Battle of Monmouth, even served in the ranks.

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[1] Finding it impossible to collect enough gold and silver, the Continental Congress and the governments of the states issued large sums of paper money. Such notes were mere promises to pay and fell rapidly in value, until the best of them were worth only a few cents on the dollar. Worthless as this paper was, the farmers and merchants accepted it in return for supplies and trusted to an independent nation to redeem its promises after the war.

Maintaining the Armies. It was hard for the patriots to keep up the military strength of the country. At the opening of the Revolution the army was composed of men who volunteered for a few months at a time and were always leaving in large numbers just when they were needed most. The Continental Congress was made up of civilians who knew little about war and were afraid of strong military power; they would not do anything to mend matters until the army faced almost complete defeat, and they saw that the militia system was not working. Then they yielded to Washington's demand for a standing army of regulars enlisted for the war and paid, according to a definite agreement, in money and in lands. Even this plan was only partly carried out on account of the jealousy of the states and the dislike of enlisting soldiers for long terms of service.

The Tories. The trials of the patriots were made all the more difficult by the constant presence of enemies in their midst. As we have pointed out, a number of Americans, the Tories, were loyal to the king and mother country throughout the war. They gave aid and money and supplies to the British commanders at every opportunity. While Washington and his heroic men were freezing and starving at Valley Forge, Tories were giving dinners and dances for British officers in New York and Philadelphia. They laughed at the Revolutionists who were trying to make a new nation in North America, and they did all the damage they could to the American cause.

Really there was a civil war as well as a revolution, and naturally the most bitter feeling arose between the two parties. After the war began, the patriots, deeply angered at those who remained loyal to George III, seized their property, imprisoned many, and drove hundreds out of the country.

When at length the war was over, America was free from British rule; but it was a divided, weakened, and very poor country. Order had to be restored, many wrongs righted, damages repaired, farms and homes and trade reëstablished, and debts paid. A great work lay before the American people when in 1783 the news of final peace spread from town to town.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *military stores, minutemen, skirmish, battle, campaign, siege, liberty, independence, trenches, intrenchments, "regulars," militiamen, document, "decisive battle," treason, privateer, civilian, civil war, foreign minister.*

I. Why did the British commander send troops to Lexington and Concord? How did it happen that the undrilled farmers who answered the "Lexington alarm" could do so much damage to the trained British troops?

II. What is meant by a "siege"? Study the map of Boston and vicinity and explain why the city could be so easily besieged from the land. Could supplies be entirely cut off from the British soldiers in Boston? Why or why not? Why is the Battle of Bunker Hill usually looked upon as an American victory, although the earthworks were finally captured by the British troops? What reasons can you give for the action of the British commander in withdrawing his troops from Boston and leaving the city to the Americans? What led the Americans to attempt to capture Quebec? The war began in April, 1775; the colonists did not declare their independence until more than a year afterward. Explain the reasons for this delay. Who wrote the Declaration of Independence? Read it (see Appendix) and tell what seem to you the most convincing reasons for breaking away from the mother country.

III. Trace on a map the movements of Washington after the defeat of the Americans at the Battle of Long Island. Why were the victories at Trenton and Princeton so important for the Americans? What was the aim of the British leaders in planning the Burgoyne expedition? The battles around Saratoga are recognized as among the most decisive battles of the world's history. Why so important? Locate Valley Forge on the map. Why has the winter at Valley Forge been called the "darkest hour of the Revolution"? Who secured the treaty with France? What were the results of the aid from France? What other foreign aid did the Americans have?

IV. Describe the Southern campaigns. Why was the expedition of George Rogers Clark an important event of the War? Trace on a map the route of this expedition. When, where, and how did the active fighting of the Revolution end?

V. When and where was the treaty of peace concluded? What were its terms? What were Washington's greatest services to the cause of American independence? Who was Robert Morris and what part did he play in the Revolution? What name was given to the Americans who sympathized with England in the War? How were these people treated by the American patriots?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Select one or more of the following topics for further study and for report to the class:

Lexington and Concord: See Coffin's *Boys of Seventy-Six,* ch. i; Hart's *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution,* pp. 257–260.

The Quebec Expedition: See Coffin's *Boys of Seventy-Six,* ch. v.

The Capture of Stony Point: See Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History,* pp. 81–89; Coffin's *Boys of Seventy-Six,* ch. xxiii; Hart's *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution,* pp. 283–285.

King's Mountain: See Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales,* pp. 71–78; Coffin's *Boys of Seventy-Six,* ch. xxviii.

The Expedition of George Rogers Clark: See Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales*, pp. 31–41; McMurry's *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*, ch. viii; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xi.

2. Tell the story of the drafting and signing of the Declaration of Independence.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. iii.; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 147–149.

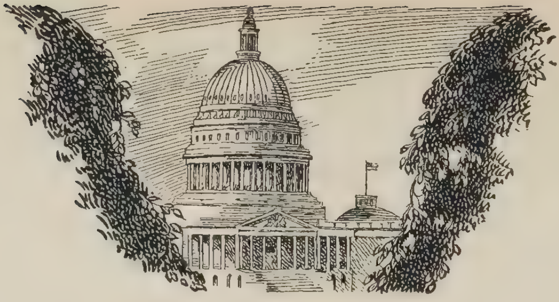
3. Find some of the events in the early life of Washington that fitted him for his great task as leader of the army in the Revolution.

See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 24–47; Parkman's *Struggle for a Continent*, pp. 335–337, 343–350; Woodrow Wilson's *George Washington*, chs. ii, iii.

4. Each member of the class may look up the story of some other hero of the Revolutionary War not treated in detail in this chapter and report on it to the class: Lafayette, Ethan Allen, Nathan Hale, Philip Schuyler, Anthony Wayne, Nathanael Greene, Francis Marion, Daniel Morgan, John Paul Jones, John Barry.

See Crow's *Lafayette*, Tooker's *John Paul Jones*, Root's *Nathan Hale*, Coffin's *Boys of Seventy-Six*, Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History* (Anthony Wayne, pp. 81–89).

5. Draw a time line for the period from 1700 to 1800. Through discussion in class decide what events should be placed on it.



CHAPTER X

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

I. Establishing Governments during the Revolution

The First State Constitutions. While the patriots were busy with the problems of war, they also tried to establish lasting governments for the states and a union among them. The first of these tasks was not very difficult. The colonists were experienced in the management of local affairs.

In Connecticut and Rhode Island all they had to do was to strike the king's name out of their charters and go on as before, electing legislators, governors, and other officers. In the other colonies, where the governors had been either proprietors or persons directly appointed by the king, it was necessary to make new plans for government. In those states the Revolutionists, about the time of the Declaration of Independence, drew up written constitutions setting forth a system of laws for governing themselves.

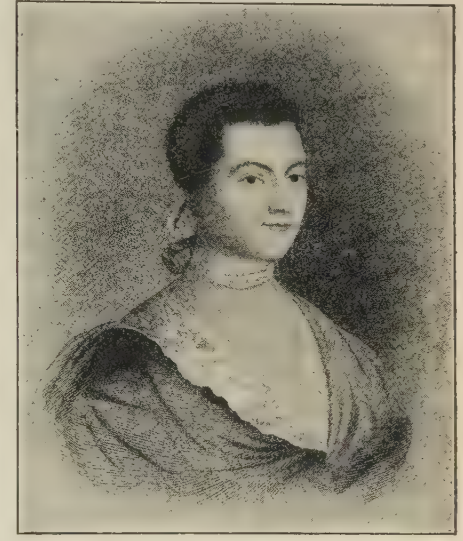
Provisions of the First State Constitutions. The most interesting features of these new governments were as follows:

1. Remembering the unreasonable acts of royal and proprietary governors the makers of most state constitutions gave little power to the governor. Generally he was chosen by the legislature which was made up of representatives of the people. Only in New York and Massachusetts was the

governor to be elected by the people. In Massachusetts alone did the governor have the power to disapprove, or *veto*, laws made by the legislature.

2. In all the states except Pennsylvania and Georgia the legislature had two houses: (1) a senate, in place of the old colonial council; and (2) an assembly modeled after the colonial assembly.

3. Often these first constitutions provided that only men who were worth a stated amount of money or held certain religious opinions could be elected to office. For example, the governors of North Carolina and Massachusetts had to be worth £1000; the governor of Maryland, £5000; and the governor of South Carolina, £10,000.



From an old print

Abigail Adams

4. In nearly all states the right to vote was limited to men who owned property of a certain value or paid taxes. Many men were dissatisfied with a plan which did not allow them to vote, and within a few years there was a widespread demand that all white men be permitted to vote.

A few leading women were likewise dissatisfied. In March, 1776, Mrs. Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams, wrote to her husband in the Continental Congress, asking him to use his influence in favor of equal rights for women. Two years later Mrs. Corbin, sister of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, presented her own petition for the right to vote.

Only one state, however, granted women this right; namely New Jersey. A few years later this state took away the privilege.

The Articles of Confederation. Far more difficult than making state constitutions was the task of forming a successful union among the states. The Americans were engaged in a desperate struggle to throw over the rule of Great Britain, and many did not care to form another central government, even though it was their own. They feared that it might follow the example of the English Parliament and interfere too much with local matters. The states liked their freedom and were often jealous of one another. Moreover the patriots had had no experience in government on a large scale before the Revolution began. They had not thought much about the problems of a government for a whole nation.

For these reasons American leaders were slow in agreeing on a plan for a central, or national, government. Late in 1777 the Continental Congress proposed such a plan under the title of "Articles of Confederation." This plan the Congress sent to the states for ratification, that is, approval. Long debates in the states followed. It was not until 1781 that the last of the thirteen states sent in its approval and the Congress declared that the union of the thirteen states was to be governed by the Articles of Confederation.

Weakness of the Articles. Although the adoption of the Articles was thought a great victory at first, many defects were soon found in them:

1. The Articles provided no President to enforce the laws of the Congress throughout the United States.

2. The Congress represented states; it did not directly represent the people. Although each state could send from two to seven delegates to the Congress, it had only one vote there; that is, the little state of Delaware had the same power as the big state of Virginia.

3. The Congress had no power to raise money and soldiers directly; it could only call upon the states to furnish their respective shares, or *quotas*, as they were called. The states under this plan often refused to meet the demands of the Congress. The national government found itself unable to secure enough men for the army or to raise money to pay even the interest on the debt incurred in the War. The Congress could not compel the individual citizens of any state to serve in the army nor could it tax them directly.

4. The Congress had no power to regulate commerce among the states and with foreign countries. Business, manufacturing, and trade were at the mercy of the state governments and also of foreign countries. One state could tax goods coming in from another state. When a foreign country made an unjust law against American trade, the Congress was powerless to do anything except talk.

5. The Articles did not forbid states to issue paper money or otherwise interfere with business affairs. So each state legislature did as it pleased.

Owing to these and other weaknesses, the Articles of Confederation failed to meet the needs of the time.

II. GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION; THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The Ordinance of 1787. Almost the only great work of the Congress under the Articles of Confederation was the preparation of the country beyond the Alleghenies for settlement. This region, which had formerly belonged to certain states along the seaboard, had been turned over by them to the United States for the benefit of the republic.

In 1784 Thomas Jefferson proposed in the Congress a plan of government for the Western country. The next year the Congress set aside one section (640 acres) in each township of thirty-six sections to maintain local public schools. Three years later (1787) it passed the Northwest Ordinance. This famous law provided, among other things, that (1) temporary territorial governments should be created, (2) in due time states should be formed and admitted to the Union, (3) slavery should be forbidden, and (4) all settlers should enjoy religious freedom.

Growing Discontent with the Articles of Confederation. While making laws for the territories, Congress did nothing to improve the government of the United States. The weakness of the Articles (p. 190) grew more and more apparent. While many people, probably a majority, were very well satisfied, there were others, especially in the towns along the coast, who were thoroughly discontented with the state of affairs:

1. All men who wanted to see the national government strong at home and respected by other countries demanded reform.

2. Those to whom the government owed money were dissatisfied, because they did not receive any interest on their bonds and saw their chances of getting the principal growing slighter every day.

3. The manufacturers were not pleased. They felt that there should be a tax on the goods sent in by foreign merchants, in order that they might not be sold here at a cheaper price than that at which our manufacturers could afford to sell similar goods. In other words, they demanded a tariff for protection.

4. Men engaged in trade and commerce were discontented. Great Britain had made laws against them, and the government of the United States had no power to make laws against British trade to bring that country to terms.

5. Men owning property were distressed, because the legislatures of the states made so much paper money that the debtors could pay their debts in cheap currency. In fact,

in Massachusetts a real civil war broke out. The money lenders foreclosed many mortgages and took hundreds of farms away from debtors. Some farmers, headed by Daniel Shays, started a rebellion which almost overturned the government of the state and was put down only by very strong measures. Truly the early days of our own republic, as of all other republics, were full of trouble.

Demand for a Stronger Government. The government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was in actual danger of falling to pieces. A few persons began to talk seriously of choosing a king strong enough to make the government feared and respected at home and abroad. Others, including Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison, urged the formation of a new government. Washington in a private letter said that disaster awaited if they continued to depend upon " a half-starving, limping government, tottering at every step " ; but he indignantly refused to consider a suggestion that he himself become king.

The Constitutional Convention. As a result of the growing discontent, Congress, in February, 1787, asked the states to send representatives to a convention, to be held in Philadelphia. The legislatures of all the states except Rhode Island responded by choosing delegates. When the Convention met, it was found to contain many of the ablest men of the nation : Hamilton of New York ; Washington, Madison, and Randolph of Virginia ; George Read of Delaware ; Rufus King and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts ; Roger Sherman of Connecticut ; Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, and James Wilson of Pennsylvania ; Pinckney of South Carolina ; and Davie of North Carolina. Jefferson was not a member ; he was away at Paris as the minister of the United States.

The Constitutional Convention worked steadily from May to September, 1787. After many stormy debates a new plan of government — the present Constitution of the United States — was adopted.

III. The Constitution and Its Adoption

The Compromises of the Constitution. The chief disputes in the Convention were between (1) the large and the small states, (2) the commercial states of the North and the agricultural and slave states of the South, and (3) those who wished to give large power to the masses of the people and those who wished to limit this power.

1. *The Compromise between the Large and the Small States.* The small states, Connecticut, Delaware, and New Jersey, were unwilling to give up their equal vote in the Congress. The large states, Virginia and Massachusetts, were determined not to give equal power to the little states. So things came to a standstill. There seemed no way out until it was finally suggested that the states should all have an equal vote in one house of Congress — the Senate — and that all states should be represented according to population in the lower house, the House of Representatives.

In connection with this subject a contest arose as to whether slaves should be regarded as "people" in apportioning taxes and representatives among the states according to population. A compromise according to an old plan was adopted: three fifths of the slaves were to be counted for this purpose, that is five slaves were to be counted as three white people.[1]

2. *Commerce and the Slave Trade.* Another big dispute was over commerce. The North wanted to give the Congress the power to regulate trade. The South was afraid that laws might be made for the benefit of the Northern shipowners and manufacturers and to the injury of Southern

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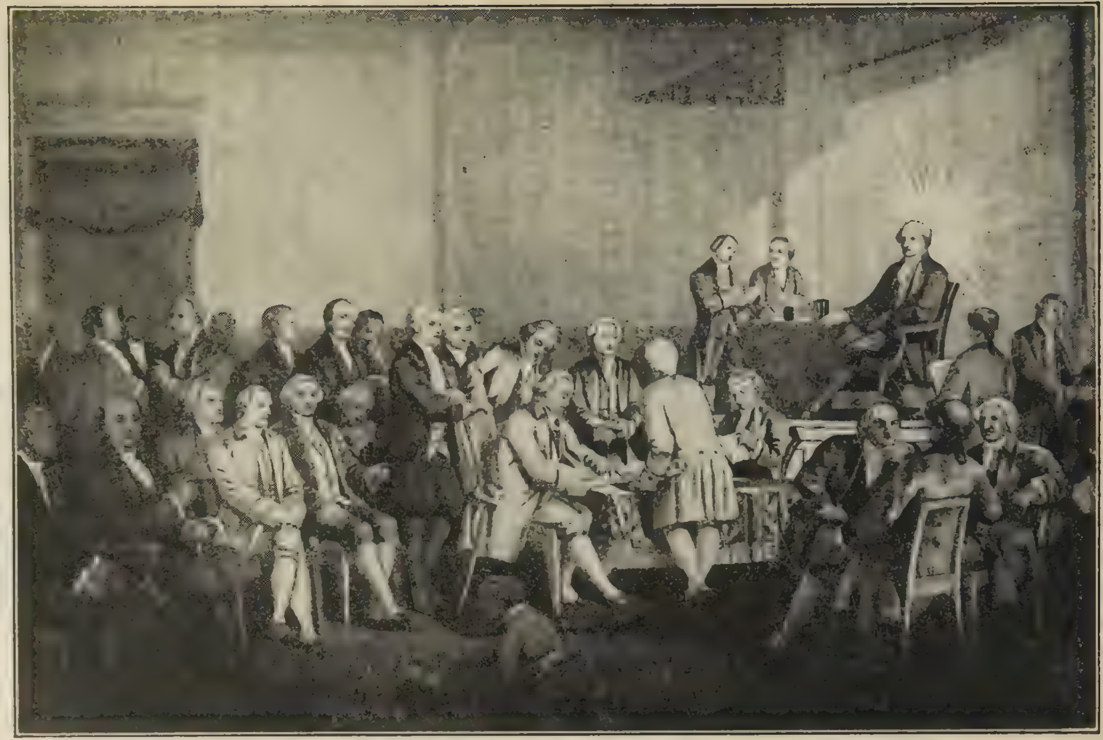
[1] If a state had 40,000 negroes they counted in representation as 24,000 white persons, if 15,000 as 9000, etc.



Signing the Constitution

farmers and planters; it was also afraid that the slave trade might be forbidden. After much argument it was agreed that the Congress should have the power to regulate foreign commerce as well as trade among the states ("interstate commerce"), but that the slave trade should not be abolished before 1808. It was further agreed that the President might make treaties, including, of course, commercial agreements with foreign countries, but it was provided that a two-thirds vote in the Senate should be necessary to approve, or ratify, treaties made by the President before they went into effect.

3. *The Problem of Electing the Congress and the Federal Officers.* There was also much discussion in the Convention as to what share the voters should have *directly* in the government. There were some members who thought that the mass of men should have as little to do with the government as possible. Nearly all were agreed that too many elections by the people as a whole were dangerous. Out of the debate on this point the members of the Convention came to this agreement:

(*a*) That the only branch of the government to be elected directly by the voters should be the House of Representatives;

(*b*) that the Senators should be elected, not by the voters directly but by the legislatures of the respective states;[1]

(*c*) that the President should be chosen by *electors*, who were in turn to be elected as the legislatures of the states might direct;

(*d*) that judges of the Supreme Court should be chosen by the President with the approval of the Senate.

The Constitution Contrasted with the Articles of Confederation. The great changes which the Constitution made in the plan of government set forth in the Articles of Confederation were as follows:

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[1] Changed by the seventeenth amendment.

1. The Articles provided for no President at all but left the enforcement of the laws to the Congress of the United States and to such states as were willing to enforce them. The Constitution declared that there should be a President who would be responsible for enforcing all national, or federal, laws throughout the Union.

2. The Articles provided for a Congress composed of one house in which each state had one vote and no more. The Constitution arranged for two houses as above described.

3. Under the Articles there were no United States courts to decide disputes between citizens and between states arising under the Constitution and the federal laws. The Constitution provided that there should be one Supreme Court and such additional federal courts as the Congress might consider necessary.

The Four Important Powers of Congress. In making the government of the Union stronger, the Constitution gave Congress larger powers (see Appendix). Under the new plan Congress was given power to:

(1) lay and collect taxes without asking the help of state governments;

(2) raise and support armies and naval forces directly without calling on the states for permission;

(3) regulate trade and commerce with foreign countries and among the states;

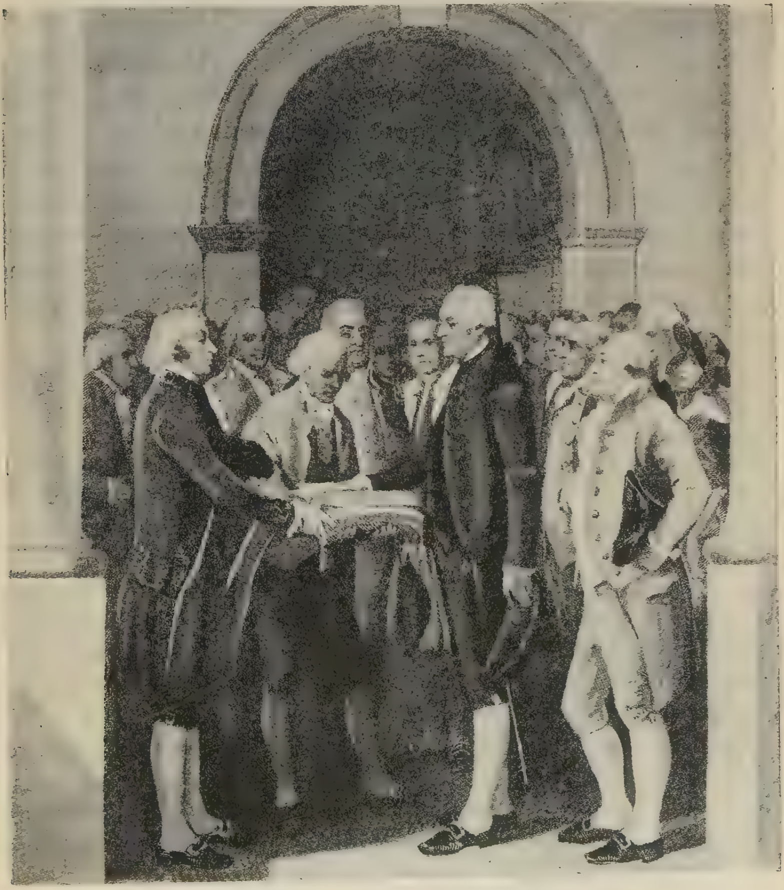
(4) do all things necessary and proper to carry into effect the powers given it by the Constitution.

Thus the federal government was given the very powers necessary to make it strong at home and abroad. It could raise money, give protection to American manufacturing and commerce, defend the country against foreign foes, and suppress disorders at home such as had occurred in Massachusetts. In addition to giving these large powers to the federal government, the new Constitution forbade the states to issue any kind of money and to do several other things which had formerly proved disturbing to business (Article I, Section 10).

The Struggle over the Adoption of the Constitution. After the new plan of government was drawn up, there yet remained the task of securing its adoption. The Constitution had to be submitted to the states for approval or disapproval, and in each state a convention elected by the voters had to pass upon the matter.

As soon as the call for the elections was issued, there opened a bitter political campaign. Farmers and debtors seem to have been chief among the opponents of the Constitution. They declared that the states were in danger of losing their liberties and that the federal government would have too much power. The supporters of the new plan came mainly from the towns which were the centers of trade, commerce, and finance. They argued that the republic was in danger of ruin owing to the weakness of the central government. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay wrote a series of articles for the newspapers in defense of the Constitution, afterward reprinted as *The Federalist*, one of the greatest books on government ever written. Washington wrote to his friends all over the country begging them to help secure the adoption of the Constitution.

The Elections. New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia quickly approved the Constitution with little or no opposition; but in all the other states there were sharp political contests. In three leading states, New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, the battle was especially hot. In New York the opponents of the Constitution won a large majority of the delegates to the state convention; in the other two the decision was so close that the outcome was uncertain. New York agreed to approve the Constitution only on the understanding that a new convention be called at once to amend it. Virginia, Massachusetts, and other states likewise demanded important amendments.



THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON

Fortunately the Philadelphia Convention had provided that the Constitution should go into force when approved by nine states, and by the summer of 1788 that number had been secured. Rhode Island and North Carolina refused to approve the new plan at first. Not until they saw that they were in a dangerous position as small independent states outside the Union did they consent to come into the fold.

Washington the First President (1789). When the news of the adoption of the Constitution by the required number of states was received in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, bells were rung, cannon were fired, and grand processions were held in the streets. It was agreed everywhere that Washington — "the first and the best" — should be President under the Constitution; so he was chosen without a single electoral vote against him. In the spring of 1789 he took the oath of office in New York City, and the new government began its great experiment.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *Constitution, confederation, ratification, quota, state, territory, bonds, mortgages, compromise, interstate commerce, federal, amendment, presidential electors, electoral vote.*

I. How was the government of the United States carried on during the Revolution? What important powers did the national government lack at this time? What were the principal weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation? In what ways were the rights to vote and to hold office limited by the state constitutions? Why was this plan followed?

II. What were the important provisions of the Ordinance of 1787? What states were later made from the Northwest Territory? Why was the Constitutional Convention called? When and where did it assemble? How was it made up? Who were some of the prominent leaders in the Convention?

III. What is meant by a "compromise"? What were the most important disputes with regard to the proposed constitution? How were these disputes settled? (The preamble of the Constitution should be memorized. Especial study should be made of the powers of the Congress [Article 1, Section 8] and the limitations of the powers of the Congress [Article 1, Section 9].)

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The period between 1783 and 1789 is sometimes called the "Critical Period" of American history. Why?

2. Find what part each of the following statesmen played in the Constitutional Convention: Washington, Hamilton, Madison. See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. v; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 151–178; Woodrow Wilson's *George Washington*, pp. 257–262.

3. Make a list of the provisions of the Constitution that were made necessary by the existence of slavery.

4. Make a list of the important activities of government over which Congress has no immediate control.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW NATION (CHAPTERS VII, VIII, IX, X)

I. The condition of the colonies on the eve of the Revolution
  A. Elements of strength in the colonies
    1. The development of the spirit of independence and self-reliance
    2. The development of farming
    3. The beginnings of manufacturing
      a. Manufacturing in the home
      b. The iron industry
      c. Shipbuilding
    4. The development of trade and commerce
    5. The principal cities
    6. The development of transportation
  B. Differences between the North and the South
    1. Differences in surface and climate and their relation to differences in the life and occupations of the people
    2. Local self-government in New England: the town as the unit of government
    3. The larger units of government in the middle colonies
    4. The county as the unit in the South

- *C.* Likenesses between the North and the South
  - 1. Few differences in language, religion, and laws
  - 2. Representative government common to both sections
- *D.* Life in the colonies; education

II. Causes of the American Revolution

- *A.* The attempt of England to control American trade
  - 1. Objectionable laws enforced by England after the Seven Years' War
  - 2. Other objectionable policies of England
    - *a.* The King limits westward expansion
    - *b.* The stamp tax
- *B.* The protests of the colonies against taxation without representation
  - 1. Patrick Henry's speech
  - 2. The Stamp Act Congress
  - 3. The Stamp Act repealed
- *C.* More vigorous protests following the passage of the Townshend Acts
  - 1. The Boston Massacre
  - 2. The Boston Tea Party
  - 3. The First Continental Congress
- *D.* English friends of America: Pitt and Burke

III. The War for Independence

- *A.* The beginning of the struggle
  - 1. Lexington and Concord
  - 2. The Second Continental Congress
- *B.* The Northern campaigns
  - 1. The siege of Boston and the Battle of Bunker Hill
  - 2. Washington assumes command of the army
  - 3. Crown Point and Ticonderoga
  - 4. The British driven out of Boston
  - 5. The Quebec expedition
- *C.* The Declaration of Independence

- *D.* The middle-states campaigns
  - 1. The defeat on Long Island and the occupation of New York City by the British forces
  - 2. Washington's retreat to White Plains and then through New Jersey
  - 3. The battles of Trenton and Princeton
  - 4. The Burgoyne expedition: Bennington and Saratoga
  - 5. Occupation of Philadelphia by the British forces
  - 6. The winter at Valley Forge
- *E.* The help from France
- *F.* The Southern campaigns
  - 1. Capture of Savannah and Charleston
  - 2. Cornwallis's campaign in the South
    - *a.* Camden
    - *b.* King's Mountain and Cowpens
    - *c.* Work of General Greene
  - 3. The siege of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis
- *G.* The war at sea: John Paul Jones and John Barry
- *H.* The war in the Mississippi Valley: George Rogers Clark's expedition
- *I.* The Treaty of Paris
- *J.* Some of the causes of American success in the War
  - 1. Washington's character, skill, and leadership
  - 2. Franklin's work in Europe
  - 3. The work of Robert Morris in financing the War
  - 4. The work of the women

IV. The "Critical Period": the Constitution

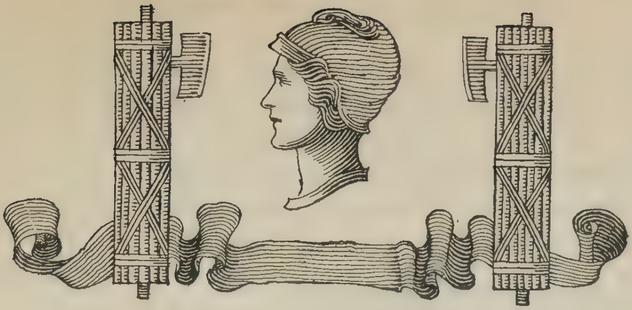
- *A.* New constitutions of the states and their principal provisions
- *B.* The Articles of Confederation proposed (1777) and adopted (1781)
- *C.* Weakness of the Articles
- *D.* Government under the Articles of Confederation
  - 1. Organization of the Northwest Territory
  - 2. Discontent throughout the country: Shays's Rebellion

PART THREE

Political and Territorial Growth

TIME CHART — Chapters XI to XIV

Administration	Political Development	Foreign Relations	Industrial Growth	Territorial Growth
Washington 1789–1797	First Protective Tariff (1789) First Ten Amendments (1791) United States Bank (1791) Rise of political parties (1792–1794) Whiskey Rebellion (1794)	Proclamation of Neutrality toward France and England (1793) The Jay Treaty (1795)	Eli Whitney's cotton gin (1793)	North Carolina ratifies (1789) Rhode Island ratifies (1790) Vermont admitted (1791) Kentucky admitted (1792) Tennessee admitted (1796)
Adams (John) 1797–1801	Eleventh Amendment (1798) John Marshall Chief Justice (1801)	"X Y Z Affair" (1797) Alien and Sedition Laws (1798) Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (1798)		
Jefferson 1801–1809	Twelfth Amendment (1804) Slave importation ends (1808)	War with Tripoli (1801–1805) Embargo Act (1807) Non-Intercourse Act (1809)	Cumberland National Road (1806) Fulton's *Clermont* (1807)	Ohio admitted (1803) Louisiana Purchase (1803) Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–1806) Pike in the Southwest (1806)
Madison 1809–1817	Hartford Convention (1814) Second United States Bank (1816)	War of 1812 Victory on Lake Erie (1813) Capture of Washington (1814) Treaty of Ghent (Dec. 1814) Battle of New Orleans (Jan. 1815)	Steamboat on Mississippi (1811) Stevenson's steam locomotive (1814) First railway charter (1815)	Astoria, Oregon (1811) Harrison at Tippecanoe (1811) Louisiana admitted (1812) Indiana admitted (1816)
Monroe 1817–1825	Financial Panic (1819) Missouri Compromise (1820)	Monroe Doctrine (1823)	Erie Canal (1825)	Mississippi admitted (1817) Illinois admitted (1818) Florida Purchase (1819) Alabama admitted (1819) Maine admitted (1820) Missouri admitted (1821)



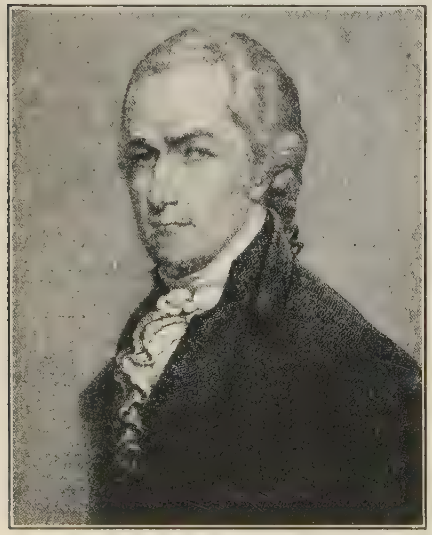
CHAPTER XI

THE FIRST GREAT POLITICAL CONTEST

I. Starting the New Government

When the new national government began in 1789, the treasury was empty, debts were piling up, and the army was falling to pieces. Difficult problems lay before President Washington, his advisers, and Congress. Money had to be raised, departments of government organized, a Supreme Court and other federal courts created, a national system of coins and other money adopted, and friendly relations with foreign countries established. Moreover it was necessary to relieve the fears of those who had opposed the adoption of the Constitution on the ground that it was "dangerous to the liberties of states and citizens."

The First Amendments to the Constitution. Among the first objections advanced by the opponents of the Constitution was the plea that it contained no clauses in favor of personal freedom and the rights of states. In order to meet this objection, the first Congress passed a set of amendments to the Constitution; ten of them were soon ratified by the states and thereby became a part of the Constitution. These new clauses provided that the Congress could make no laws interfering with freedom of religious worship, freedom of speech and press, and the right to assemble and petition the government. They also provided for indictment by grand jury and trial by jury in all cases of persons charged by the federal officers with serious crimes. The ninth and tenth amendments definitely stated that all rights not expressly given by the Constitution to the national government remained as rights exclusively of the states or of the people. The first ten amendments are often spoken of as the national "Bill of Rights." The eleventh amendment, adopted in 1798, was also written in the same spirit, because it was intended to prevent the federal courts from hearing law suits brought by citizens against states.


Alexander Hamilton

Alexander Hamilton's Measures. All the declarations of rights, however, did little toward actually starting the new government. That called for financial ability, and Washington found it in Alexander Hamilton. He appointed Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury and instructed him to prepare plans for a businesslike government.

1. *Dealing with the War Debts.* Among the first things that Hamilton faced was the huge war debt. He made a quick decision on this point. He proposed that the federal government should call in all the certificates, bonds, and other " promises to pay " which had been issued by the Congress during the Revolution to meet the war bills. The several amounts were to be put together in a lump sum and

the holders were to receive in exchange new bonds, payable sometime in the future and drawing interest. This process was called *funding* the national debt.

Hamilton's second great proposal was that the national government should " assume " the debts incurred by the states during the war; that is, take over those debts, add them to the national debt, and fund them also. In support of these plans Hamilton urged that the government was in honor bound to pay the entire debt at its full value and thus restore credit at home and abroad. He urged this even though the war bonds had been selling at from one fifth to one tenth of their face value.

These proposals were hotly attacked in the Congress, especially by the Southern members. They declared that most of the old debts had been bought up by speculators at low figures. It was unjust, they urged, to pay a speculator a dollar for a certificate which he had bought for ten or twenty cents. The patriot who had originally sold supplies or lent a dollar to the government lost, and the taxpayers had to give money to a man who had done nothing to earn it. Those who did not wish the national government to take over the payment of state debts argued that this would weaken the states by making all bondholders look to the national government for the payment of the debt.

The opposition to the taking over of the state debts became so strong that the Congress was deadlocked over the matter for a long time. Some of the Northern men threatened to break up the Union if the Southern Congressmen would not consent to Hamilton's plan. Things became serious. On Hamilton's request, Jefferson, who was Secretary of State, arranged a dinner at which the leaders on both sides came together and reached a compromise. It was agreed that enough Southern members would vote for the assumption of the state debts to carry it in the Congress and that Northern members would, in return, vote for a law locating the new capital of the country on the banks of the Potomac River.

As a part of the " trade " it was agreed, in exchange for Pennsylvania votes, to locate the capital at Philadelphia for ten years before transferring it to the new city of Washington. The bargain was carried out to the letter. The capital was moved from New York to Philadelphia in 1790 and to Washington in 1800.

2. *The United States Bank.* Hamilton's next plan was for a great United States bank having power to issue money. The business men of the country, in trying to carry on trade with all sections, were greatly annoyed by many kinds of state coins and paper money which had different values in different cities. They wanted a currency that would have uniform value in all regions of the country.

The bank, like the funding of the debt, was bitterly attacked in Congress. In spite of all opposition, however, the Bank was founded in 1791, and branches were soon started in all important cities.

3. *The Protective Tariff.* Hamilton's third plan was for a special tax, or *protective tariff*, on manufactured goods coming into the United States from foreign countries. He argued that without it American factory owners who were just getting a start in business could not compete with the old and established concerns of England because they could not sell so cheaply.

The protective tariff was sharply criticized, especially by Congressmen from the South. They held that the farmers would have to pay the tax. If there was no tariff, it was said, they could sell their wheat, corn, cotton, and other produce abroad and import cheap manufactures in return. If there was a tariff, they would have to add the tax to the European prices of the articles which they bought. Nevertheless the very first revenue law passed by the first Congress was drawn up partly for the purpose of protecting American manufactures.

Hamilton's Measures Violently Opposed. In the debate over these measures it was clear that many men in and out of Congress were bitterly opposed to them. Criticism even appeared in President Washington's cabinet. Jefferson, who had aided in the compromise over the funding of the debt, violently attacked the plan for a bank. More than once he and Hamilton had hot words; but the patient Washington was able for a long time to keep them from coming to the breaking point. Finally Jefferson openly joined Hamilton's political enemies, and in 1793 he resigned as Secretary of State. He then retired to his estate in Virginia and became the leader of those who disliked Hamilton's program.

The Whisky Rebellion. Opposition to the government broke out in an armed revolt in 1794, known as the Whisky Rebellion. To help meet the interest on the great public debt and to pay the expenses of the government, a tax had been laid on whisky. This angered the farmers of the western districts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina, many of whom, instead of trying to sell their grain in distant markets, turned it into whisky. In Pennsylvania some of these farmers sacked and burned the houses of the tax collectors, just as the Revolutionists thirty years before had mobbed the British agents sent over to collect the stamp tax. Washington promptly called out the troops, and the affair ended without much bloodshed. Nevertheless it made many farmers criticize Hamilton's ideas more severely than ever.

The Rise of the Two Great Political Parties. Out of these disputes there grew two great political parties. Those who supported Hamilton's measures — which were in fact the measures of the new federal government — were called

Federalists. Those who opposed them were called *Anti-Federalists* or *Republicans.* The Federalists were accused of being in sympathy with Great Britain — of being "monarchists." On this account the Anti-Federalists took the simpler title of "Republicans" to show their hatred of everything that resembled the rule of a king.

1. *Federalist Policy.* Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists. He believed in making the national government strong and in using it to protect commerce and industry against foreign competition. He wanted America to be an industrial as well as an agricultural nation.

2. *Anti-Federalist Policy.* Jefferson was the leader of the Anti-Federalists. He wanted to strengthen the states rather than the federal government. He thought that a republic could long endure only in case the mass of the people were independent farmers owning their own land; and he deliberately made himself the spokesman of what he called *the landed interest.* He opposed turning the United States into a manufacturing nation, because he believed that the large numbers of people living in cities did not add to the strength of a nation. The contest between Hamilton and Jefferson was therefore a contest over two very different ideals of government.

II. Relations with Europe

The French Revolution. While this division into political parties was taking place in the United States, important events were happening in Europe. A few weeks after Washington was first inaugurated, in 1789, the French king had been forced to call a national parliament. Three years later there occurred a popular uprising in France and a republic was established. Shortly afterward the king and queen, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, were executed. The townspeople and peasants overthrew the monarchy, the nobility, and the clergy. They drew up a constitution for their own government and proclaimed principles of liberty which shook the thrones of Europe. Thus the French, who had borrowed much from the American Revolutionists, joined in spirit the new republic across the Atlantic. At the same time a war broke out between England and France, which lasted with a slight pause until the final overthrow of Napoleon in 1815. (See *Our Old World Background*, chs. xi, xii.)

In America the Republicans, under the leadership of Jefferson, approved the French Revolution and applauded France in her war against Great Britain. They had not forgotten that in the dark hours of the American Revolution France had helped with men and money.

Troubles with England. The Federalists, on their part, wanted to keep free from European quarrels. Many American ships, however, were carrying American farm products to Europe and bringing back manufactured goods, so that trouble was almost certain to arise. England claimed the right to seize American produce bound for French ports and to capture American ships carrying French goods. The Americans replied that only military supplies could be seized and that American vessels should not be captured merely because they had French goods on board. In spite of protests the British held up American merchant vessels. In addition to seizing goods and ships they began to carry off any British-born sailors found on board, saying that they needed all the men that they could get for their own navy.

Neutrality and the Jay Treaty. Naturally enough this conduct on the part of Great Britain raised a clamor in the United States. The Republicans, who sympathized with France, praised Genêt, the French representative to the United States government. At the same time they openly denounced the British minister, although our country was supposed to be neutral — that is, to take no part on either side in the contest. They called for war on Great Britain or demanded that at least something be done about the seizure of American produce, ships, and men.

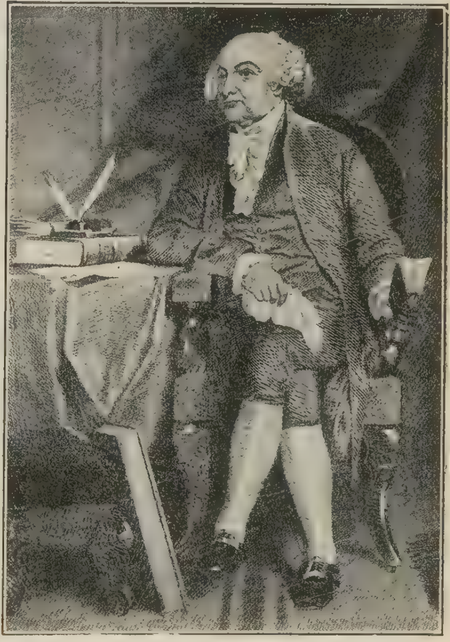
Washington and Hamilton, however, feared that a second war with Great Britain might be a ruinous affair. They were afraid that it would disturb the funded debt, the bank, and the tariff, which had been secured by such hard labors. Moreover they thought that Americans who sympathized with the French Revolutionists were dangerous citizens, likely to overturn the newly established American government. Washington requested France to recall its minister, Genêt. He also issued a famous proclamation declaring the absolute neutrality of the United States. That was not all. To the great alarm of Jefferson's party, he sent the Chief Justice, John Jay, to Great Britain to make a treaty that would settle the disputes between the two countries.

Jay arranged for a treaty which secured very few favors for the United States. Great Britain agreed to withdraw her soldiers from Detroit and other American posts in the Northwest, where they had been since the close of the Revolution, but she would not stop seizing American goods and sailors on the high seas. Still Washington was able to keep the country out of the war, though he made many enemies at the time by his stand for neutrality and his support of the unpopular Jay treaty.

John Adams Elected President. During this bitter party fight, the time for the third presidential election arrived. Washington had been reëlected in 1792 amid the hearty rejoicing of the country, and many citizens urged him to accept a third term in 1796. Although he was not opposed to a president's serving three terms, he was weary of the duties of office and heartily sick of the party quarreling that was going on around him. Accordingly he decided to retire at the end of his second term.

The Federalists finally selected John Adams of Massachusetts as their candidate. The Republicans, of course, turned to Jefferson, their accepted leader. The political campaign which followed was very bitter and the election was very close. Adams won by a majority of only three electoral votes. Jefferson, who had received the next highest number of votes, had to content himself with the office of Vice President.

Before Washington left office, he delivered his famous "Farewell Address." He earnestly warned his countrymen against becoming entangled in the quarrels of European nations. He also told them of the dangers that lay in the constant quarreling of political parties at home.



John Adams

Trouble with France. It happened that Washington's successor, Adams, was able to make the Federalist party very popular for a few months. This was due to events in France. The French government, known as the Directory, had hoped that the United States would join it in the war on Great Britain, and it became very angry when the Jay treaty was made instead. It openly refused to receive the American minister.

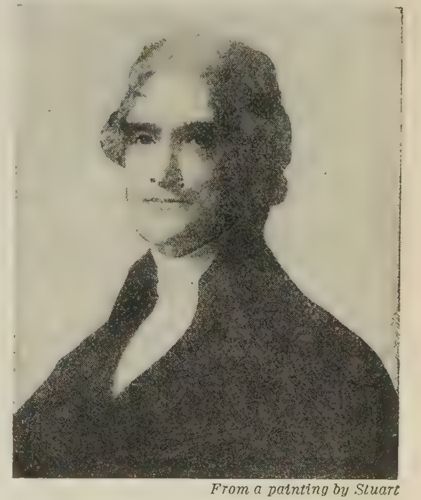
President Adams in the spirit of peace sent to France a special mission made up of three very able men, Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry. As soon as they arrived, certain French politicians demanded from them an apology for past conduct, a payment in cash, and a tribute to France as the price of friendship. As soon as he heard the news, President Adams told the Congress about the demands. He did not mention the names of the Frenchmen who made them, but he referred to them as Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z (hence the term, "X Y Z Affair"). The story of this insult made even the Republicans angry at France, and they joined with the Federalists in applauding Pinckney's statement, "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute."

As France, like England, was also attacking American merchant vessels bound for European countries, the United States prepared for war. It was then that Joseph Hopkinson of Philadelphia wrote the patriotic song, "Hail, Columbia." Fighting on the sea actually began. American naval vessels captured many French privateers and some French naval ships. Trouble between the countries went on until 1800, when it was brought to a close by a treaty with Napoleon, who had become First Consul of France.

The Alien and Sedition Laws. If the Federalists had been more careful, they might have defeated the Republicans again in the presidential election of 1800, but in the excitement of their victories over the French they made a fatal mistake. They attempted to stop criticism by having Congress pass two laws that became famous in American history as the *Alien and Sedition Acts.*

The first of these, the Alien Law, gave the President power to expel from the country any foreigner who was regarded as an undesirable person. Although this law was not enforced, it angered many French and Irish who had migrated to the United States and felt free to say what they pleased about Great Britain.

The second of the laws, the Sedition Act, was more serious in its nature. It declared that any person who criticized either the government or any of its officers, such as the President or members of Congress, might be fined or imprisoned or both. This act was vigorously enforced. Many persons were promptly seized and sent to jail; and it happened that most of them were members of the Republican Party. The law was passed by a Federalist Congress and the Republicans suffered most from it.

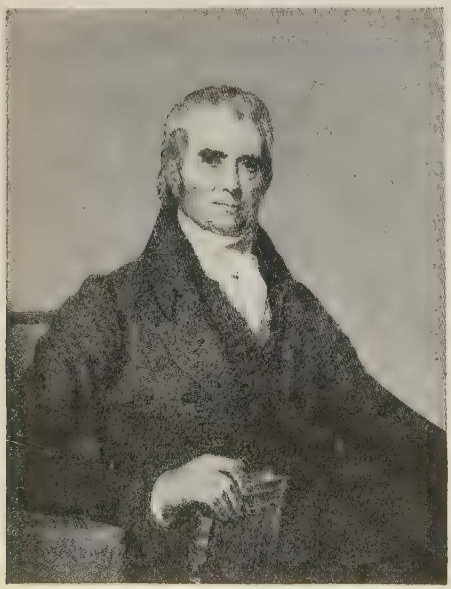

From a painting by Stuart

Thomas Jefferson

The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions. The Republicans therefore denounced the Alien and Sedition Laws as contrary to the Constitution and as attempts to suppress freedom of the press and speech. Jefferson, leader of the Republicans, quickly prepared a statement condemning both the laws. At the same time Madison drafted a set of resolutions for the Virginia Legislature. These resolutions put forth the view that whenever Congress assumed powers not expressly given to it by the Constitution, such acts could have no force. Kentucky went so far as to say that the states could refuse to obey them. This refusal to obey was known as "nullification."

Jefferson Elected President. During the excitement over the Alien and Sedition Laws the election of 1800 took place.

The Federalists held a meeting of their members in the Congress and renominated President Adams. The Republicans put forward Jefferson for President and Aaron Burr of New York for Vice President. In the campaign which followed many bitter and hateful things were said on both sides. The Federalists made a hard fight, but they were defeated. When the returns were counted, it was found, however, that Jefferson and Burr, the Republicans, each had seventy-three electoral votes and were tied for the office of President.[1]



From an engraving

CHIEF JUSTICE JOHN MARSHALL

As a result of this tie, the choice of President was thrown into the House of Representatives,[2] where the Federalists held the balance of power. It looked for a time as if Burr would be made President. Largely by the efforts of Hamilton the Federalists in the House were finally persuaded to cast their votes for Jefferson.

So the Federalist Party, the great party of Washington,

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[1] The original Constitution required the presidential electors to vote for two persons, without indicating which office each was to fill, and the person who received the highest number of votes (if a majority) became President. The candidate receiving the next highest number of votes became Vice President. This was changed by the twelfth amendment. (See Appendix.)

[2] As provided, in case of a tie, by Article II, Section 1, paragraph 2 of the Constitution. (See Appendix.)

Hamilton, and Adams, which had guided the new government through the trials of its first years, was driven from power. In the Supreme Court of the United States, however, presided the great Chief Justice, John Marshall, who had long been a leader among the Federalists. For more than thirty years he rendered one decision after another upholding the powers of the national government against the claims of the states. The Federalist party died, but the spirit of Federalism still lived in John Marshall.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *amendment, Bill of Rights, federal officer, federal court, national debt, funding a debt, speculator, speculation, bondholder, currency, deadlock, a protective tariff, revenue, revenue law, rebellion, policy, political party, neutrality, neutral nation, proclamation, tribute, alien, sedition, nullification, balance of power.*

I. When did the new Constitution go into effect? What part of the country did not wish to have the federal government assume the debts incurred during the Revolution? Why? How was the dispute settled? What was Hamilton's purpose in planning for a national bank? Why were his plans opposed? What is meant by a "protective" tariff? Why were the farmers generally opposed to a protective tariff? State the causes of the Whisky Rebellion.

II. What effects did the French Revolution have in the United States? What political party in this country showed especial sympathy for the Revolutionists in France? Why? Why did Washington ask the French government to recall Genêt? Describe the difficulties that American commerce had to meet because of the war between England and France. Why did England claim the right to search American ships for French-made goods? What led to the troubles with France? What were the Alien and Sedition Laws and why were they passed? Why were they opposed?

Review: State the important differences between the Federalists and the Republicans. Make a list of the most important events in the administrations of Washington and Adams.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Prepare and be ready to give to the class an interesting description of Washington's election and inauguration.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. vi; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 181–197; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 181–183.

2. The French Revolution was one of the most important events of the world's history. Find out all that you can about it, especially about its causes and results.

See Beard and Bagley's *Our Old World Background*, ch. xii; Van Loon's *Story of Mankind* (school edition, Macmillan), pp. 326–339; Tappan's *England's Story*, pp. 313–317; Guerber's *Story of Modern France*, pp. 53–119; Coffin's *Building the Nation*, chs. iii, iv.

3. Why is Alexander Hamilton looked upon by historians as one of the greatest of American statesmen?

See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 97–107.

4. List the problems that the new government had to face. Which ones could not be solved at the time? How were the others met?

CHAPTER XII

THE EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES

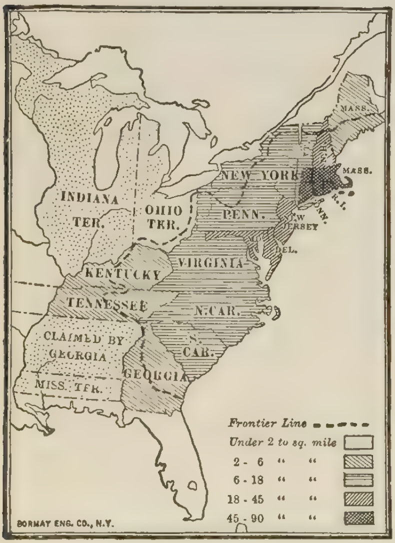
I. The Party of the Farmers and Planters in Power

When the news that Jefferson was elected spread throughout the country, his followers rejoiced at the victory so long desired. The Federalist party — the party led by merchants, traders, manufacturers, and bankers of the seaboard — had been driven from power. The Republicans, whose leader was first of all a friend of the farmers, were now in control.

The Domestic Policies of Jefferson's Party. On March 4, 1801, Jefferson was inaugurated President — the first at the new capital, Washington.

The Republicans started their reforms as soon as Jefferson was in office. They began at once to pay off the great national debt as fast as possible. They reduced the size of the army and navy. They did away with the tax on whisky which the farmers had objected to (p. 211). They discharged a number of federal officers in order to lessen expenses. Having thus swept away everything that seemed "monarchical" and "un-American," the Republicans encouraged agriculture, which they thought would be the lasting national interest.

Land for the Farmers. Indeed all things pointed at this time to the triumph of agriculture as the chief occupation of the American people. The Federalists, who had opposed the growth of the West, were beaten. The Republicans were in power and only too happy to see the vacant regions settled and admitted as new states. Moreover there seemed to be no limit to the amount of land available for farmers. Only the dreamer dared to picture a coming day when the population would be thirty times greater than it was when Washington was inaugurated, or looked forward to a day when the vast stretches of wilderness belonging to the United States in 1801 would be thickly settled.


MASS.
NEW YORK
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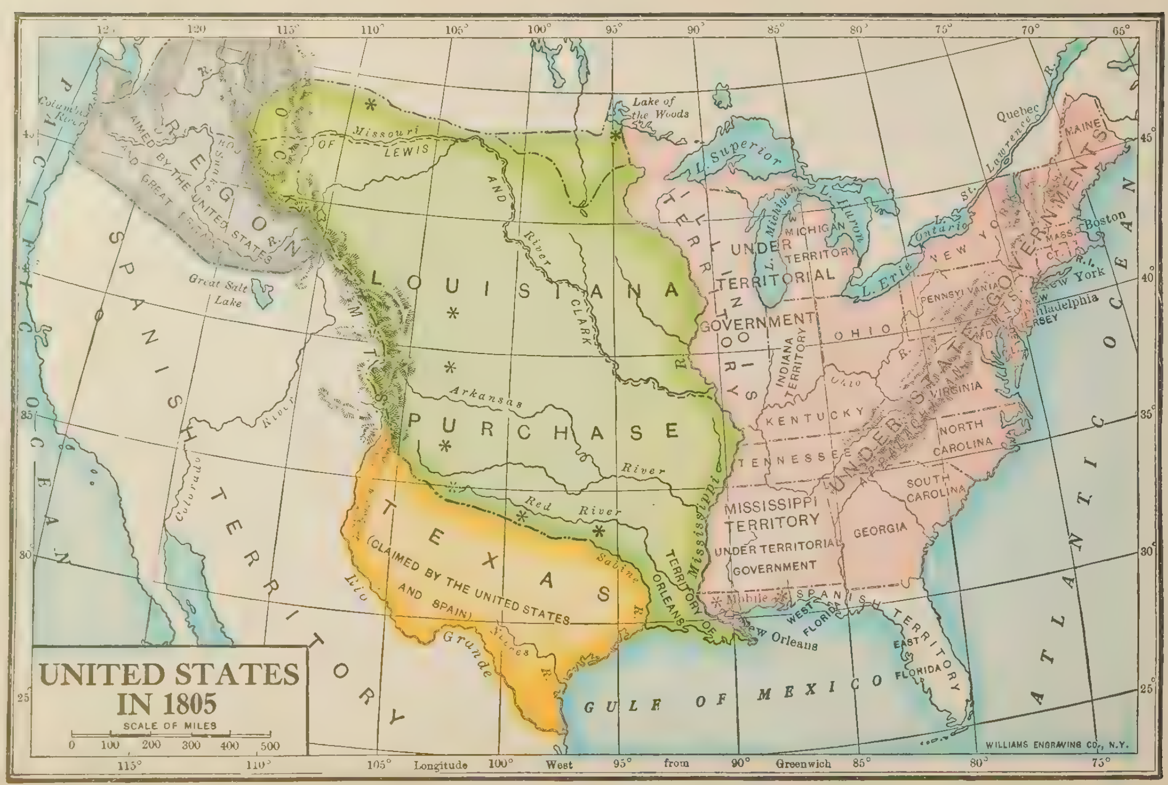
CLAIMED BY GEORGIA
GEORGIA
MISS. TER.
Frontier Line
Under 2 to sq. mile
2 - 6 " "
6 - 18 " "
18 - 45 " "
45 - 90 " "
BORMAY ENG. CO., N.Y.

Density of Population in 1800

The Louisiana Country. *Napoleon's Ambitious Plans.* Yet, strange to say, Jefferson had not long been in office before the Republicans began to talk of buying still more land — the Louisiana territory, extending from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains. This great territory had been granted to Spain at the close of the Seven Years' War, in spite of the fact that the few people living in it were French (p. 106). Spain held it for nearly forty years. In 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte, at the head of a victorious army in Europe, began to dream of recovering the French empire in America that had been lost years before. He forced Spain to sign a secret treaty giving him the Louisiana territory and was making ready to land troops at New Orleans when his designs were discovered.


UNITED STATES IN 1805
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
TEXAS (CLAIMED BY THE UNITED STATES AND SPAIN)
OREGON (CLAIMED BY THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN)
SPANISH TERRITORY
TERRITORY UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT
STATES UNDER STATE GOVERNMENTS
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
INDIANA TERRITORY
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT
TERRITORY OF ORLEANS
SPANISH TERRITORY
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
MAINE
VT.
N.H.
MASS.
CT.
R.I.
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
PENNSYLVANIA
DEL.
MD.
VIRGINIA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
Quebec
New Orleans
Mobile
LEWIS AND CLARK
Missouri River
Arkansas River
Red River
Sabine R.
Rio Grande
Nueces R.
Colorado River
Snake
Columbia River
Great Salt Lake
Lake of the Woods
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Ohio R.
Mississippi
ROCKY MTS.
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
Longitude West from Greenwich
WILLIAMS ENGRAVING CO., N.Y.

THE BOUNDARY LINES OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE WERE LONG IN DISPUTE. THE STARS (*) INDICATE DISPUTED REGIONS. SEE PAGE 225 AND THE MAP ON PAGE 297

The People of the West Desire the Louisiana Territory. Meanwhile the people in the western part of the United States had decided that they wanted the Louisiana country for themselves. Those who had hilly farms in Kentucky and Tennessee wished to have more fertile and level fields. After the Revolution some of them had gone across the Mississippi and found rich lands for settlement.

There was still another reason why Americans on the frontier desired the western bank of the Mississippi. The farmers raised wheat and corn and cured bacon and hams which they exchanged in the East for manufactured goods and " ready " money. The land journeys over the Appalachian Highland were long and tiresome, and the freight costs were very high. The only easy way to the East was by water — down the Mississippi and around the Atlantic coast. Cloth and nails and other manufactured articles could be brought over the mountains, but such bulky products as grain and meat simply had to go by the water route. It was easy to send them by flatboats to New Orleans and by ships to Atlantic ports.

Spain owned the territory around the mouth of the Mississippi. Naturally that country looked with suspicion upon the westward expansion of the American people. Privileges which President Washington had secured from Spain in 1795, permitting the shipment of goods through the port of New Orleans, were suddenly withdrawn in 1802. Then just as suddenly came the news that the Louisiana territory had been given to the French ruler, Napoleon, whose armies were feared throughout the world. Already, it was said, he was planning for great French possessions in America. Americans in the eastern states, who had been indifferent to the worries of the western farmers about their corn and bacon, could not be blind to the dangers of a strong foreign colony so close at hand.

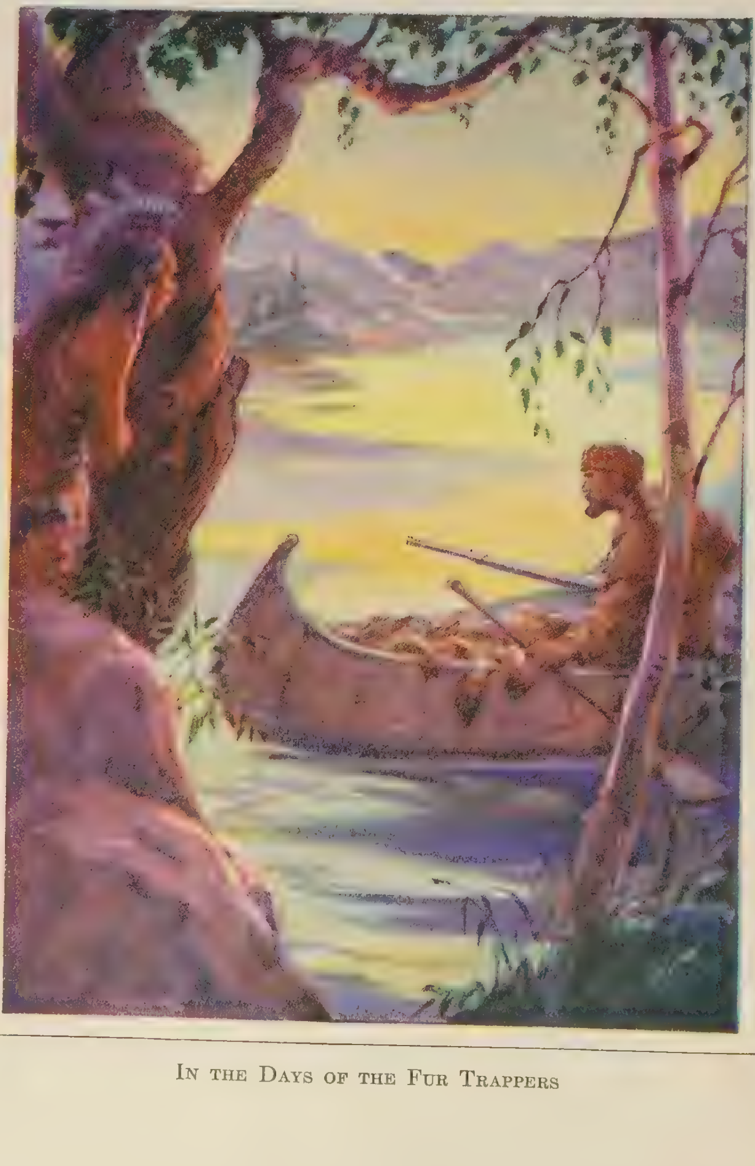
The Crisis. The whole country was stirred. The call for war ran throughout the western border. Regiments of troops were formed to prevent the landing of the French at New Orleans. President Jefferson was flooded with petitions for instant and firm action. But Napoleon changed his mind about colonies in America. The war in Europe, which had ceased for a few months, broke out again. He could not afford now to send an army to America. The time had come for action on the part of the American government.

II. THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE AND THE EXPLORATION OF THE NEW TERRITORY

The Louisiana Purchase. Jefferson acted quickly. He sent James Monroe to Paris with power to buy New Orleans and West Florida for two million dollars. To Robert Livingston, however, belongs the real credit of winning Louisiana for the United States. He was the American minister to France, and before Monroe's arrival he had persuaded Napoleon that it would be wise to get rid of territory which might be taken from him at any moment by Great Britain, now that the war was on again.

When he saw that it would be hard for him to hold Louisiana, Napoleon suddenly, on April 11, 1803, offered to sell the whole territory for fifteen million dollars. This was more than seven times as much as Jefferson had expected to pay for New Orleans and a section of the surrounding country, but Monroe and Livingston saw that the purchase of the whole territory would be a good bargain. The treaty of purchase, accordingly, was drawn up and signed on April 30.

The Contest over the Purchase. When the news of the treaty reached the United States, the people were filled with astonishment. No one was more astonished than Jefferson



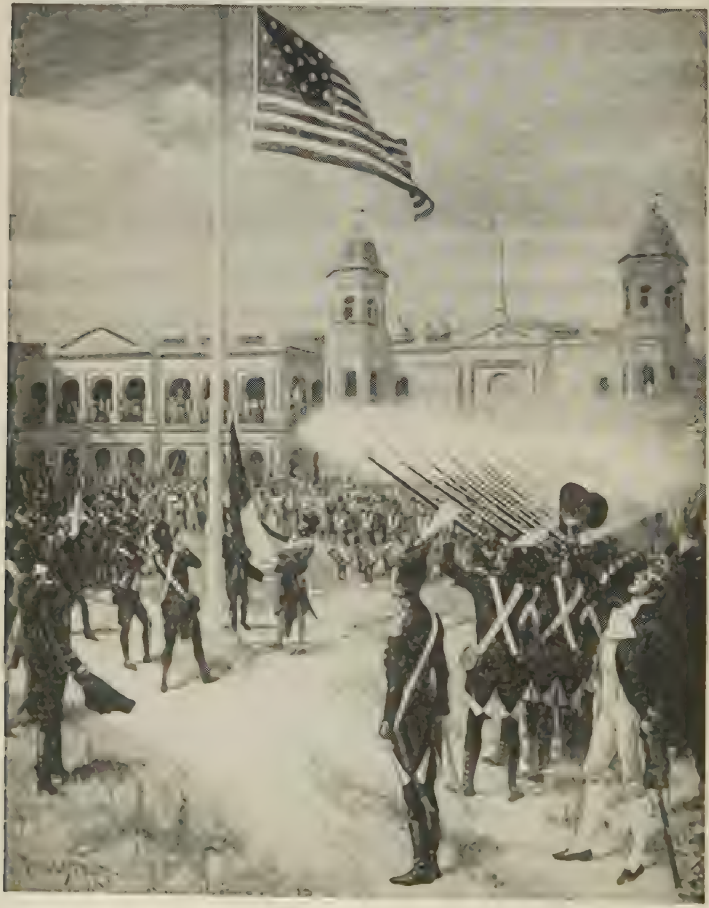
In the Days of the Fur Trappers

himself. He had thought of buying West Florida and New Orleans. Now a vast wilderness was to be turned over to the United States. A cry went up at once against the whole business. Jefferson's political enemies, particularly the Federalists of New England, demanded that the treaty for the purchase be rejected by the Senate of the United States, where it had to go for approval.

Jefferson's Decision. Jefferson himself was much puzzled. He doubted whether the federal government had the power to buy new territory, because there was nothing in the Constitution about acquiring more land. He also disliked to add so huge a sum to the national debt. On the other hand public opinion in the South and West seemed to favor the purchase, and his advisers told him that under his power to make treaties he could arrange to buy territory. He finally decided that it was wise to close the bargain. The Senate promptly approved the treaty. In December, 1803, the French flag at what is now Jackson Square, New Orleans, was hauled down, the Stars and Stripes were hoisted, and the land of Coronado and De Soto, of Marquette and La Salle, became part of the United States.

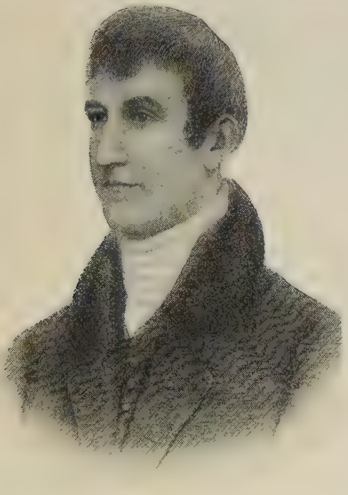
The Extent of the New Territory. Thus by a single stroke the original area of the United States was doubled. While its boundaries were somewhat uncertain, the Louisiana territory probably included what is now Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and large parts of Louisiana, Minnesota, North Dakota, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. Many of the people living in the Eastern states declared it to be a hopeless wilderness that could never be settled; but within a hundred years all the good land was fully occupied and valued at almost seven billion dollars — nearly five hundred times the price paid to Napoleon. The faith of those who looked far into the future was justified.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition. Jefferson at once began to prepare the way for the opening of the Louisiana territory. He got ready to send men to explore the new country, make friends with the Indians, learn about the value of the land for farming and whether it produced valuable minerals, and lay out an overland trading route to the Pacific.

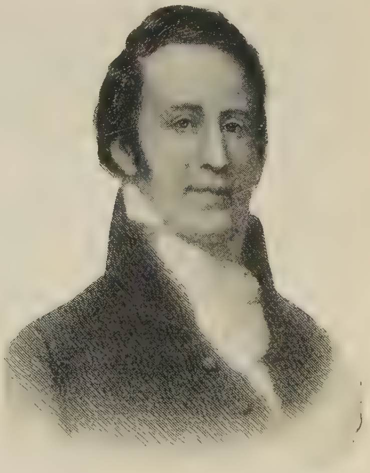


RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG IN NEW ORLEANS, 1803

Securing some money from Congress, he chose as leaders two able men. One was his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, a young man only thirty years old who had been a soldier and who knew the life of the western country. The other was William Clark of Louisville, an experienced frontiersman, and youngest brother of George Rogers Clark who did so much for the American Cause in the Revolution.



Meriwether Lewis

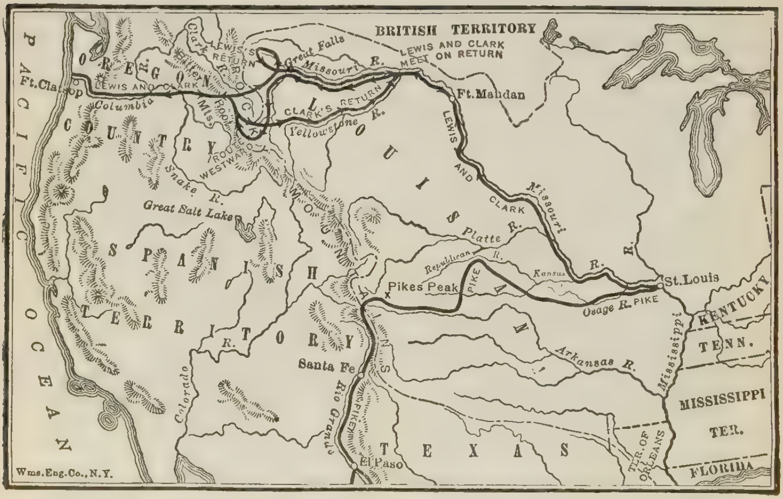


From an old print

William Clark

Lewis and Clark Reach the Pacific. Soon a party of brave adventurers was made up and went into regular training for the journey. There were carpenters for woodwork; blacksmiths for ironwork; expert hunters to supply the company with game; cooks and sugar makers. They engaged in target practice and took daily exercise to harden themselves for the difficult trip. When at length they were ready, in May, 1804, they set out from their camp near St. Louis in three boats, one fifty-five feet long equipped with a sail and oars. Slowly they made their way against the swift, shallow current of the Missouri River, always on the watch to avoid sand bars and trunks of fallen trees. In spite of the hardships and danger from hostile Indians they pushed on through what is now the Dakotas. In June, 1805, they arrived at the Great Falls of the Missouri in central Montana.

Travel now became much harder. Soon they were in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, and only after a long search did they find a way to get across the main range. Once on the other side they built new boats and floated down the Columbia River, reaching the Pacific Ocean in November, 1805. The return journey was made more quickly and the party reached St. Louis in September, 1806, after having covered 8000 miles in two years and four months. In this long and dangerous journey, only one life was lost. When the story of the expedition was published, the people of the eastern states began to see what a mighty empire awaited the pioneer.


BRITISH TERRITORY
LEWIS AND CLARK MEET ON RETURN
PACIFIC OCEAN
OREGON COUNTRY
Ft. Clatsop
LEWIS AND CLARK
Columbia
Clark R.
LEWIS'S RETURN
Bitter Root Mts.
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Great Falls
Missouri R.
CLARK'S RETURN
Yellowstone R.
ROUTE WESTWARD
Ft. Mandan
LOUISIANA
LEWIS AND CLARK
Missouri R.
Snake R.
Great Salt Lake
SPANISH TERRITORY
Platte R.
Republican R.
Kansas
Pikes Peak
PIKE
St. Louis
Osage R. PIKE
R.
KENTUCKY
TENN.
Arkansas R.
Mississippi
MISSISSIPPI TER.
Santa Fe
Colorado
R.
Rio Grande
PIKE
TEXAS
El Paso
TER. OF ORLEANS
FLORIDA
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE REGIONS EXPLORED BY LEWIS AND CLARK AND BY ZEBULON PIKE

The Explorations of Zebulon Pike. The same year that Lewis and Clark started for the Far West, Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, at the head of another exploring party, went up the Mississippi River to Leach Lake, not far from its source. On his return he was sent to search for the source of the Red River, which then formed the boundary between Louisiana and the Spanish territory.

While exploring to the southwest Pike came to the Arkansas River, where he met a band of Pawnee Indians. From them he learned that the Spaniards had heard of his arrival and were coming to capture the entire party. But Pike kept on his way until he reached the foot of the famous peak which now bears his name. Then he turned southward and crossed the Rio Grande, not knowing that he was in Spanish territory. When the Spaniards learned that he was merely exploring and did not intend to seize any of their land, they sent him back to the border of the United States.

Thus by three expeditions, one by Lewis and Clark and two by Pike, the North, the Far Northwest, and the Far West were mapped with greater accuracy than before. The people of the East could now find out about the opportunities for trade and settlement in the Louisiana territory.

III. FLORIDA; THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

The Florida Question. After the purchase of Louisiana the goods could be shipped down the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico. All the southern part of the United States to the east, however, was cut off from the Gulf by the Floridas,[1] which were owned by Spain. As the home of Indians, smugglers, and escaped slaves the Floridas gave a great deal of trouble to the American government. A movement was therefore set on foot to occupy West Florida (facing p. 479) on the ground that it really belonged to the United States. At the same time plans for securing East Florida were discussed.

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[1] There were two Spanish colonies, East Florida and West Florida, including what is now the single state of Florida and certain other parts to the west bordering on the Gulf.

An Indian outbreak near the border in United States territory gave an excuse for action. President Monroe ordered General Andrew Jackson to capture the Indians, even if it was necessary to follow them into Spanish territory. Jackson took this as a broad hint that he was to occupy the Floridas. He wrote to the President that, if the possession of them was desired, he could accomplish it within sixty days. Without waiting for an answer to his letter he started; in the spring of 1818 he was in possession of the Spanish forts.

The Florida Purchase. Spain made the best of the affair by handing the territory over to the United States. In return President Monroe agreed to pay American citizens certain claims against the Spanish government to the amount of five million dollars.

On February 22, 1819, the treaty was signed, and the southern boundary of the United States east of the Mississippi was extended to the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida.[1] At the same time the two countries fixed the boundary between Mexico (then a Spanish colony) and the United States — a line running from the mouth of the Sabine River westward to the Pacific Ocean.

The Oregon Country in Dispute. In the Pacific region, the rights of the United States were disputed by Great Britain. As early as 1670 the English King, Charles II, had chartered the Hudson's Bay Company, which laid claim to all the distant lands to the north and west of Canada. The Company put a great army of hunters, trappers, and explorers into the wilderness; far and wide its agents went in the Pacific country, opening up out-of-the-way places and gathering stores of furs and skins to be sold in European markets. In 1791–1795 George Vancouver, a ship captain in the service of the British government, explored the entire west coast and gave to the world a map of the coast from San Diego, California to Cook's Inlet in Alaska.

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[1] Florida was admitted to the Union as a state in 1845.

Citizens of the United States also were interested in the Far Northwest. While Vancouver was making his celebrated voyage, Captain Robert Gray of Boston sailed around Cape Horn and northward along the coast, discovering in 1792 the "River of the West," to which he gave the name of his good ship, *Columbia*. On the basis of the explorations made by Gray and other captains, the United States undoubtedly had good claims on the Pacific shore; but half a century passed before these claims were admitted by Great Britain.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *domestic policies, monarchical, secret treaty, crisis.*

I. What were some of the first things that the Republicans did when they came into power? In what sense did the country now "face to the west" and in what sense had it previously "faced to the east"? Mark on an outline map the boundaries of the Louisiana territory. How did Spain come into possession of this territory? How did France regain it? Why did the American settlers west of the Alleghenies object to the ownership of the Louisiana territory by a foreign power? Why was Napoleon willing to sell these lands to the United States?

II. When and for what price did the United States purchase the Louisiana territory? What part of the country objected to the purchase? For what reasons? Name a few of the resources of the territory, then little understood, that have much more than repaid the original purchase price. Give other reasons for concluding that the purchase was a very good "bargain." Why did Jefferson send out the expedition of Lewis and Clark? Trace on an outline map the route that Lewis and Clark took. What territory did they explore outside the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase? What country claimed the ownership of this territory then? Describe Pike's explorations. Why were they important?

III. Locate the territory known as East and West Florida. How did the United States come into possession of this territory? Why did the United States and Great Britain both claim the Pacific Northwest?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Make a list of the reasons for the defeat of the Federalist party in 1800.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. v; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 218–228; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 197–200.

2. Imagine yourself to have been a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition and be ready to give to the class a detailed account of what you saw and did, using one of the following topics: (*a*) preparing for the journey; (*b*) events of the journey up the Missouri to the Great Falls in Montana; (*c*) the trip from the Great Falls to the mouth of the Columbia; (*d*) the return journey.

See McMurry's *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West*, ch. i; Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. ix; Tappan's *American Hero Stories*, pp. 207–217; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 206–209; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xxx; Lighton's *Lewis and Clark* (see topics in table of contents).

CHAPTER XIII

TROUBLESOME FOREIGN AFFAIRS: THE WAR OF 1812 AND LATIN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

THE work of conquering the wilderness, while very important, was by no means the only concern of the people of the United States during the early years of the nineteenth century. Although the farmers and planters could readily win their daily bread from the soil, they could not live by bread alone. They had to obtain manufactures and other goods from abroad; in order to buy they had to sell the produce of their plantations and farms. American shippers engaged in this business sailed to almost every port of the world. Without this commerce tons of bacon, corn, cotton, tobacco, and other produce of the soil would have become worthless in the hands of the farmers and planters.

For this reason, the great war raging between England and France (p. 213), which threatened American commerce, was a matter of deep anxiety to our government.

I. THE WAR IN EUROPE INVOLVES AMERICAN COMMERCE

England and France Blockade the Coasts of Western Europe. Great Britain and France wished to prevent each other from receiving goods from the United States. In May, 1806, England, in an effort to starve out France, declared that the coast of Europe from the mouth of the Elbe River to Brest was blockaded. In other words, she served warning on all other countries that her ships of war would seize vessels that attempted to enter or leave any ports along the coast between these two points.

Now the United States had hundreds of ships carrying goods to France. The English blockade meant a destruction of our French trade or, at all events, the seizure of many American ships attempting to go into or out of French ports. The indignation of the Americans was quickly aroused by the news of this blockade.

Napoleon Forbids Trade with the British Isles. The Americans, however, did not receive any better treatment at the hands of the French; for Napoleon, in November, 1806, replied to the British blockade by forbidding all trade with Great Britain. This meant that French war vessels would seize American ships bound to or from English ports. Since the trade with England was much larger than the trade with France, this was a still heavier blow to American shipowners, merchants, and planters.

America's Protests Are in Vain. Of course the Americans made violent protest against such high-handed action. Great Britain, a year later, made her blockade less strict; she declared that any ship bound to France, which did not carry munitions of war, would be permitted to complete its journey, provided that it touched at an English port, secured a license, and paid a heavy tax. This slight gain for American interests was quickly offset, because Napoleon, a few months afterward, announced that any ship which obeyed the English order would be seized by his government.

Thus the Americans were in a difficult situation. Their ships and goods bound for England were liable to be captured by the French. Those bound for France were liable to be taken by the English if the order about stopping and paying a tax was not obeyed. If they did stop and pay the tax, they were almost certain to be seized by the French. Many Americans interested in this trade demanded war — some against France and some against England.

Jefferson a Man of Peace. Jefferson himself loved peace and hated war. Probably there was no man in the United States more anxious than he to avoid bloodshed. In fact, during the eight years of his presidency (1801–1809) his chief troubles arose from his efforts to keep peace. He sent Commodore Preble in 1803 to punish the Mediterranean pirates who were preying on American merchant ships and enslaving American citizens, but he wanted no war with England or France.

The Embargo Act. In the emergency Jefferson suggested a remedy which proved to be worse than the disease. In 1806 Congress had passed an act prohibiting the importation of British goods into the United States. Jefferson proposed a more severe step; namely, that Congress should pass an *embargo* act forbidding all vessels to leave American ports. Congress approved his scheme and passed the law in December, 1807. Friends of the plan thought that they would be able to bring both France and England to terms by thus cutting off their supplies from America.

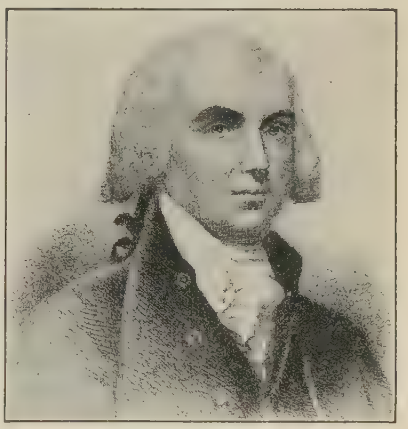
Hard Times the Result. But the embargo brought further injury to American trade, and hard times spread over the country. The South and the West suffered especially, for they could not send their cotton, tobacco, and other produce to Europe as they had been doing. In New England, vessels lay idle in the harbors. Lumbermen and fishermen were without work. Farmers offered their lands for sale. The prices of foreign goods doubled.

The Embargo Act Repealed; the Nonintercourse Act Passed. The laws forbidding trade did not have the desired effect in bringing Great Britain and France to terms. They merely made American shippers and merchants still more angry. Men who obeyed the laws were ruined. Hundreds sent their ships out in spite of the embargo or smuggled goods over into Canada or Florida for shipment to Europe. Finally, in February, 1809, Congress repealed the Embargo Laws and passed instead a Nonintercourse Law which forbade trade with England and France while permitting it with all other European nations. As most of the trade was with these two countries, this measure gave little relief.

England Impresses American Sailors. In addition to the quarrel over trade, there was another source of ill-feeling toward Great Britain. Being in great need of sailors for her navy, England had adopted the practice of stopping American ships, searching them, and carrying away or " impressing " into service any British-born sailors who were found. In many cases it was difficult to tell whether sailors were English-born or American. Both spoke the same language. Owing to their roving life they seldom had papers showing where they were born or to which country they belonged. The English sea captains, who were none too careful about American rights, carried away many men who were American citizens. It can readily be understood how angry the American people must have been when they heard of the repeated stopping of American ships and the compelling of American citizens to serve in the British navy.

Jefferson Refuses a Third Term. In the midst of these troubles Jefferson's second term ended. Some of his friends urged him to accept another term. He declined, saying that reëlection might become a habit and election for life might follow. In refusing the third term on these grounds, Jefferson set an example to all succeeding presidents, and " no third term " has become a custom that has been followed to the present time.

James Madison Becomes President. Jefferson's successor, James Madison, was also by nature a man of peace. He had been interested in civil government rather than in military affairs. He had been one of the most important members of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. He had helped to secure its approval by the states (p. 198). He had served many terms in the Virginia Legislature and in the Congress of the United States. After the dispute between Hamilton and Jefferson arose, he gave his powerful support to the Republican party and as its trusted leader was elected President in 1808 by a large majority over the Federalist candidate, Pinckney.



James Madison

Impressment Continues. When Madison took the oath of office on March 4, 1809, he knew that trouble awaited him. In fact, without any declaration of war, the American and British ships were already fighting on the high seas.

Feeling ran high when, in May, 1811, a British frigate stopped an American vessel near the harbor of New York and seized another American citizen. This so stirred the country that even the peaceful Madison ordered a warship, the *President*, to punish the offenders. The *President* sighted a British vessel and fired upon it.

II. THE WAR OF 1812

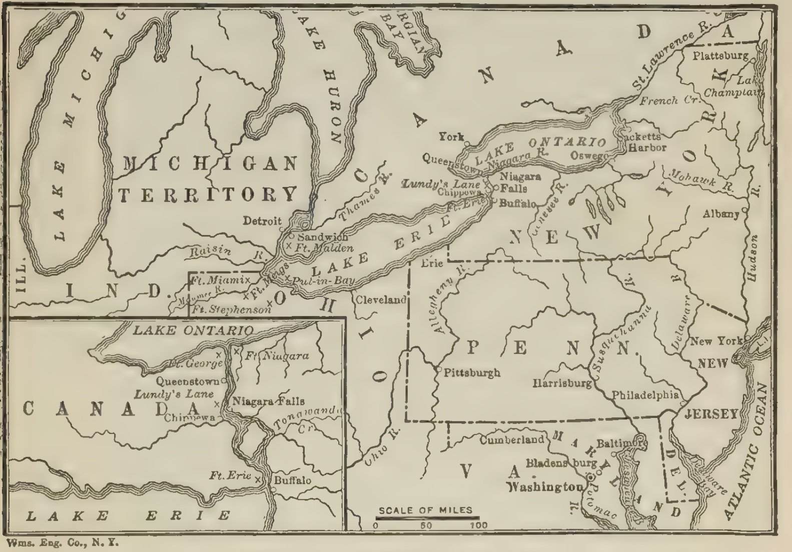
War Declared against England. In the Congress that assembled in December, 1811, there were a number of young men, called " War Hawks," led by John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Henry Clay of Kentucky, who demanded immediate war on England. They aroused the East by describing the ruin of commerce; they excited the West by promising to overcome the Indians and conquer Canada — which meant more land for agriculture.

As a matter of fact Napoleon in his orders had shown as little regard for American rights as had England, but he did not have the warships necessary to carry his words into effect. American trade therefore was not injured very much by the French. Nor did the French seize American citizens and force them to serve in the French navy. Moreover the Americans had not forgotten that the French had helped in the War for Independence. It was against England, then, that the anger of the American people was chiefly directed. President Madison, though opposed to war, saw that his party was in favor of it. On June 18, 1812, therefore, he signed a Resolution of Congress declaring war on Great Britain.

In proclaiming the war the government of the United States declared: (1) that the British had been encouraging the Indians to attack American citizens on the frontier; (2) that they had been ruining American trade by their blockades; (3) that they had insulted the American flag by stopping and searching our ships; and (4) that they had unlawfully seized American sailors and forced them to serve on British war vessels.

New England against the War. *The Hartford Convention.* Although this war was very popular in the West and South, it was disliked by the people of New England, because it actually meant the complete ruin of their trade on the high seas. It was even worse for them than an embargo, because in spite of the law they had been able to slip out some goods and ships. Now that war was declared, they could not do any business with England, and they had to furnish money and men for a war of which they did not approve.

Some of the citizens of New England came very near to rebellion in resisting the attempts of the United States to raise troops there. Leading newspapers declared that nullification (p. 217) was right after all and that the states could decide for themselves whether they would obey federal laws or stay in the Union. The Senate of Massachusetts in 1813 passed resolutions saying that war had been declared without good cause. In 1814, a convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut, at which several amendments to the Constitution were proposed with a view to making it impossible for the Southern and Western states to control the country.


LAKE MICHIGAN
MICHIGAN TERRITORY
LAKE HURON
GEORGIAN BAY
CANADA
D
A
St. Lawrence R.
Plattsburg
Lake Champlain
French Cr.
York
Queenstown
LAKE ONTARIO
Niagara R.
Oswego
Sacketts Harbor
Lundy's Lane
Chippewa
Niagara Falls
Ft. Erie
Buffalo
Genesee R.
Mohawk R.
Albany
Hudson R.
NEW YORK
Thames R.
Detroit
Sandwich
Ft. Malden
LAKE ERIE
Raisin R.
Ft. Miamix
Ft. Meigs
Put-in-Bay
Maumee R.
Ft. Stephenson
ILL.
IND.
OHIO
Cleveland
Erie
Allegheny R.
PENN.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Pittsburgh
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
New York
NEW JERSEY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Ohio R.
Cumberland
MARYLAND
Baltimore
Bladensburg
Washington
Potomac R.
VA.
DEL.
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LAKE ONTARIO
Ft. George
Ft. Niagara
Queenstown
Lundy's Lane
Niagara Falls
Chippewa
Tonawanda Cr.
CANADA
Ft. Erie
Buffalo
LAKE ERIE

Wms. Eng. Co., N. Y.

Scene of the War of 1812

Misfortunes of the American Armies. Not only was the country divided against itself; it was not well prepared for war. It depended mainly on untrained volunteers and militiamen. It could not provide its soldiers with sufficient supplies. On the land the Americans won little glory, except at New Orleans at the very close of the contest. Although they made attacks on Canada and fought hard at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, on the whole their losses on land were greater than their gains. They were driven out of Canada and obliged for a short time to leave Detroit in the hands of the British.

The Capitol at Washington Burned. In addition to these losses the capital city was captured by the enemy. In August, 1814, troops were landed from the British fleet in Chesapeake Bay and quickly sent to Washington. They destroyed by fire the Capitol, the White House, and several other public buildings. President Madison and other governmental officials fortunately escaped from the city. The British forces then moved on Baltimore, driving the American militia before them. The British fleet, however, had been unable to destroy Fort McHenry, which guarded the city, and the attempt [1] to seize it was given up.

The Naval Exploits. The unfortunate events on land, however, were in part offset by brilliant successes on the sea. In 1813 Oliver Hazard Perry, in command of a small number of American warships on Lake Erie, defeated and captured the British fleet stationed there. He reported his victory in the famous dispatch, "We have met the enemy, and they are ours!" On Lake Champlain the Americans were likewise successful under Commander Macdonough. On the ocean the frigate, *Constitution*, popularly known as *Old Ironsides*, won many victories. The *Argus* boldly sailed into the English Channel and destroyed twenty-seven ships. In every battle American sailors showed skill and courage. Even when the *Chesapeake* was beaten by the British *Shannon*, the gallant American commander, Lawrence, who lay dying of mortal wounds, cheered his men by the plucky order, "Don't give up the ship."

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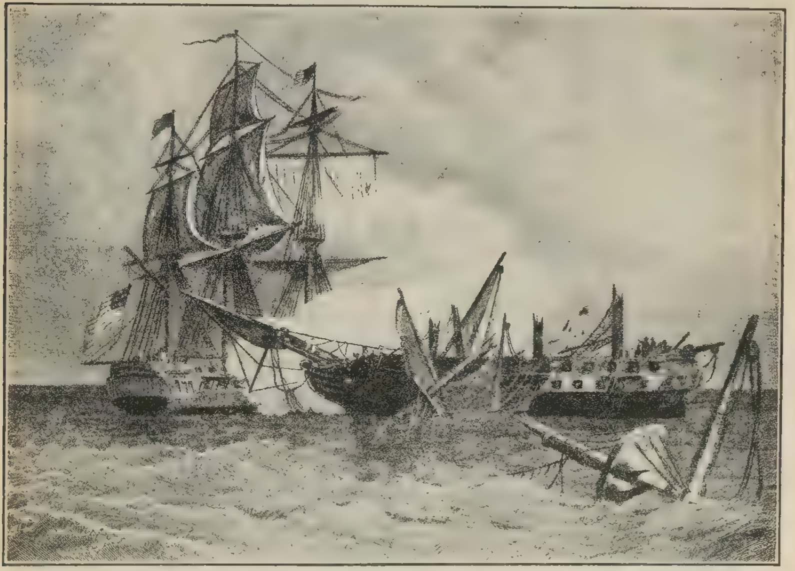
[1] The event inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star-Spangled Banner."

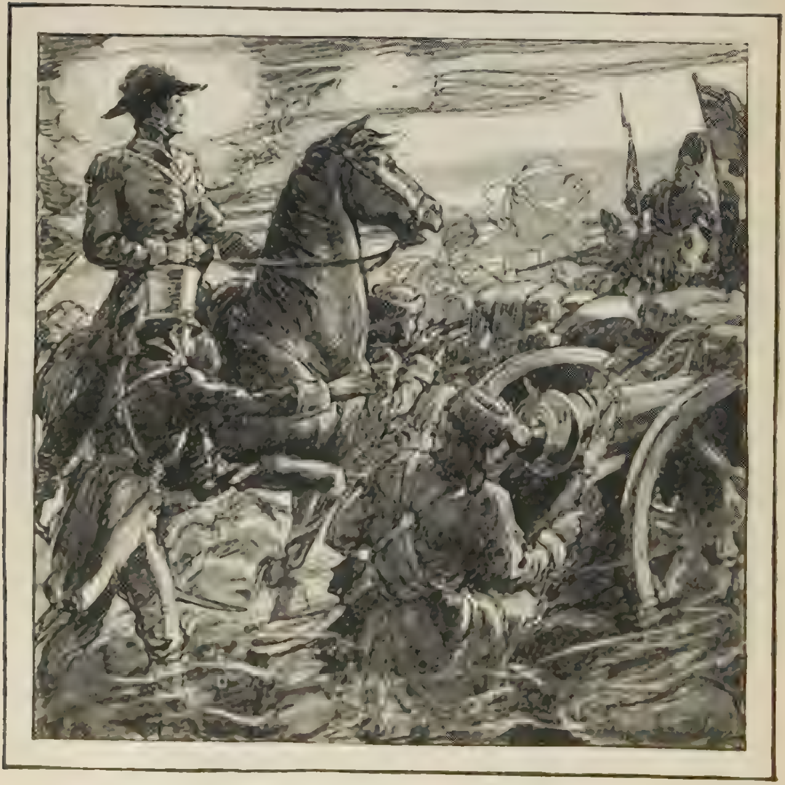
All these exploits injured British commerce. In the course of the war, American privateers commissioned by the American government captured 1300 British merchant vessels, most of them with valuable cargoes on board. At last the British, who had thought their navy unconquerable, decided to put an end to American operations; in 1814 they sent over a big fleet which blockaded the entire coast. Against such a force American sea captains could make no headway single-handed.



From an old print

THE *CONSTITUTION* DESTROYING THE *GUERRIÈRE*

Jackson's Victory at New Orleans. Indeed the outlook had become very discouraging to the Americans, when an astonishing victory at New Orleans, where General Andrew Jackson was in command, heartened them. Hearing that the British were coming, his men hastily threw up breastworks and prepared to receive them. On January 8, 1815, the British charged the American lines, only to be driven back in disorder with a loss of more than two thousand men.



ANDREW JACKSON AT THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

As Jackson lost only seventy-one, the Americans had reason to feel proud of their army.

The Treaty of Ghent. There was, however, a certain tragedy about this victory, because in December, 1814, before the battle was fought, American ministers had met the British representatives at Ghent, in Belgium, and signed a treaty of peace. News of the treaty did not reach this country until February. When it did arrive, everyone was surprised to find that nothing had been said about the seizure of American sailors, the searching of ships, the destruction of trade with Europe, or the stirring up of the Indians on the frontier. Both countries were heartily sick of the war and glad to have peace. The things left out of the treaty, as it happened, were not serious, for the European wars were brought to a close with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in June, 1815. Great Britain no longer impressed sailors, searched ships, or seized American goods bound for the continent.

Political Results of the War. *The Bank and the Protective Tariff.* The chief effects of the war were seen in politics at home. The unpatriotic conduct of the Hartford Convention, of the Federalists especially, had disgraced the party, and after 1816 it ceased to make nominations for the presidency. On the other hand the Republicans adopted two leading Federalist measures: They established a second United States bank in the place of the old bank, the charter of which had expired in 1811; and they provided for a high protective tariff in their revenue law of 1816. (See pp. 210, 271.)

III. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN REPUBLICS

The Latin Americans Throw Off the Spanish Yoke. The foreign troubles of the United States by no means ended with the signing of the Peace of Ghent. A storm cloud appeared in another sky. During the Napoleonic wars the Spanish colonies in South America began to declare their independence. Between 1810 and 1825 Mexico, New Granada (now Colombia), Venezuela, Peru, Buenos Aires (Argentina), Ecuador, Chile, and other states, following the example set by the United States in 1776, declared themselves to be free republics.

The Holy Alliance. The Spanish king was, of course, much distressed at the loss of his colonies, but alone he could not conquer them because his army and navy had suffered heavy losses in the wars with Napoleon. His hope lay in securing help from some of the neighboring European kings; and it appeared that he might be given that help. In 1815 an agreement, popularly known as *The Holy Alliance*, had been made between the rulers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, for the purpose of putting down in Europe just such revolutions as had come in South America. This alliance was regarded in the United States as a union of kings to prevent the rule of the people everywhere.

American Freedom Threatened. The Americans felt that their fears were justified when in 1822 representatives from Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France met to discuss, among other things, the affairs of Spain. The czar of Russia, who desired the west coast of North America (p. 110), was ready to send a force to help the Spanish king. In fact all the nations except England looked with disapproval on the rebellion of the Spanish colonies.

At that time the United States compared with a grand European alliance seemed a small and weak country. Its recent war with Great Britain had been ended in an unsatisfactory manner, and the British still held great dominions to the north. If Spanish rule had been restored with the aid of European monarchs, a strong foreign power would have appeared in the south and west. If the czar of Russia had been permitted to make good his claims to territory along the Pacific coast, there would have been a new danger in that region. Had the United States been thus surrounded by countries ruled by monarchs, the life of the republic might have been in grave danger.

Fortunately England refused to aid the Holy Alliance. The English merchants had built up a thriving business with the new Latin-American republics. They did not wish to see Spanish rule over them restored, for the Spanish would have kept for Spain all the South American trade now going to England. This action on the part of the British, which really placed the British navy between the nations of Europe and the New World, greatly relieved the Americans.

JAMES MONROE

The Monroe Doctrine. It was amid these circumstances that President Monroe in his message of December 2, 1823, made a statement to Congress which has become famous throughout the world as the *Monroe Doctrine.* He called attention to the dangers which would threaten the United States in case the kings of Europe tried to restore Spanish rule in Latin America. He said that he regarded "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

He did not propose to interfere in any way with the colonies which European powers still held in the Americas, but he took a firm stand as to the colonies which had declared their independence. He declared that attempts to control them or oppress them would be viewed as "unfriendly" to the United States.

In another part of his message President Monroe referred to an order issued in 1821 by the czar of Russia claiming rights to North American territory along the Pacific coast. In calling attention to this claim President Monroe gave the following warning to the Old World:

> The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

In putting forth this doctrine President Monroe declared to the powers of Europe that no European country would be permitted, unopposed, to acquire new territories on the American continents. The message also warned the European nations that they could not interfere with the independent countries of North or South America without getting into trouble with the United States.

It was a long time before the country was drawn into any more serious disputes with European powers. From the time when John Quincy Adams became President, in 1825, down to the Civil War, the American people were able to devote most of their attention to developing industry and agriculture at home and peaceful commerce abroad.

The czar of Russia, no doubt mindful of the Monroe Doctrine, never pressed his claims in the West. Friendly relations were established with Great Britain, even to the extent of abolishing all warships on the Great Lakes. For more than a hundred years the United States and Canada have maintained this boundary three thousand miles in length, unfortified by either nation.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *blockade, munitions, pirates, embargo, impressment of seamen, frigate, frontier, the Holy Alliance, doctrine, the Monroe Doctrine, European powers.*

I. Why did the war between England and France so seriously affect American commerce? What is meant by "an embargo on exports"? What were the results of the Embargo Act of 1807? What were the important differences between the Embargo Act and the Nonintercourse Act?

II. Make a list of the events that led to the War of 1812. Why were the New England states against the war? Why were the Americans often unsuccessful on land? Are there any reasons why they should have been more successful on sea? What were the terms of the Treaty of Ghent? In your opinion did the Americans gain anything important in the war?

III. At what time did the Spanish colonies of Mexico and South America win their independence from Spanish rule? Why was Spain unable to stop her colonies from declaring their independence? What was the Holy Alliance and why was it formed? In what way was it a danger to democracy in America? What is meant by the "Monroe Doctrine"? Why was it important?

Review: Find from the table of Presidents (Appendix) the number of terms served and the dates of the beginning and ending of the administrations of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe. Make a list of the important events in each administration.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Who was Napoleon and why is he remembered?

See Tappan's *England's Story*, pp. 318–322; Guerber's *Story of Modern France*, pp. 127–239.

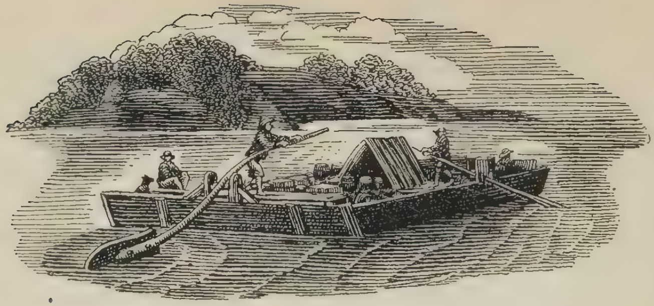
2. Tell the story of one of the following events of the War of 1812:

The *Constitution* and the *Guerrière:* See Hart's *How Our Grandfathers Lived*, pp. 243–249; Coffin's *Building the Nation*, ch. xii.

The Capture of Washington: See Hart's *How Our Grandfathers Lived*, pp. 274–282.

The Battle of New Orleans: See Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 139–147; Coffin's *Building the Nation*, ch. xv.

3. News of the treaty signed in December did not reach America until February. Why? During the World War news of the Armistice was known in America on the day it was signed. Account for the difference in the speed of getting news in 1918 and in 1815.



CHAPTER XIV

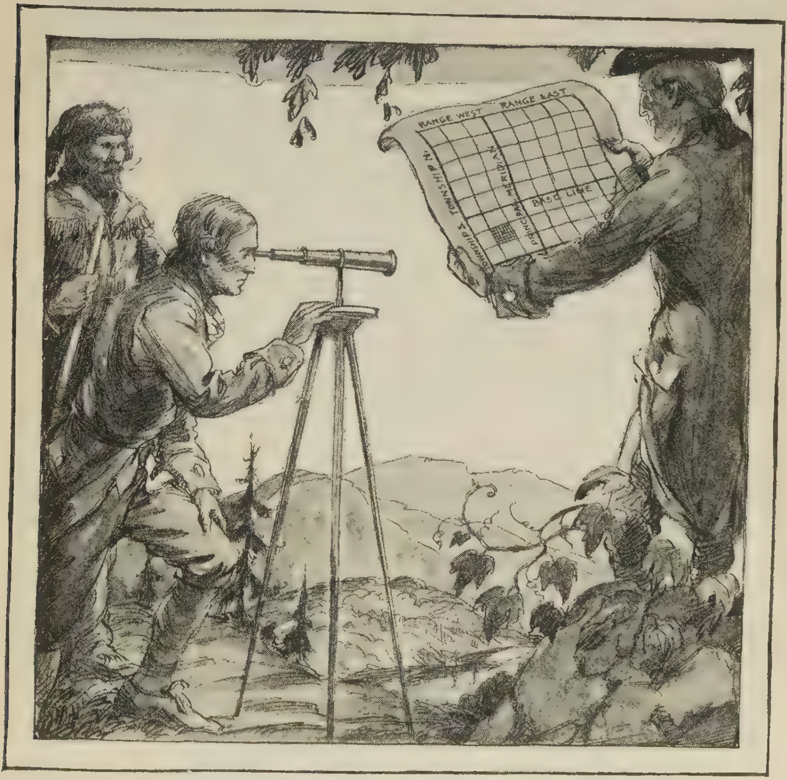
THE CALL OF THE LAND IN THE GREAT WEST

CHAPTER XII gave an account of the way in which the borders of the United States were extended west to the Pacific and south to the Gulf of Mexico. We now come to the story of how pioneers and their families settled the regions beyond the Alleghenies and founded new states for admission to the Union. This was a movement of great importance in our history. The United States was not to be a little America on the seaboard, but a great America stretching across the continent.

I. THE WESTERN COUNTRY PREPARED FOR SETTLEMENT; THE ROUTES ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS

Territorial Government. The way for the westward movement had been prepared by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 (p. 191). Under its terms territories were laid out and government set up to keep order. The land was surveyed and opened to settlement. Three years after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance, Congress arranged for the government of the territory south of the Ohio — the Tennessee region — ceded by North Carolina to the Union. Eight years later, in 1798, similar plans were adopted for the Mississippi territory once owned by Georgia.

All of these plans looked forward to the time when new states would be formed. When the settlers in a territory became numerous enough, they were to have the right of self-government and the territory was then to be admitted to the Union on the same terms as the other states. There was, however, this difference in the plans: in the Northwest Territory slavery was forbidden, while in the South it was made lawful. In enforcing the plans, the United States Army played an important part by protecting settlers against the Indians.


RANGE WEST
RANGE EAST
TOWNSHIP N.
TOWNSHIP S.
PRINCIPAL MERIDIAN
BASE LINE

Surveying in the Northwest Territory

Barriers and Gateways to the West. It was an easy thing to provide for the government of the wilderness but a much more difficult thing to get settlers there safely. In our time one may leave New York City in the evening and wake up the next morning beyond the Allegheny Mountains. In Jefferson's time it was not so easy to "go West." The mountains formed real barriers to travel, except at a few places where roads could be built through gaps or passes or sometimes over the mountains themselves.

Three of these places became especially important as gateways to the Middle West:

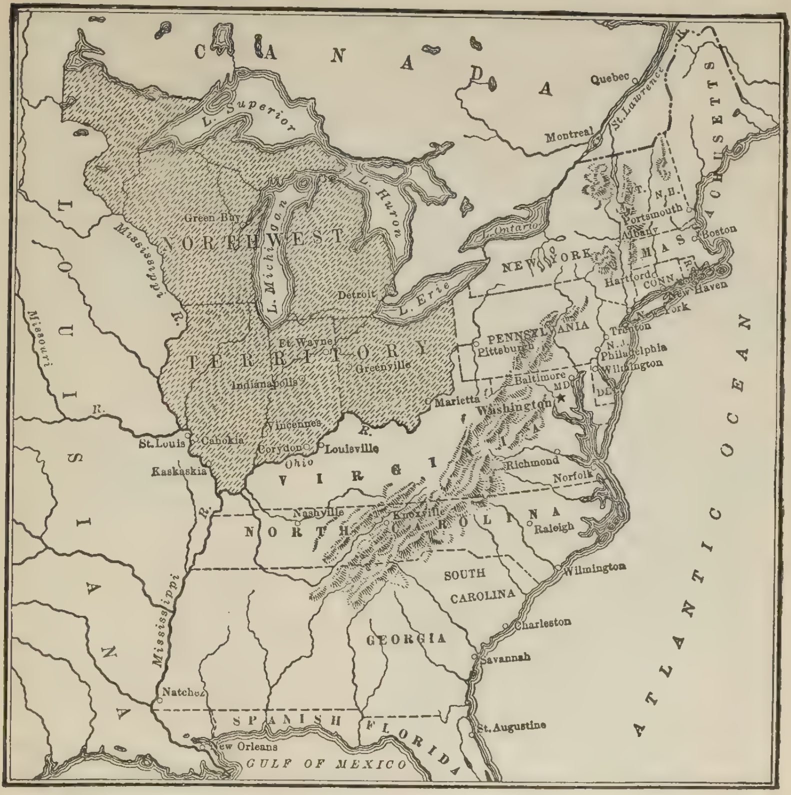
1. To the north, in New York, lay a long level stretch up the Hudson and Mohawk valleys, and so out upon the Central Plain.

2. In western Pennsylvania the Ohio River offered a gateway to the West and South. Once over the Alleghenies, the settler could float on a raft to his new home. On the headwaters of the Ohio at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers stood the little village of Pittsburgh. This town naturally became a point to which roads from the East drew together.

3. Farther to the south, in Virginia, the Cumberland Gap gave another entrance to the West through which emigrants from the Southern states poured into the back country.

The Four Periods of Travel. The roads over which travelers and pioneers could reach the Western regions had much to do with the number who went and the location of the first settlements. Historians have therefore divided the growth of the Western country into four periods, each of which marked a stage in the westward movement:

1. The forest-trail and old-road period, which extended from late colonial times down to the end of the eighteenth century.


CANADA
Quebec
Montreal
St. Lawrence
L. Superior
L. Huron
L. Michigan
Ontario
L. Erie
Green Bay
NORTHWEST TERRITORY
Detroit
Ft. Wayne
Greenville
Indianapolis
Vincennes
Corydon
Louisville
Ohio R.
Marietta
St. Louis
Cahokia
Kaskaskia
Mississippi R.
Missouri R.
LOUISIANA
Mississippi
NEW YORK
Albany
VT.
N.H.
Portsmouth
MASSACHUSETTS
MASS.
Boston
Hartford
CONN.
R.I.
New Haven
New York
Trenton
N.J.
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburgh
Philadelphia
Wilmington
Baltimore
MD.
DEL.
Washington
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Norfolk
Nashville
Knoxville
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Wilmington
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
Natchez
SPANISH FLORIDA
New Orleans
St. Augustine
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN

The Northwest Territory (1787), Showing the Boundaries of the States that Were Later Created from It

2. The flatboat period, which opened near the end of the American Revolution and lasted for about fifty years.

3. The steamboat period, beginning about 1810, reaching its height about 1850, and declining after 1870.

4. The railway age, beginning about 1835.

The American Epic. By these methods of travel tens of thousands of men, women, and children passed from the Eastern states over the Appalachian Highland. Once over the mountains they spread in every direction, until they conquered the wilderness, filled the plains and valleys, and at length reached the very edge of the continent at the Pacific Ocean. If the forests and plains and deserts and canyons could speak, what a story they could tell of the visitors that have passed by, singly or in companies, now blazing their way through trackless forests, now laying out treeless plains into farms, now searching for mines and treasure in the mountains, now staggering hot and thirsty across the deserts, conquering by will and courage all obstacles in their search for adventure or gold or a free home!

II. Westward to the Mississippi

Although the history of western migration forms one story, it is necessary for the sake of convenience to tell it in several parts. The first we may call " Westward to the Mississippi," although, as we have seen, that chapter was not finished before a new one bearing the title, " From the Mississippi to the Pacific," was opened.

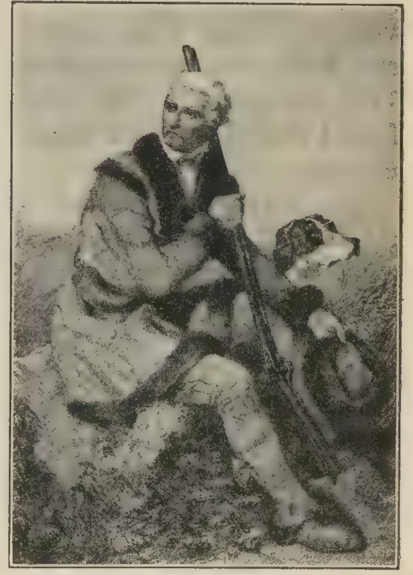
The Region South of the Ohio First Settled. The first part of our story, " Westward to the Mississippi," includes what we have called above the forest-trail and old-road period, a period extending from colonial times down to the closing years of the eighteenth century. The migration was largely limited to the district south of the Ohio River. There were two main causes for this:

1. Until long after the Revolution the territory to the north of the Ohio was held by Indian tribes that were unfriendly to the American settlers.

2. It was easy for the frontiersmen of Virginia and the Carolinas to push over into Kentucky and Tennessee, and they had special reasons for going. (*a*) The land in Virginia and Carolina particularly along the coast, was owned in great plantations and tilled by slaves. The poor man could not compete with slave labor. (*b*) Since proper fertilizer was

not used, cotton and tobacco rapidly wore out the soil and made necessary the search for new lands.

Daniel Boone. Of the pioneers of this first period Daniel Boone is the most famous. His story is the same as that of hundreds of others who braved the same dangers. Boone began his explorations in the Kentucky region as early as 1769; the year before the Declaration of Independence he had established the town of Boonesboro. Before the end of the eighteenth century he found the country too "civilized" for his restless spirit. So he crossed the Mississippi into Missouri, saying: "It is high time to move when a man can no longer fell a tree for firewood within a few yards of his cabin door."



DANIEL BOONE

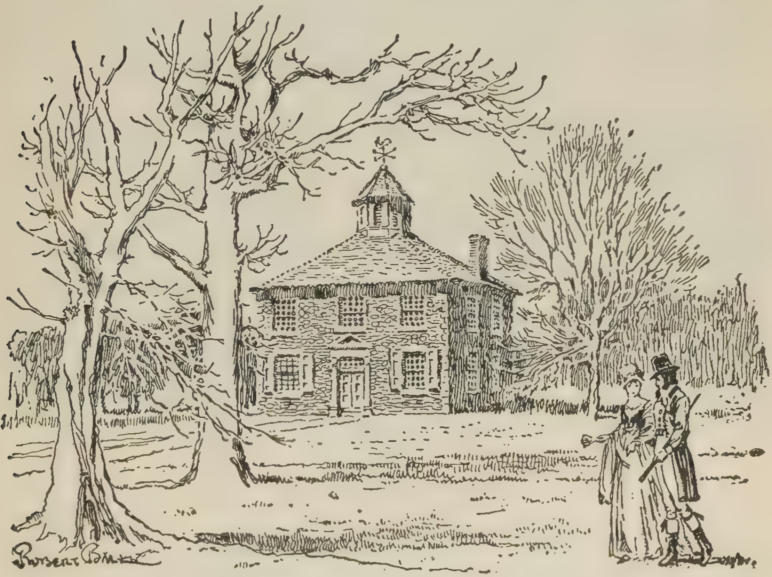
The Movement through the Cumberland Gap. After Boone blazed the way into the Kentucky region, others were not long in following. The trail made through the Cumberland Gap in 1769 was slowly turned into a fairly good wagon road. After the Revolution the southern seaboard states encouraged the settlement of their western lands. In 1788 North Carolina opened a land office and sold farms on easy terms. Every head of a family could have for ten cents an acre 640 acres on his own account, 100 acres for his wife, and 100 acres for each child. The next year Virginia offered cheap lands in the western country on condition that within twelve months a house be built and corn planted on each farm granted.

Kentucky and Tennessee. People from the settled regions along the Atlantic coast rushed west to get these cheap lands. In 1800, more people were living in Kentucky than in Delaware, Georgia, Rhode Island, or New Hampshire. Louisville, founded in 1788, had become an important trading village. While Washington was President, both Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted to the Union, the former in 1792, the latter in 1796. No wonder that the Eastern states feared that this " New West " would soon begin to rule the country.

The River-route Period. *The Region North of the Ohio Opened.* The flatboat period, as we have pointed out, began with the closing years of the eighteenth century and extended into the steamboat period. While the regions to the south of the Ohio were filling up, events were taking place north of the river. The Indians in the Northwest Territory were defeated in several severe battles and forced to make peace in 1794. The next year the British surrendered the forts in the lake regions which they had been holding since the Revolution. The Ohio River route was at last safe and the country to the north was at last open to settlers.

The Movement down the Ohio and Mississippi. Soon large numbers of pioneers began to pass through Pittsburgh. Emigrants from the East went overland to that point, carrying their household goods in wagons and driving their cattle. At Pittsburgh any kind of boat could be bought — a light canoe for one or two passengers or a barge that would carry ten tons of freight, household goods, plows, horses, and cattle. When the pioneer family reached the river, it usually placed all its possessions on a flatboat; guided by a printed chart of the river's rocks and snags, it floated swiftly down the current to the place chosen for the new home.

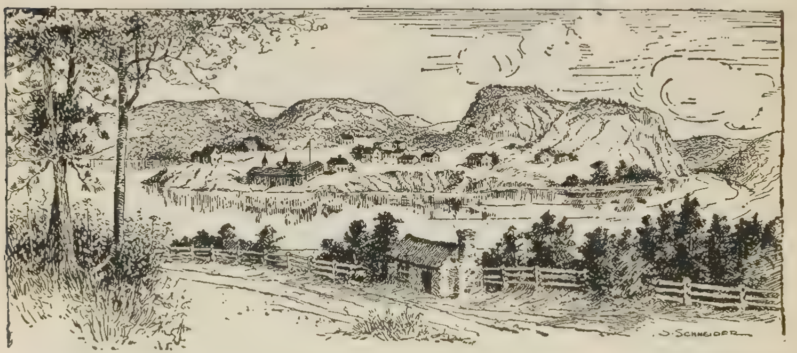
Pioneers journeying into the region north of the Ohio River came both from the North and from the South. In the central regions of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois farmers from Virginia and North Carolina laid out their homesteads beside those of farmers from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Few of them were mere adventurers. The vast majority were industrious home seekers who cleared the land for their farms, built cabins, organized a local government, and settled down to the task of making a real home in the wilderness.



THE FIRST CAPITOL OF OHIO, AT MARIETTA

Trade with the East through New Orleans. The river movement which peopled the banks of the Ohio naturally brought trade to the river towns like Wheeling in the west Virginia country, founded in 1770, and Marietta and Cincinnati, in Ohio, established in 1788. At the same time trade down the Mississippi and outward to the Atlantic coast cities was greatly increased. Large flatboats holding tons of produce were readily floated to New Orleans. There the goods were put on board seagoing vessels; the flatboats were broken up and sold for lumber; and the boatmen returned home overland.

The Need of a Road over the Mountains. Though it was easy to ship produce this way, it was difficult to carry back manufactured articles. The people of the Ohio country had to buy their "store goods" mainly from the merchants of the river towns, who brought their supplies over the mountains from the East. This was a hard and expensive way of getting these supplies. It cost $125 a ton to carry freight from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, whence it was shipped to such points as Wheeling, Cincinnati, and Louisville. From the river towns, the goods had to be taken inland by pack horses and wagons. Often in the spring and in bad weather the teams would become stuck in the muddy roads and all traffic would be held up for days at a time.

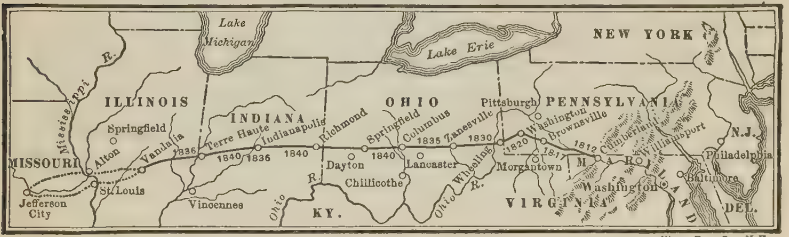


From an old print

PITTSBURGH IN 1790

The need of a well-built road from the coast into the Ohio region became evident even before the end of the eighteenth century. After much discussion Congress in 1806 passed a law authorizing the building of a great national highway from the East into this new territory.

The National Road Opened. In 1811 the first contracts were let. Within a few years fast stagecoaches were running between Washington and Wheeling. This " National," or Cumberland, Road started from Cumberland on the Potomac River, wound through Maryland and Pennsylvania to Wheeling, and then ran almost straight across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois into Missouri. The extreme western end was never completed by the United States government owing to the growth of railways; but the eastern section was finished and proved to be of great benefit to the pioneers of the early days.


Lake Michigan
Lake Erie
NEW YORK
R.
Mississippi
ILLINOIS
Springfield
MISSOURI
Alton
Vandalia
1836
St. Louis
Jefferson City
INDIANA
Terre Haute
Indianapolis
1840
1836
1840
Richmond
Vincennes
Ohio
R.
KY.
OHIO
Springfield
Columbus
Dayton
1840
Lancaster
Chillicothe
1835
Zanesville
1830
Wheeling
R.
Ohio
Pittsburgh
PENNSYLVANIA
Washington
Brownsville
1820
1817
Morgantown
1812
Cumberland
Williamsport
M A R Y L A N D
Washington
VIRGINIA
Baltimore
Philadelphia
N.J.
DEL.

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE CUMBERLAND ROAD, SHOWING ALSO THE SECTION ON THE WESTERN END WHICH WAS NEVER COMPLETED

Travel East and West. Along with the freight business there soon opened a rapid mail and passenger service. The federal government contracted with stage companies to carry mails, just as it does now with the railway companies. Every day the Great Eastern Mail left the towns along the National Road for the East, making the journey at the rate of one hundred fifty or two hundred miles a day. In 1837 the paper at Columbus, Ohio, boasted that it was able to print the news of the death of the king of England thirty-eight days after the event had happened. When Queen Victoria, crowned in that year, died long afterward in 1901, the Columbus papers printed the news on the same day.

The stages seem always to have been crowded. Members of Congress, stock buyers, traders, merchants, gamblers, cattle drivers, and pioneers traveled the long way together. They cracked jokes, talked about the campaigns of Napoleon in Europe, drank at the inns, enjoyed an occasional race with another stage, and sometimes were held up by robbers. As the express stage swung past, scattering letters and papers bearing news from the East, settlers along the way rushed out to hear the gossip and get their mail. It no longer seemed so far from the old home. Soon the more timid began to venture out and the number of settlers increased rapidly.

In 1810 Ohio, then a prosperous state seven years old, had more than two hundred thousand inhabitants; Indiana had about twenty-five thousand, Illinois twelve thousand, and Michigan five thousand. Before many years passed, Indiana and Illinois had been admitted to the Union.

III. Across the Mississippi

The Admission of Missouri and Louisiana to the Union. The Louisiana territory and the rich soil of Missouri attracted both free farmers from the East and Southern planters with their slaves. The cotton and sugar lands to the south, which had already been partly developed by French and Spanish settlers, were settled by slave-owning planters in large numbers. It is not surprising therefore to find in 1810 about 75,000 inhabitants in the lower Louisiana territory. Nor is it surprising to learn that the people were demanding admission to the Union. They pointed out that the Treaty of Cession to the United States had promised them the right to have a state government in due time and to enjoy all the privileges of American citizens.

When their plea was taken up in Congress, it was violently opposed by men from the Eastern states, but the party of

Jefferson had a majority in Congress. So Louisiana was admitted to the Union in 1812. Within five years another Western state, Mississippi, came in. Alabama soon followed. Then in 1820 Missouri with a population of sixty-six thousand was admitted after one of the hardest fought contests in the history of the country.

Summary of New States. By the close of 1821 nine new Western states had been added to the fifteen Atlantic states:[1]

Kentucky, 1792	Louisiana, 1812	Illinois, 1818
Tennessee, 1796	Indiana, 1816	Alabama, 1819
Ohio, 1803	Mississippi, 1817	Missouri, 1820

It is no wonder that men living in the thirteen original states began to talk about the power the new states of the West might have in the national government which had been established by the old states of the East.

IV. The Life of the People on the Frontier

The Democracy of the West. Most of the pioneers of the early days were poor. The great majority of them had no possessions except what they took over the mountains in their wagons. Few, if any, were very rich, and there was no upper class as in the Eastern and Southern states. Each frontiersman could easily secure a farm of some size and thus become the owner of a home. No one had to work very long for anyone else as a "hired hand." The farmer, secure in the ownership of his land and home, felt that no matter what happened elsewhere, he could support himself and his family. Here all people were really equal, for none was very rich and few were very poor.

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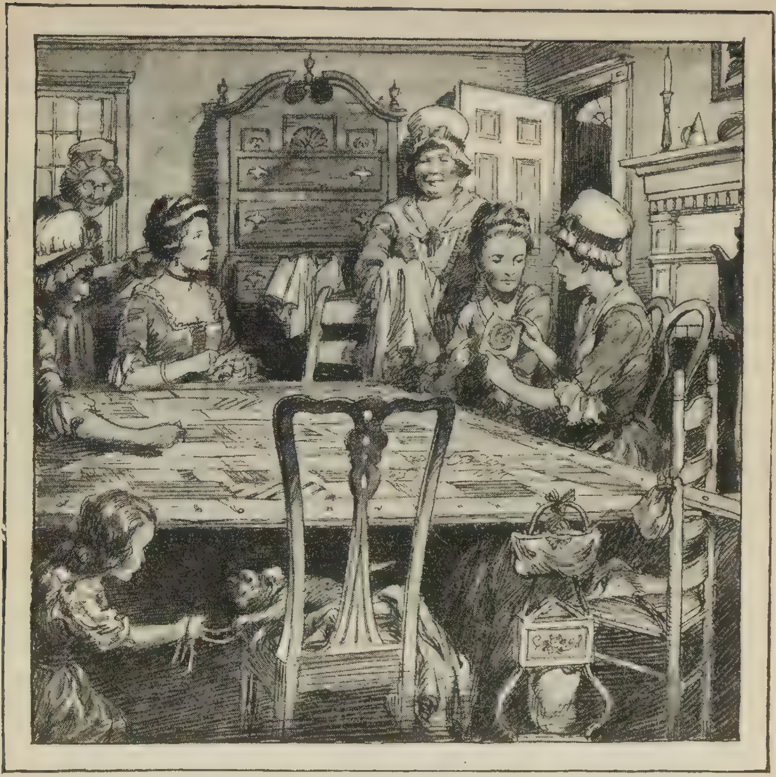
[1] Vermont, claimed by both New York and New Hampshire, had been admitted as the fourteenth state in 1791. Maine was admitted with Missouri (p. 395).

The Pioneer Farmers. Each family was in fact almost entirely independent of the outside world. In the fireplaces, built of rough stones or logs and covered with plaster, wood from the neighboring forest was burned. In the huge Dutch ovens or before the fire on the hearth the family baking was done. In a corner of the one room of the cabin stood the spinning wheel and the loom where coarse cloth was made. In the cellars or in caves stores of food for the winter were laid by. Among the rafters or in a near-by smokehouse hung the hams, bacon, and quarters of beef cured for family use.

If a farmer needed a new house or a new barn, his neighbors came in, cut the trees, raised the building, and finished it off with a celebration. If his wife needed new bedclothes for the winter, she gathered in the women of the neighborhood for a " quilting bee." Corn was shucked at " husking bees," where the young people had jolly times. When a forest was to be cleared for planting, neighbors gathered, cut the trees, and rolled the logs into huge piles for burning. The " log rollings " were social affairs in those early times.

The Pioneer's Family. Young people usually married before they were twenty. After a wedding, it was a common thing for the neighbors to " pitch in " and build a cabin on short order. Father would furnish the groom with a horse and a cow ; mother would present the bride with a few cups, saucers, and pans ; and with crude furnishings for their new home the young people started their housekeeping.

There were usually many children, and they were always taught to help with the work around the house and in the fields. A traveler in Kentucky in 1802 said : " There are few houses which contain less than four or five children." A little later another traveler in Ohio declared : " Throughout the whole country when you see a cabin you see a swarm of children." There were no idlers. Every man, woman, and



A Quilting Bee

child had work to do in helping to support the family. Besides the heavy housework, including spinning and weaving the women often helped their husbands in the fields, especially in harvest time. The old lines,

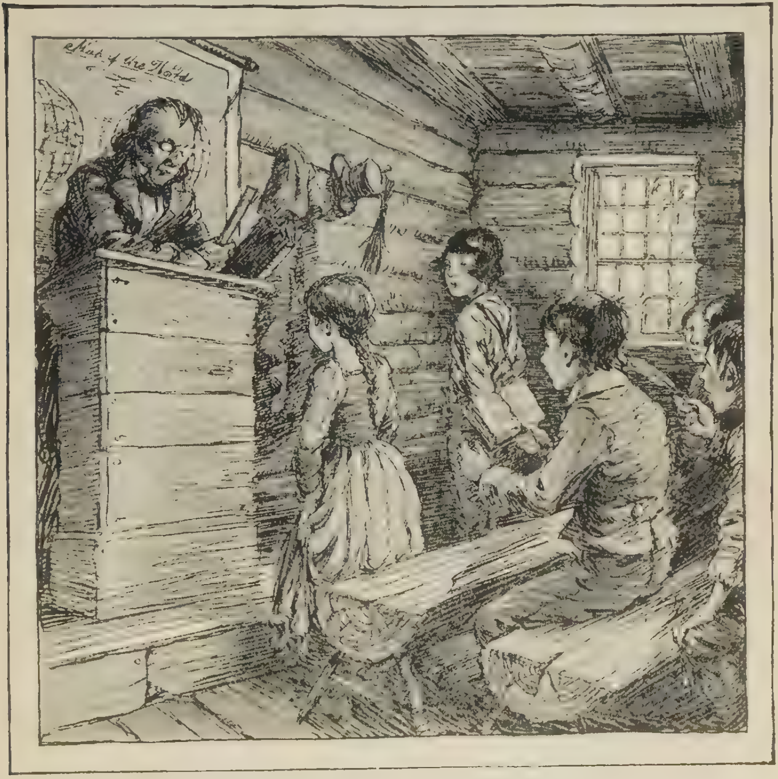
> Man's work is from sun to sun;
> Woman's work is never done,

were particularly true of the women of pioneer days.

Dangers and Discomforts of the Pioneer's Life. All the people, men, women, and children alike, had to be courageous. Life in the wilderness was lonely. Frequently it was ten or twenty miles through the forests to the nearest neighbor. One of the authors of this book knew a pioneer woman who in her youth was accustomed to ride along blazed trails for miles, visiting those who were sick or in need; more than once she narrowly escaped being killed by panthers. When the winters were long and cold, a family might be out of touch with the world for months at a time. If a person was sick, home remedies usually had to be depended upon, for it might be a day's journey on horseback to the nearest doctor. When one of the family died, the rest would make a rude coffin out of hewn boards. Without any funeral service save perhaps a silent prayer, they would bury the dead under a tree or in an open field where watch could be kept over the body against prowling wolves. One of the most touching incidents in Lincoln's life is the death of his mother in a frontier settlement in Indiana in 1818. It was not until some months afterward that a minister could be found to hold a simple service over her grave.

Schools in the New Country. There was little time for school, but the pioneers did try to do something to educate their children. In the Northwest Territory, from the very first, lands were set aside to be sold or rented to furnish money for schools; but the funds were small, and it was common for the school-teacher to add to his or her little wage by " boarding 'round " among the families that sent children to the school, staying a week or so at a time in each home. Only the three R's — " readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic " — were taught at first, and the teachers were often almost as ignorant as the pupils. " Keeping ahead of the class " was regarded as quite a feat for the young teacher.

The schoolhouses were log cabins with small windows generally of oiled skin or paper. The floor was made of " puncheons " — logs smoothed off with the ax and laid close together on the earth. Desks there were none. Each pupil sat upon a bench made of a short log split down the center and mounted upon four legs. A fireplace furnished the heat, and often enough smoke to make the children weep.



An Early Frontier Schoolroom

If, in anger at their pranks, the master shut the children out of the cabin, the youngsters would reply by placing a board over the chimney to "smoke the teacher out." It was a fortunate child that received three months' "schooling" out of every twelve. The hard labor in the homes and the fields left little time for learning.

The Influence of Pioneer Life upon Political Opinions. These rude, and free and equal, conditions of life had a deep influence on the political ideas of the people. Protecting themselves against man and beast by their own strong arms, they had little need to call on the government for help. Government mainly meant to them more taxes; so they thought that the less the government interfered with them the better. In fact many of those on the frontier lived practically without a government. What little government they had in their counties and thinly populated states was simple. The public business was not difficult, and any fairly intelligent person could carry it on. It required only a few officers — sheriffs, keepers of land records, and treasurers.

So the pioneers thought that there should be a constant rotation in office — a passing of the offices from man to man in order to give as many as possible a share of the "ready" money paid as salaries. The pioneers were jealous of the well-to-do people of the East and thought that the government officers made too much money out of the "jobs" in Washington. Such were the political ideas of the frontiersmen of the West. Soon we shall see how they influenced the politics of the whole country.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *pioneers, territorial government, ordinance, the Northwest Ordinance, blazing a trail.*

I. How did the government of the territory south of the Ohio differ from the government of the Northwest Territory? Why was the Northwest Territory laid out in townships? Trace upon an outline map the three important gateways from the seaboard states to the Western country. Compare these routes as to difficulties of travel before the time of railroads.

II. Why was the territory south of the Ohio settled before the Northwest Territory? Why was the National Road constructed? Trace the course of the road from Cumberland, Maryland, through Wheeling, Zanesville, Columbus, and Richmond to Indianapolis. Determine from a map of the middle Atlantic states the number of mountain ridges that had to be crossed before the Ohio was reached.

III. How did it happen that the westward movement continued beyond the Mississippi long before the country to the east of the Mississippi had been well settled? Why was there opposition in the Northeast to the admission of Louisiana? Why were the Southern people more generally in favor of admitting this state?

IV. In what ways did the life of the pioneers who settled west of the Alleghenies differ from the life of those living in the seaboard states? Why was the pioneer likely to be more democratic? More self-reliant? Why were the pioneers not likely to consider education so important as it is considered to-day?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. In each township one section was reserved for the support of public schools. Find this section on the illustration, page 249. How much is a section of farm land (640 acres) worth to-day in your neighborhood? Would the interest on this sum at five per cent pay the expenses of the schools within an area six miles square?

2. Find out all that you can about Daniel Boone and tell what he did that he should be remembered as the most famous of the Western pioneers.

See McMurry's *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*, ch. v; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 19–28; Bass's *Stories of Pioneer Life*, pp. 33–45; Gulliver's *Daniel Boone*.

3. Imagine yourself a member of a family emigrating from eastern Pennsylvania to southern Indiana about 1810. Describe the journey from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh by land and thence down the Ohio by flatboat.

4. Think of all the differences you can between your everyday life and that of a child of your own age in pioneer days. What things are alike?

See Hart's *How Our Grandfathers Lived*, pp. 109–113; Bass's *Stories of Pioneer Life*, pp. 54–68; Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 174–182; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xix.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE NEW NATION (CHAPTERS XI, XII, XIII, XIV)

I. Starting the new government
  - *A.* The first amendments
  - *B.* Hamilton's measures for financing the government
  - *C.* Opposition to Hamilton's measures; the Whisky Rebellion
  - *D.* Beginning of political parties
  - *E.* Relations with Europe
    1. Troubles with England due to the French Revolution; Jay's treaty
    2. Troubles with France
       - *a.* The X Y Z Affair
       - *b.* Troubles over trade
  - *F.* Problems at home growing out of the French Revolution; the Alien and Sedition Laws

II. Expansion of the new nation
  - *A.* The attitude of Jefferson's party toward Western development
  - *B.* The Louisiana Purchase
    1. Reasons for the purchase
       - *a.* The desire for more land and for a free water-route to the Gulf of Mexico
       - *b.* The danger of a French colony in the West
       - *c.* Napoleon's willingness to sell the territory
    2. Results of the purchase
       - *a.* Criticism immediately following the purchase
       - *b.* Expeditions to explore the new territory
  - *C.* The Florida Purchase; the Oregon country

- III. Events leading to the War of 1812 and the war itself
  - *A.* Events leading to the war
    - 1. War between England and France and its effect on American commerce
    - 2. Attempts by Congress to remedy the situation
      - *a.* The Embargo Act and its results
      - *b.* The Nonintercourse Act
    - 3. The impressment of American seamen
    - 4. The *Chesapeake* affair
  - *B.* The War of 1812
    - 1. The declaration of war
    - 2. The attitude of New England; the Hartford Convention
    - 3. American battles on land
    - 4. The naval exploits
    - 5. Jackson's victory at New Orleans
    - 6. The Treaty of Ghent
  - *C.* Political results of the war
- IV. The Spanish-American republics and the Monroe Doctrine
  - *A.* The Spanish colonies win their independence
  - *B.* The Holy Alliance formed; the danger of this Alliance to the United States
  - *C.* The Monroe Doctrine
- V. The organization and settlement of the Middle West
  - *A.* The organization of the Northwest Territory; the Ordinance of 1787
  - *B.* The organization of the region south of the Ohio
  - *C.* The gateways to the West and the four periods of travel
  - *D.* The settlement of the Middle West
    - 1. The settlement of the region south of the Ohio
    - 2. The settlement of the region north of the Ohio
    - 3. The movement down the Ohio and Mississippi
    - 4. The National Road and its effect upon settlement

E. The new states

F. The life of the people on the frontier

Important names:

Presidents: Washington (1789–1797), John Adams (1797–1801), Jefferson (1801–1809), Madison (1809–1817), and Monroe (1817–1825)

Political Leaders: Alexander Hamilton and John Jay

Military and Naval Leaders: Andrew Jackson and Oliver Hazard Perry

Pioneers and Explorers: Daniel Boone, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Zebulon Pike

European Leader: Napoleon Bonaparte

Important dates: 1803; 1812; 1823

PART FOUR

Development of the Nation

TIME CHART — Chapters XV to XX

ADMINISTRATION	POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT	TERRITORIAL CONFLICTS AND DEVELOPMENT	INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT	EDUCATION
				First printing press in America (1639) First regular newspaper (1704) First state university (North Carolina — 1795) North American Review (1815) First high school (Boston, 1821)
Adams (J. Q.) 1825–1829	Tariff of Abominations (1828)		Labor organization (1825–1830) Opening of Erie Canal (1825) Baltimore and Ohio, the first railroad (1828) Woolen factory at Kingston, R. I. (1828)	
Jackson 1829-1837	Webster-Hayne debate (1830) Veto of United States Bank charter (1832) The Compromise Tariff and the Force Bill (1833)	Black Hawk War (1832) Texas' independence (1836) Arkansas admitted (1836) Houston's defeat of Santa Ana (1836) Michigan admitted (1837)	Obed Hussey's invention of the reaper (1833)	Oberlin opened to women (1833) Penny newspaper (1833) Mary Lyon's Female Seminary (1837)
Van Buren 1837–1841			Financial Panic (1837)	Horace Mann and First State Normal School (1839)
Harrison and Tyler 1841-1845	Dorr Rebellion (1842) Tariff of 1842	Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842) Florida admitted (1845)	First telegraph line (1844)	
Polk 1845–1849	The Walker Tariff (1846) Wilmot Proviso (1846) First Women's Rights Convention (1848)	Admission of Texas (1845) War with Mexico (1846–1848) Northwest boundary treaty with Great Britain (1846) Fremont and Kearny in California (1846) Admission of Iowa (1846) Peace with Mexico (1848) Admission of Wisconsin (1848)	Wells and Fargo Express (1845) Ship subsidies (1845 and 1848) Howe's sewing machine (1845) McCormick reaper factory (1846) Discovery of gold in California (1848)	
Taylor and Fillmore 1849–1853			Railroad connection of Chicago with East (1852)	Free schools general in North and Middle West (1850-)
Pierce 1853-1857				
Buchanan 1857 1858		Admission of Minnesota (1858) Admission of Oregon (1859)	Trans-Atlantic Cable (1858)	

CHAPTER XV

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

From the opening of President Monroe's administration (1817) to the close of President Tyler's term (1845), every section of the country grew wonderfully in wealth and population. In the Northeast manufactures went forward with giant strides; in the South and Southwest vast wildernesses were transformed into great plantations with amazing speed; and in the West the frontier advanced farther and farther, making an increased number of prosperous farms. This expansion had its effects on the four main problems which the voters and their leaders faced: (1) the protection of American industries by a tariff, (2) internal improvements, (3) the sale of public lands, and (4) the second United States Bank. Before the close of the period a fifth problem — slavery — became one of the "burning issues."

I. The Protective Tariff

The Tariff Issue. To understand the first of these issues, the tariff, it is necessary to review briefly the history of industry from the Declaration of Independence to the War of 1812. When the Revolution broke out many factories and foundries had already been started in the colonies, and as soon as trade with England was cut off by war, the Americans had to manufacture for themselves or perish. Fortunately they had the energy and skill to meet the situation. Old industries grew in size and new industries were established. When peace came, it was clear to farseeing men like Hamilton that the Americans could manufacture more for themselves; in other words, could become *industrially* as well as *politically* independent of Great Britain.

English Competition for American Markets. Meanwhile British merchants and manufacturers were active. Having been unable for seven years to send goods to America, they found themselves overstocked with woolens, cotton cloth, and hardware. They were so eager to sell this surplus that, when peace was established in 1783, they offered it to the Americans at prices far below what they asked in London. They sought in this way not only to dispose of their surplus but to win back the American trade lost during the war.

The Demand for Protection of American Industries. American manufacturers were alarmed. They at once asked the government to protect them against being undersold by the foreign manufacturers who were "dumping" cheap goods into the United States. The response came quickly. The very first Congress under the Constitution passed a law putting low duties on certain imported articles which competed with goods made in this country.

Effect of the War of 1812 on American Manufacturing. The War of 1812 had about the same effect on trade as had the Revolutionary War. It cut off goods from England again, although some were smuggled into the United States in spite of the watchfulness of the government. It forced Americans to manufacture more for themselves and got them into the habit of buying American-made goods. The iron foundries and cotton and woolen mills were especially busy. Hundreds of business men invested money in manufacturing. Thousands of workingmen and women and children were drawn from the farms or from Europe into the towns where the mills were located.

It was said of the Americans at this time that their first war with England made them independent and their second made them powerful.

England Again " Dumps " Goods on the American Market. At the close of the War of 1812 the same thing happened that had occurred at the close of the Revolution. The English merchants had on hand surplus stocks of goods which they placed on the American market at a low price. The imports from England in 1816 rose higher than ever. Many American mills closed and their owners were ruined. The price of wool fell in the home market, the surplus stock was sent to England, and many of the costly Merino sheep that had been imported from Spain were killed for mutton and tallow. All but five of the forty plants of iron manufacturers in Morris County, New Jersey, were shut down; the works were sold at auction; the workmen scattered. The bagging industry of Lexington, Kentucky, was wrecked by the flood of cotton bagging which was brought in from England and sold at a price far below the cost of production here.

The Tariff of 1816. Naturally a cry went up again that the government should raise the tariff and protect American industries against the cheap goods of Europe. At this time the manufacturers of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were joined (1) by the farmers of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, whose wool, hemp, and flax brought better prices in a protected American market than in England, and (2) by the sugar planters of Louisiana, who could not compete with those of Cuba and Jamaica.

In New England the people were divided about the tariff. The mill owners wanted protection for their industries; but the shipowners were not in favor of it, because they needed a brisk trade with England to employ their ships at sea.

They were afraid that building up home industries would reduce the ocean freight to be carried. The demand for protection was so strong, however, that in 1816 a law was passed raising the tariff rates to a high point.

Encouraged by the tariff law and the peace following the war, manufacturing plants now turned out goods in great quantities. Companies borrowed large sums of money to carry on business. Improvements were made faster than people could pay for them. Because of the great expense connected with all these activities, there followed a few years of hard times. Many business concerns failed, and many people lost all the money that they had invested. But soon after 1820 prosperous times came again.

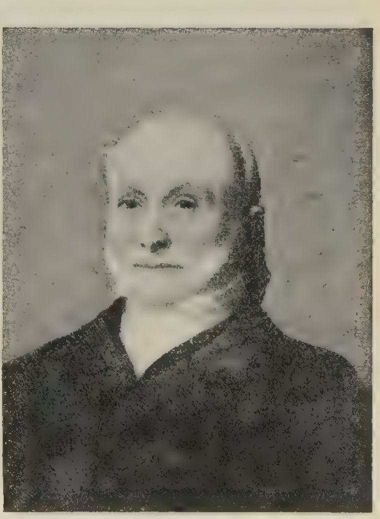
II. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP STILL CENTERED IN THE EAST

The Presidents of the Early Nineteenth Century. The East, in spite of the rapid growth of the West, was able to hold its old position and select the Presidents for the United States. From 1801 to 1829 there were four Presidents — Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Adams. All were Eastern men who had been brought up in cultivated families and had had the advantages which come from wealth. None of them had ever been compelled to work for a living with his hands. They were all known as Republicans, and expressed their sympathy with " the people " ; but they were not " sons of the soil " acquainted at first hand with the hardships and labors of the farmers.

James Monroe the Fifth President. The " Era of Good Feeling." The voters of the new West were not yet ready to dispute this leadership with the East. From 1816 to 1824, the West put forth no candidates for President. The old opponents of the Republicans, the Federalist party, disappeared from national politics after 1816. For a few years all sections rejoiced in an " Era of Good Feeling."

James Monroe was chosen President in 1816, and he was almost unanimously reëlected four years later. During his administration of eight years there was only one political event which threatened to divide the country. That was the contest over slavery which ended in the Missouri Compromise (p. 394).

The strong action of President Monroe in gaining possession of Florida in 1819 had few critics (p. 230). His forceful message of 1823 which gave to the world the Monroe Doctrine (pp. 245–246) added to his popularity.



John Quincy Adams

The Campaign of 1824. John Quincy Adams President. Although no division into parties took place during Monroe's administrations, there was a lively contest among four prominent candidates for the presidency in 1824, and the voice of the Southwest was heard in the campaign. The East was represented in the campaign by John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, the son of John Adams, second President of the United States. 2 Virginia, which had supplied three Presidents one after the other, had no candidate this time, while the South and West offered three men: W. H. Crawford of Georgia, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee. The contest was so close that no one received a majority,[1] but Jackson stood first.

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[1] *Majority* means more than half of all the votes. When there are three or more candidates, it may happen that no one of them receives more than half of the votes cast. The one having the largest vote is then said to have a *plurality*.

As a result, the choice of President, according to the terms of the Constitution, had to be decided by the House of Representatives. With the help of Clay and by a good deal of skillful management, Adams carried the day. This deeply angered Jackson's supporters, who thought that his large popular vote entitled him to the office. They were still more angry when Adams appointed Clay to the office of Secretary of State. They at once declared that there had been a "deal" by which Clay helped to elect Adams President in return for a place in the President's cabinet.

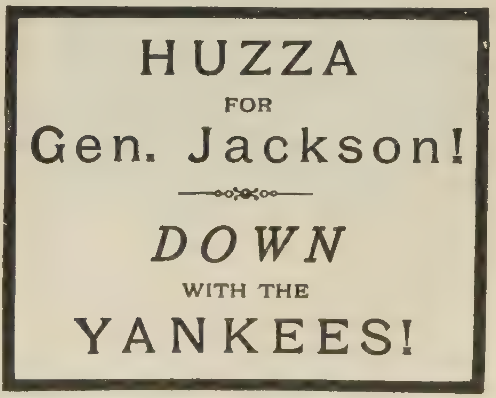
The "Tariff of Abominations." During his administration of four years Adams was unable to overcome the ill will caused by the way in which he had been elected. Like his illustrious father he was a stern and reserved man, not given to seeking popular favor. He was called an aristocrat; and, to add to his troubles, he was blamed for the Tariff Bill of 1828, known as the Tariff of Abominations on account of its very high rates. So it happened that John Quincy Adams, like his father, could not be elected for a second term.

Southern Opposition to the Tariff. Southern leaders were especially angry about the Tariff of Abominations. They accused Adams of sacrificing the interests of the rest of the country for the benefit of New England. The legislatures of Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, and Virginia declared the tariff to be a violation of the Constitution; and a Southern convention was held at Augusta to protest against every form of "protection."

This intense opposition is to be explained partly by the fact that the South was wholly agricultural. Its prosperity depended upon the sale of cotton to England. Manufacturing nothing and having to import all the "store goods" they used, the Southerners held that they should be allowed to make their purchases freely in England, where they sold most of their produce. They also insisted that the tariff raised the price of manufactured goods, and that the farmers as buyers of such goods had to pay the difference — in other words, pay tribute to those Americans who owned the mills. Southern statesmen, like Calhoun, who had voted for the Tariff of 1816, now turned violently against *protection* and began to recommend *free trade* with all the world. *Free trade* means trade with other countries free from protective tariffs. The contest was mainly a struggle between Southern planters and Northern manufacturers, and these two groups were so evenly balanced in power that the farmers of the West, by adding their numbers to one side or the other in this dispute, could usually decide the matter as they chose.

III. JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY; POWER OF THE EAST CONTESTED

Jackson Elected President. With the South thoroughly dissatisfied with the tariff and the West divided over the matter, Adams, who was held responsible for all the trouble, lost the election of 1828. His powerful opponent, Andrew Jackson, became President. The "Hero of New Orleans" was truly "a man of the people." Andrew Jackson was born on a farm in the hill country of South Carolina in 1767. His parents were poor people, and as a boy he knew many hardships and misfortunes. In early manhood he went to the frontier of Tennessee, where



HUZZA

FOR

Gen. Jackson!

DOWN

WITH THE

YANKEES!

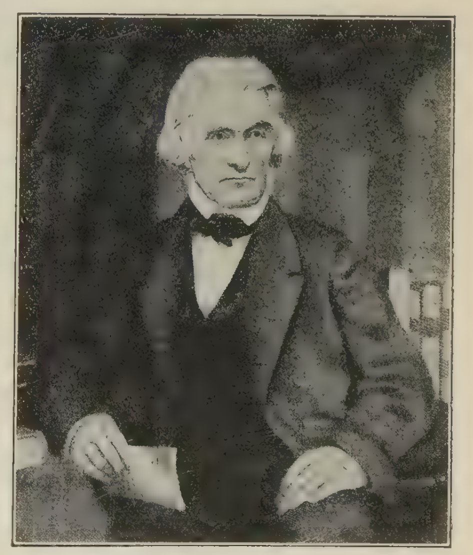
POSTER USED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1828 he became known as brave but quarrelsome. He was a courageous army officer and endeared himself to his men by sharing their hardships, sleeping on the ground and eating parched corn for his own dinner when nothing better could be had for the common soldiers. He was strong and healthy, and had so much endurance that he was called "Old Hickory."

When he was elected, in 1828, the common people, especially of the West, felt that they had a true representative in the White House. Thousands of them journeyed hundreds of miles to see him inaugurated. According to Daniel Webster these happy visitors at the White House "upset the bowls of punch, broke the glasses, and stood with their muddy boots on the satin-covered chairs to see the people's President." Jackson's followers began to drop the old name "Republican" and to call themselves *Democrats* to show that they believed in "the people," and Jackson's party has been ever since the Democratic Party.

The Spoils System. To show his faith in the people, President Jackson said that any citizen was able to fill any office. So he discharged hundreds of the old federal employees to make room for those who had supported him in the race for President.

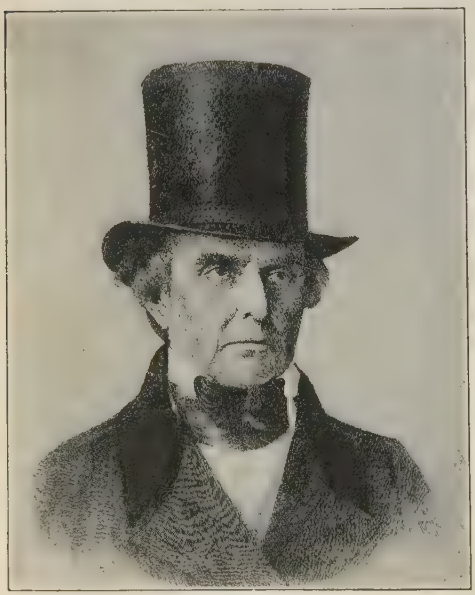
This was a new custom. Earlier presidents had turned very few men out of office on account of their party views. Jackson, however, made a general sweep to get jobs for his many friends and supporters. It was boldly said that "to the victors belong the spoils of victory." In other words a "spoils system" was adopted, and men came to believe that those who worked hard in elections should have all the government offices if they won. Statesmen attacked the spoils system, and poets ridiculed it. James Russell Lowell in one of his poems represented a candidate for President of the United States promising a citizen a position as lighthouse keeper in return for his vote. Nevertheless, all the political parties kept up the practice until long after the Civil War.

The Tariff Contest Continues. Though Jackson found it easy to turn men out of office, he could not get rid of the tariff question so easily. He had not been in office very long before he had to take part in the great dispute which had arisen between the North and the South over the Tariff of Abominations. The question became so serious that it threatened to break up the Union.


JOHN C. CALHOUN

Nullification Again. In this contest John C. Calhoun of South Carolina became the spokesman of the people of the South. He was no longer content to talk of the evil effects of the tariff on the South. He declared that the principle of protection violated the Constitution. Congress could lay duties on imports, he said, but it could not be partial to any particular section of the country in fixing the rates. As always, the South felt that the tariff favored the manufacturers of New England. Then he gave new voice to the doctrine of nullification: namely, (1) that the Constitution was a mere agreement or contract among free states; (2) that each state could decide for itself whether any federal law violated the Constitution; and (3) that each state could order its citizens to disobey any federal law which it declared unconstitutional. This was the old doctrine which had been heard in Kentucky in 1798 (p. 217) and in New England in 1814 (p. 239).

The Webster-Hayne Debate. The whole matter of nullification was argued out in the Senate in 1830, in a famous debate between Daniel Webster, Senator from Massachusetts, and Robert Hayne, Senator from South Carolina. The latter in a powerful argument supported the view that the Constitution was a mere league of sovereign states, from which any state could withdraw when it pleased.


DANIEL WEBSTER

Webster, on the other hand, declared that the Union was not a league of states but a nation formed by a solemn agreement made by the people of the country as a whole and not by the states. He emphatically denied the right of any state to declare null and void an act passed by Congress. States were " sovereign " or supreme in some things but not in all things. " If each state," he asked, " has the right to final judgment on questions in which she is interested, is not the whole Union a rope of sand? " It was absurd, he said, to hold that a state might be in the Union and still refuse to obey the laws of the Union. He ended his great speech with the words so often quoted in later years: "Liberty *and* union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Jackson's Firmness. Southern statesmen, however, were not to be won over by eloquence. They resolved not to endure the Tariff of Abominations; and they were all the more determined when in 1832 Congress passed another irritating tariff act. The South Carolinians, under the leadership of Calhoun, held a convention elected by the voters, which declared the tariff act null and void and forbade the collection of the tariff duties in that state. They thought that President Jackson, a Southern man, would stand by them in this action.

They evidently did not understand their President. When he learned what South Carolina had done, Jackson at once declared that the Union must be preserved and that, if force were necessary, he would send forty thousand men to compel obedience to the law. To a citizen of South Carolina he said:

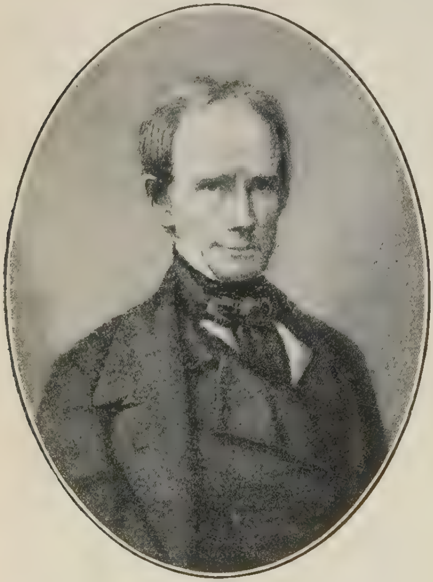
Photo by Ewing Galloway

STATUE OF GENERAL JACKSON IN WASHINGTON, D. C.

> Please give my compliments to my friends in your state and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there in opposition to the laws of the United States I will hang the first man I lay my hands on engaged in such conduct upon the first tree that I can reach.

In a long proclamation to the country he stated that nullification violated the letter and spirit of the Constitution and was "destructive of the great objects for which it was formed."

Henry Clay and the Compromise Tariff. To Congress Jackson spoke more softly. He said that the law should be enforced but he also recommended a reduction of the tariff which had caused the trouble. Under the leadership of Henry Clay a compromise was reached. A "Force Bill" was passed giving the President the means necessary to carry Acts of Congress into effect against all opposition. At the same time a compromise tariff was adopted in place of the law to which South Carolina objected. Both sides called the settlement a victory and were satisfied. The Union was upheld. The duties on goods were to be reduced gradually until they were down to the rates set by the Act of 1816.


HENRY CLAY

Internal Improvements and Public Lands. Closely connected with the tariff question were two other issues of the time; namely, the sale of the lands in the West owned by the government (p. 248) and the spending of public money on roads and canals. The arguments ran in this fashion: If the government sold the lands at a high price, its revenues would increase; then the South would declare that there was no need of a tariff at all. If the lands were sold at a low price or given away, workmen from the East would rush West in large numbers, and those that stayed behind would demand higher wages; then the manufacturers would ask for a still higher tariff to protect them against goods made by cheaper labor in other countries. For a time a compromise was maintained. The lands were sold at a fair price, but part of the money was spent on roads and canals — internal improvements — to connect the interior with the seaports and manufacturing cities. This seemed to be fair to all. It gave the Western farmers an outlet for their products; it gave manufacturers a market for their goods.

Jackson Reëlected. The United States Bank Controversy. While Jackson was busy with nullification in South Carolina and with other problems, he had to face the fourth leading political issue of his period. In 1791 the federal government had established a Bank with branches all over the country (p. 210), and in 1816 the second United States Bank on the same plan had been chartered for a period of twenty years. Farmers and planters in the West and South objected to the Bank. They said, as in Hamilton's day, that it was a "great money power"; that its stockholders made huge profits at public expense; and that its officers influenced elections and got favors from the government.

Andrew Jackson held this view. Shortly after he took office in 1829 he gave notice that he would try to put an end to the Bank when the charter expired in 1836. Friends of the Bank in Congress, under the leadership of Henry Clay, met Jackson's attack by passing a bill that would give the Bank a new charter. Jackson responded by vetoing the bill. Clay then decided to run for President in 1832 against Jackson, making the question of the Bank one of his leading issues. The voters defeated Clay and reëlected Andrew Jackson by a handsome majority.

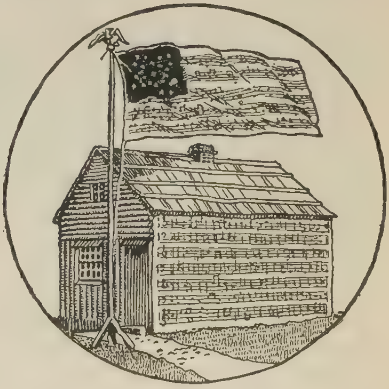
The Bank Dispute Continues. Jackson looked upon his second election as a clear approval by the people of his war on the Bank. Although its charter did not expire until 1836, he decided to destroy it at once by another method. It had been the practice of the government to keep millions of dollars on deposit in the Bank and its branches until the money was needed for public expenses. On this fund the Bank made large profits because it was able to lend the money to individuals at a high rate of interest. Jackson now told the government officers to put no more money into the Bank and to draw at once on the funds already on deposit. As the new revenues came in, Jackson had them placed in certain state banks owned by his friends and known as " pet banks." In 1836 the charter of the United States Bank came to an end.

Financial Prosperity Ends in the Panic of 1837. The closing of the United States Bank and the refusal of the government to accept anything but gold or silver (specie) in payment for public lands, were followed by a great panic in 1837. Hundreds of business men failed, more than six hundred banks were closed, and again thousands of working people were thrown out of employment. Hard times lasted for nearly five years.

IV. THE WHIG PARTY

Van Buren and Clay. When he came to the close of his second term, Jackson was able to secure the election of his friend, Martin Van Buren of New York, as his successor, after a close contest. In 1831 Jackson's opponents had formed a new party, later called *Whig*, after the great English political party which had once stoutly resisted the power of the king. Henry Clay, the brilliant leader of the Whigs and a statesman of great ability, seemed to be a good man for the presidency. But he was never elected. He had so many political enemies that he never reached the goal of his ambition.

Harrison and the "Log Cabin Campaign." Fearing that they could not win with Clay as a candidate, the Whigs in 1840 passed him by and made a clever move by nominating General William Henry Harrison of Ohio. Harrison was well known on account of his victory over the Indians at the Battle of Tippecanoe in 1811 and his part in the War of 1812. As a Western man and a soldier, he was popular among the people who loved General Jackson, while his opponent, Van Buren, was from New York and came from the wealthy class.


A Log Cabin, A Symbol of the Campaign of 1840

Things were now reversed. The Democratic candidate was called an aristocrat while Harrison was dubbed a "backwoodsman" whose only wants were a log cabin and a jug of cider. The Whigs were proud of the "insult." They chose a log cabin as their election symbol and made a log cabin campaign. On the strength of it they elected General Harrison without even going to the trouble of setting forth a party "platform," that is, a statement, giving their views on the questions before the country.

John Tyler Succeeds Harrison. When the Whigs came to power, they adopted the spoils system introduced by Jackson. A swarm of office seekers descended upon Harrison. He was an elderly man, and his health could not stand the strain and worry of the presidency. Within a month he lay dead — the first of the presidents to die in office. He was succeeded by the Vice President, John Tyler of Virginia, who had been selected as a candidate to draw Democratic votes from the South.

Tyler's Unpopularity. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty. In fact Tyler was more of a Democrat than a Whig, but he was disliked by both parties. The Whigs were angry at him because he did not favor their plan for a new United States Bank. The Democrats were furious because he delayed in annexing Texas until the closing days of his term (p. 296).

During this administration there were only two events of great importance. In 1842 a new tariff law was passed, raising the tariff and thus undoing the compromise act which had brought about a truce between the North and the South in 1833. In that same year there was signed by Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State, and Lord Ashburton, representing Great Britain, a treaty between the two countries, which settled a long-standing dispute over the northern boundaries of Maine. The United States secured a small piece of Canada north of Vermont and New York in exchange for a section of Maine to the extreme northeast.

Tyler's administration was unfortunate for the Whig party. In the contest of 1844 the Democrats succeeded in electing their candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee. By this time the country had come face to face with two new problems: the annexation of Texas and the growth of slavery.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *era, protection of American industries, industrial independence, internal improvements, public lands, compete, competition, political leadership, majority, free trade, the spoils system, sovereign state, sovereignty, controversy, charter, financial panic, party platform.* Review: *compromise, tariff, nullification, specie.*

I. In what way had the Revolution led to the growth of American manufacturing industries? What was the effect of peace upon these industries? Compare the effect of the War of 1812 upon industry with the effect of the Revolution. Why and in what ways did the English attempt to regain the American markets after the war? What is meant by a "protective" tariff? How was the country divided upon this question and what were the reasons for the division? What is meant by a "financial panic"?

II. Compare the political leaders of the West with those of the East during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. What is meant by the "Era of Good Feeling"? How did John Quincy Adams come to be President of the United States? Find and read the provision of the Constitution which made this election possible. Why was the tariff of 1828 known as the Tariff of Abominations?

III. In what important ways did Andrew Jackson differ from the Presidents before his time? What is meant by the "spoils system"? What is meant by "nullification"? What did those who defended the rights of the states to nullify acts of the Congress think of the union of the states? What stand did Jackson take toward those who threatened nullification? Why did the people of the South and West generally oppose the United States Bank? What people believed in the Bank and why?

IV. What important changes were made in the names of the national political parties during Jackson's administrations? To what party did Clay belong? Name the important provisions of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Review: Find in table of Presidents (see Appendix) the names, dates, length of service, and political parties of the Presidents from Madison to Polk. Who, in your opinion, was the greatest of these Presidents and why? Whom would you rank second and why?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Be ready to give the class an interesting talk about the life and work of Andrew Jackson.

See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 149–157; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History* (description of the Battle of New Orleans), pp. 139–147; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. ix.

2. List as many arguments as you can showing that the spoils system is dangerous in a republic.

See Munro and Ozanne's *Social Civics*, pp. 102–103; Burch and Patterson's *Problems of American Democracy*, p. 101.

3. The presidential campaign of 1840 has been described as the most remarkable in the history of the country up to that time. Find some of the reasons.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. xvii.

4. Tell the story of the Webster-Hayne Debate.

See Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. x; Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 192–199.

5. The term *compromise* has been used in this chapter. Explain it.

6. What is the difference between tariff for revenue and tariff for protection? Can you find out which we have at the present time?

7. What reasons can you think of that may explain why business panics (or "hard times") so often follow periods of unusual prosperity?

8. Which of the two great political parties of to-day more closely resembles the party of Andrew Jackson?

CHAPTER XVI

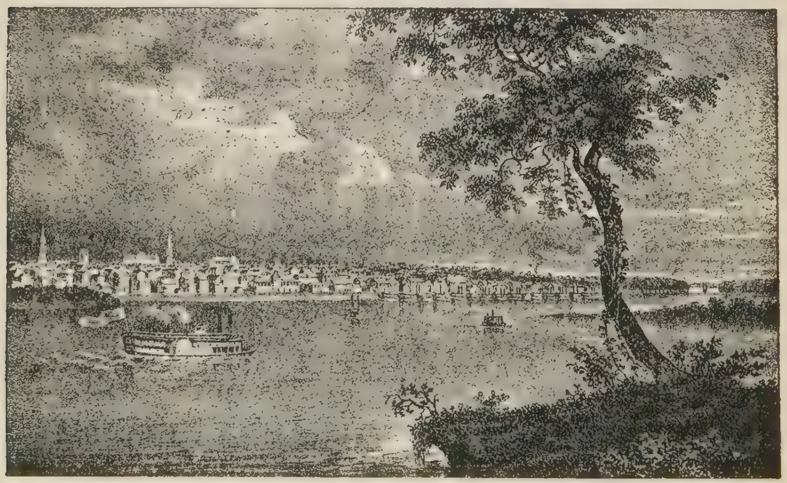
WESTWARD TO THE PACIFIC

WHILE Webster and Hayne, and Clay and Calhoun debated the rights of states and the rates of tariffs, pioneers were ever traveling onward toward the Pacific coast. Long before Indiana and Illinois were crowded, or Michigan and Wisconsin settled, restless men were pressing still further on. Idle wanderers, fortune seekers, and home seekers alike turned to the Far West where life was full of adventure and countless acres awaited the plow.

I. THE ADVANCE OF THE MIDDLE BORDER

Missouri Represented both Southern and Northern Elements. Missouri with its rich lands and mild winters attracted pioneers mainly from the South — from Virginia, the Carolinas, Kentucky, and Tennessee. To these settlers from the South was added a goodly number from the North who came down the Ohio in flatboats.

The Admission of Missouri. Naturally the Southerners going to Missouri who owned slaves took them along into the new country. In 1820 ten thousand of the sixty thousand inhabitants were slaves. When the time came to make a state out of the territory, a contest arose between the slave owners and the friends of freedom; but Missouri was allowed to come into the Union with slavery as a result of a compromise (p. 394). Thus assured that slavery would be allowed, planters came in larger numbers than ever, and the farming land was quickly taken up. The old French post, St. Louis, grew into a thriving commercial city, enriched by the fur trade of the West and the steamboat traffic on the Mississippi.



From an old print

ST. LOUIS

Arkansas and Michigan. South of Missouri was the territory of Arkansas, which was soon occupied by planters with their armies of slaves in search of fresh lands for cotton and tobacco. In a few years the planters were so numerous that the cry went up for admission to the Union.

From the time when the first new states were added to the Union, an effort had been made to keep the " free " states and the " slave " states equal in number. Each time a free state came into the Union a slave state came in also. Thus there was a " balance of power " between the North and the South, especially in the Senate. At about the time that

Arkansas had enough people to become a state, the settlers in Michigan were also ready to join the Union. They pointed to their prosperous farms, tilled mainly by settlers from New England, and to their flourishing town of Detroit. They drew up a constitution for their government and asked Congress for admission. In 1836 Arkansas entered the Union as a slave state, followed early the next year by Michigan, a free state.

Iowa Settled from the East. To the north of Missouri lay Iowa. To this beautiful country came farmers and their families, mainly from New England, New York, and Ohio, who preferred to settle where the climate and the crops were about the same as those to which they were accustomed. Free men also preferred a state where there was no slave labor. Farms spread far and wide. By 1836 three trading towns, Dubuque, Davenport, and Burlington, had been founded on the Mississippi. These people desired education for their children as in their old homes, and within a few years numerous academies and five colleges had been founded. Before long Iowa's plea for admission to the Union was heard in Washington. It was granted, and in 1846 Iowa became a state.

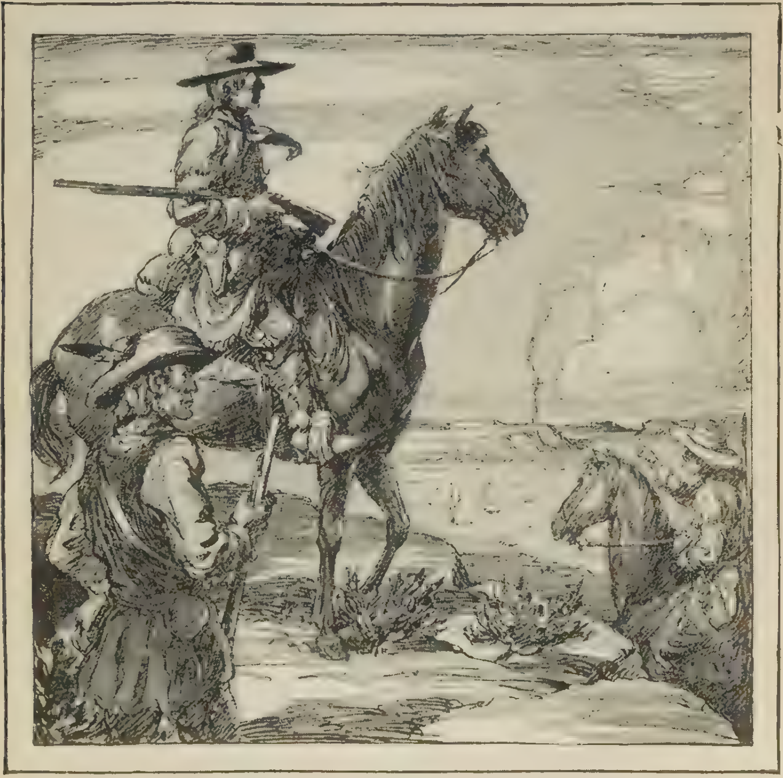
Wisconsin and Minnesota. To the east and north Iowa had ambitious neighbors, Wisconsin and Minnesota. The first lay in the old Northwest Territory, and its history ran back to distant days when Marquette and Joliet paddled their canoes in Western waters. Owing to its distant location, however, Wisconsin did not fill up as rapidly as the region to the south on the river route. It was not until 1848, nearly fifty years after the admission of Ohio, that the territory of Wisconsin with its 300,000 inhabitants became a state. Minnesota, still further away, could then claim only about 5000 settlers and had to wait ten years more before it was allowed to take its place as one of the United States.

The Movement to the Southwest. While the farmers of the North found acres and acres of virgin soil stretching before them in endless expanse, the planters of the South were stopped at the borders of Texas. The lands across the boundary were fertile and mostly vacant, but they belonged to a foreign government — first Spain and then Mexico. With this state of affairs the Americans in the Southwest were most impatient; the more so because they thought that the Texas country had been unjustly given up to Spain in 1819 when the boundaries of the Louisiana territory had been fixed. They therefore looked upon it as a land that had been lost and should be recovered as soon as possible.

American Immigration into Texas. Fortune favored them. The Mexicans revolted, won their independence from Spain, and set up a republic. Mexico was in no position to find settlers for its Texas lands. In fact it opened wide the doors and invited Americans to come in. It made huge grants of land to contractors who agreed to bring in a given number of families. Among these contractors was Moses Austin, of Connecticut, who in 1820 got permission to found a colony of three hundred Americans near Bexar. His plan was carried out by his son, Stephen Austin, and his name was given to the town which was to become the capital of the state. Within ten years twenty thousand Americans had gone over the border. The Mexican government now became frightened by the number of Americans in Texas.

Trouble between Americans and Mexicans in Texas. In a little while quarrels began to break out between the newcomers and the natives in Texas. The Mexicans, who were Catholics, complained that the American Protestants did not show the proper respect for their religion. The Americans complained that they had no share in the government. Fearing that the latter might seize Texas, Mexico stopped the colonization schemes, took back many of the land grants, put a tariff on American farming implements, and abolished slavery.

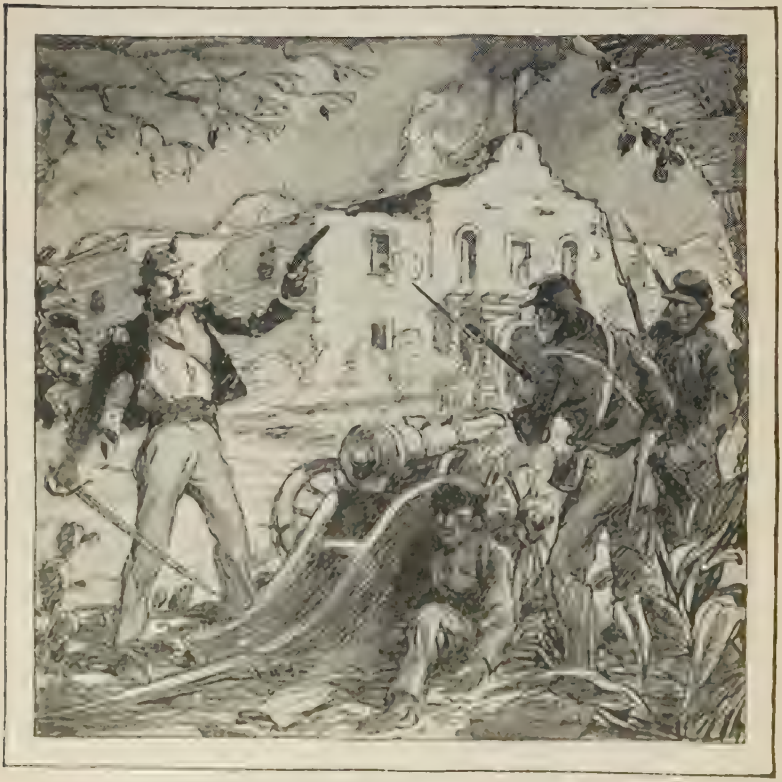
This was more than the Americans in Texas would endure. Among them were restless spirits like David Crockett, a crack shot from Tennessee, James Bowie, the inventor of the Bowie hunting knife, from Georgia, and General Sam Houston who had served in the War of 1812 and as governor of Tennessee. Men of this kind could not bear the thought of taking orders from the Mexican government.



General Houston and His Rangers

II. TEXAS A REPUBLIC; ITS ADMISSION TO THE UNION; THE RESULTING WAR WITH MEXICO

Texas Declares Its Independence from Mexico. *The Alamo. Sam Houston Defeats Santa Anna.* Although the Americans were only about one fourth of the Texas population, they revolted against Mexico and set up an independent government in 1836. Santa Anna, the president of Mexico, hearing of their action, marched northward to punish the "rebels." At the Alamo, an old mission at



BATTLE OF THE ALAMO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

San Antonio, he killed every member of the garrison of Texan soldiers.

The triumph of the Mexicans did not last long, however. General Houston, at the head of the Texas forces, marched swiftly upon Santa Anna. At San Jacinto River, in April, 1836, he completely defeated the Mexican army and captured its commander.

President Jackson and the Texas Republic. The power of Mexico was now broken. So the Texans applied to the President of the United States, Andrew Jackson, thinking that he would make a treaty with them and admit Texas as a state to the Union. But Jackson failed them and went out of office in March, 1837, leaving Texas still uncertain about her future.

Dispute over the Admission of Texas. There was a strong reason for urging delay. The people of the United States were divided as to the wisdom of the course which the Americans had pursued in Texas.

William Lloyd Garrison of Massachusetts, who was then denouncing slavery and demanding its abolition, declared that the conduct of his countrymen in Texas had been outrageous. He urged the Northern states to separate from the South and form a free country if the Texan republic was brought into the Union.

John Quincy Adams, who had been President from 1825 to 1829, likewise opposed annexation; he fiercely denounced the Texas revolution and called it a slave owners' plot to seize the territory of a friendly country. Annexation, he said, would be proof that the United States, like countries of Europe, was ready to wage a war of conquest in order to gain territory.

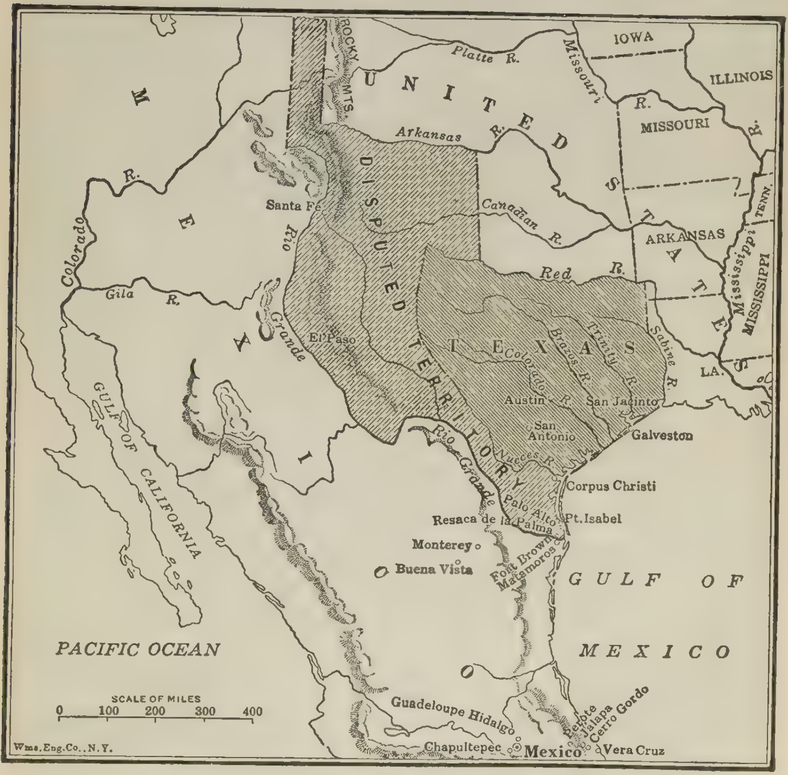
On the other hand Calhoun, the statesman of South Carolina, argued that the admission of Texas was absolutely necessary to preserve the Union. It would, he said, keep a "balance of power" between the Southern states and the Northern states which were growing the more rapidly in wealth and population.

Texas Finally Admitted to the Union. The government of the United States for a long time took no open steps toward annexation. Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, was a Northern man and really opposed to slavery. During his term (1837–1841) the admission of Texas was out of the question. It is not probable that the Whig President, General William Henry Harrison, would have brought Texas into the Union, if he had lived.

His early death, however, called to office John Tyler of Virginia, a man in sympathy with slavery and the Democratic party, even though he was called a Whig. Still he had to be careful. It was not until 1844 that he chose Calhoun as Secretary of State and permitted him to make a treaty annexing Texas. Even then the plan was blocked because the Senate failed to approve the treaty.

Nevertheless the matter was by no means dropped. The "reannexation of Texas" had been one of the issues in the campaign of 1844, and Polk, the victorious Democratic candidate, strongly favored it. This seemed to show that the people approved the plan. Hence the friends of annexation pushed through both houses a Joint Resolution (requiring only a majority vote) which provided for admitting Texas to the Union. On March 1, 1845, President Tyler signed the Resolution.

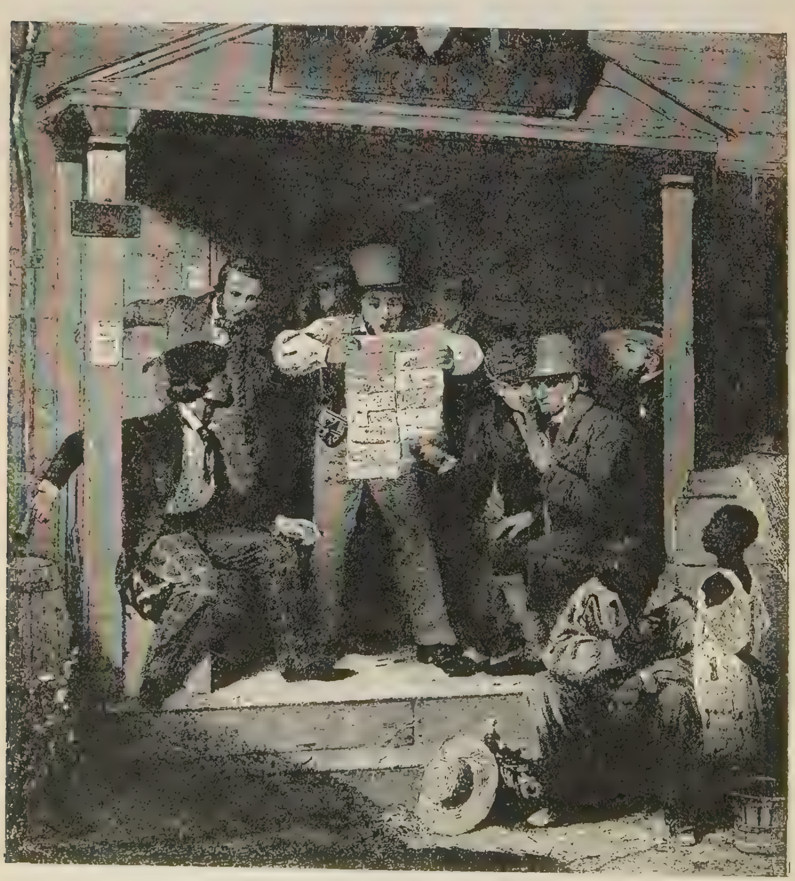
War with Mexico. Almost immediately after the annexation of Texas a dispute arose between the United States and Mexico over the boundary line. The Texans claimed all the land south and west to the Rio Grande. The Mexicans held that the boundary was the Nueces River and a line running from that river in a northerly direction. (See map, p. 297.) President Polk accepted the Texan view of the matter and ordered General Zachary Taylor to the northern bank of the Rio Grande to defend the soil of the United States. The Mexicans declared that this was Mexican soil, not American soil, and they fired upon some American soldiers, killing and wounding several. President Polk thereupon declared that war had been brought on "by the act of Mexico herself," and Congress voted money to carry on the war.


IOWA
ILLINOIS
Platte R.
Missouri R.
MISSOURI
UNITED STATES
ROCKY MTS.
Arkansas R.
DISPUTED TERRITORY
Santa Fe
Canadian R.
ARKANSAS
TENN.
Mississippi R.
MISSISSIPPI
Red R.
MEXICO
R.
Colorado
Gila R.
Rio Grande
El Paso
TEXAS
Colorado R.
Brazos R.
Trinity R.
Sabine R.
LA.
Austin
San Jacinto
San Antonio
Galveston
Nueces R.
Rio Grande
Corpus Christi
Palo Alto
Pt. Isabel
Resaca de la Palma
Monterey
Buena Vista
Fort Brown
Matamoros
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Guadeloupe Hidalgo
Perote
Jalapa
Cerro Gordo
Chapultepec
Mexico
Vera Cruz
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

TEXAS AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO

The Three Campaigns of the War. The war which followed was divided into three parts: (1) General Taylor, operating in northern Mexico, defeated the Mexicans at Monterey and

Buena Vista and occupied the chief points in the Mexican states of that region. (2) In the West the American naval commanders, Sloat and Stockton, aided by the explorer, John C. Frémont, seized California. The new possession was made secure by General Kearny, who had gone overland from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, with a body of soldiers. (3) General Winfield Scott with a large army landed at Vera



NEWS OF THE MEXICAN WAR

From an old print

Cruz and after a campaign of many months succeeded in taking the capital, Mexico City.

Peace Declared. Results of the War. Defeated everywhere, the Mexicans were forced to make a treaty of peace on February 2, 1848. The treaty gave to the United States (1) the territory which has since become the states of California, Nevada, Utah, (2) a part of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming, and (3) all territory north and east of the Rio Grande to the borders of the United States. In return the United States paid fifteen million dollars cash and canceled many claims held by American citizens against the Mexican government.[1] Thus as a result of the war there were added to the United States 523,802 square miles — an area greater than the combined areas of the British Isles, France, Germany, and Switzerland.

III. OREGON, CALIFORNIA, AND UTAH

Oregon. During the trouble with Mexico over Texas a dispute was being carried on with Great Britain over the boundary of the Oregon country. That region was claimed by the United States because of Gray's discovery of the Columbia River in 1792 (p. 231), the explorations of Lewis and Clark (p. 227), and the settlement of Americans in what is now Oregon. There was much doubt, however, as to the northern boundary of the American territory. The United States declared that Oregon extended to the Russian territory of Alaska, the southern border of which was the parallel of 54° 40′. Great Britain claimed the same territory. She too had good reasons for her claim. In 1818 the two countries agreed to hold the disputed lands in common for ten years, leaving the settlement of the affair until some future date. Later the agreement was renewed with the understanding that either country could discontinue the agreement with one year's notice.

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[1] In 1853 the United States purchased from Mexico a strip of territory along the southern borders of Arizona and New Mexico for $10,000,000. This transaction was arranged by James Gadsden, and is known as the Gadsden Purchase.

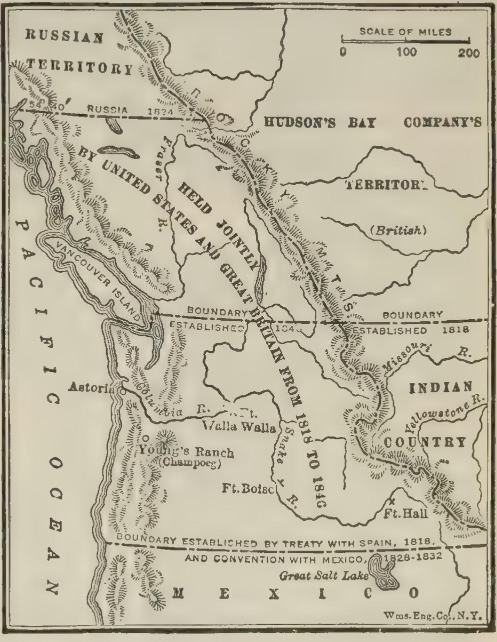
Fur Traders, Missionaries, and Settlers. Before long, citizens of the United States began to take an interest in the Oregon country. Through a cheap edition of the Lewis and Clark journals, issued in 1811, thousands of people in the East learned about the rich country in the far Northwest. In that year, too, John Jacob Astor's fur hunters established a post at Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia River.

Between 1830 and 1840 many missionaries appeared in Oregon to work with the Indians. On their journeys to the East the missionaries carried the news of the wonderful country. In 1842 about one hundred twenty people under the leadership of Dr. Elijah White crossed the mountains into Oregon. The next year a still larger band followed the path breakers, greatly assisted by another missionary, Dr. Marcus Whitman, who knew well the country and the route to it.

Dispute over the Boundary. "Fifty-Four Forty, or Fight." Oregon was now becoming known all over the United States. Immigrants began to come in ever increasing numbers. In 1843 at least 875 of them took the "Oregon Trail"; the next year, 1800; and the following year, 3000. Meanwhile the pioneers of the Willamette Valley had formed a constitution for the territory. Having braved the wilderness and built homes there, the Oregonians wanted a settlement of the boundary line and protection by the American government against the Indians.

In the presidential election of 1844 the Oregon question was linked with the Texas question, and the politicians talked about "the reoccupation of Oregon" as well as "the reannexation of Texas." They declared that the United States must have all of Oregon. "Fifty-four forty, or fight" was a slogan in the campaign, because the Americans claimed the territory as far north as latitude 54° 40.′ President Polk and his advisers, however, decided to avoid trouble with the English. So they came to terms with Great Britain in 1846 and gave up all the American claims beyond the forty-ninth parallel. (See map, at the right.)

Although this settlement did not please many people in Oregon, it did away with all uncertainty, and the region was organized as a regular territory in 1848. Eleven years later, after the territory of Washington had been formed out of the northern and eastern portions, the southwestern part was admitted to the Union as the free state of Oregon.


RUSSIAN TERRITORY
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
54° 40′
RUSSIA 1824
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S TERRITORY (British)
ROCKY MTS.
Fraser R.
HELD JOINTLY BY UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1818 TO 1846
PACIFIC OCEAN
VANCOUVER ISLAND
BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED 1846
BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED 1818
Missouri R.
INDIAN COUNTRY
Yellowstone R.
Astoria
Columbia R.
Ft. Walla Walla
Young's Ranch (Champoeg)
Snake R.
Ft. Boise
Ft. Hall
BOUNDARY ESTABLISHED BY TREATY WITH SPAIN, 1818, AND CONVENTION WITH MEXICO, 1828-1832
Great Salt Lake
MEXICO
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

The Oregon Country and the Disputed Boundary

The Mormons.[1] During this rush westward the great plains and deserts between the fertile Mississippi Valley and the Pacific Coast were neglected except by the fur traders, hunters, and adventurers. It was left for a new religious sect to found a prosperous community on the route to California. This sect, known as the Mormon Church, had been established in 1830 by Joseph Smith of New York, who declared that he had received a revelation from God. The members of the sect had a troublous time for many years. They went first to Ohio, then to Missouri, and at length settled in Illinois. There a few of them began to practice polygamy, that is, some of the men married more than

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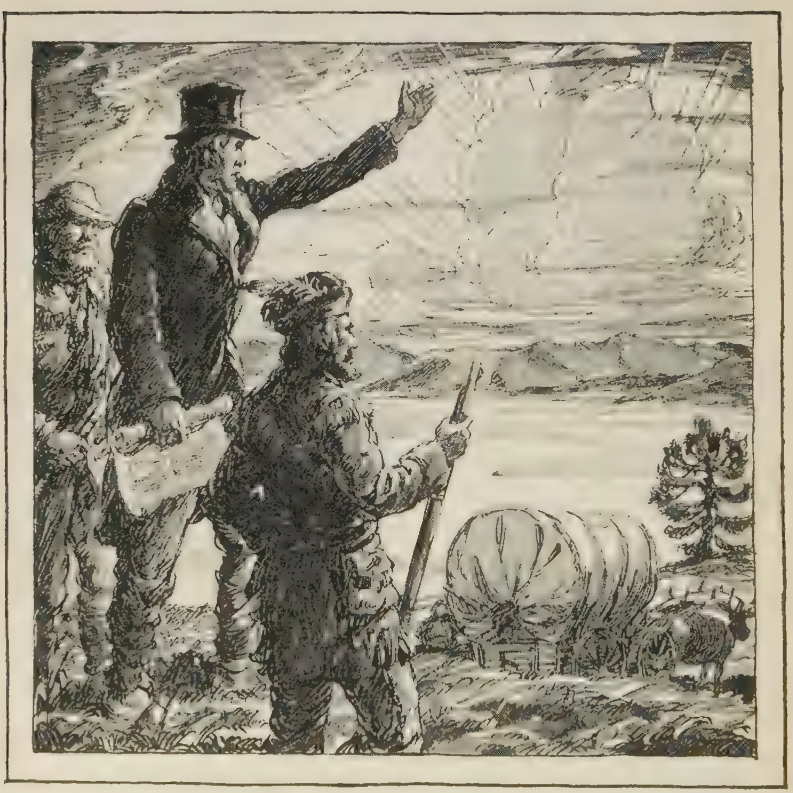
[1] The name "Mormon" was taken from a prophet, Moroni, who was believed to have compiled certain ancient writings. This "Book of Mormon" was said to have been discovered by Joseph Smith and translated by him. It was accepted as sacred by the Mormons.



The Mormons Find a Home in Utah

one wife. This, among other things, brought down upon them the hatred of their neighbors.

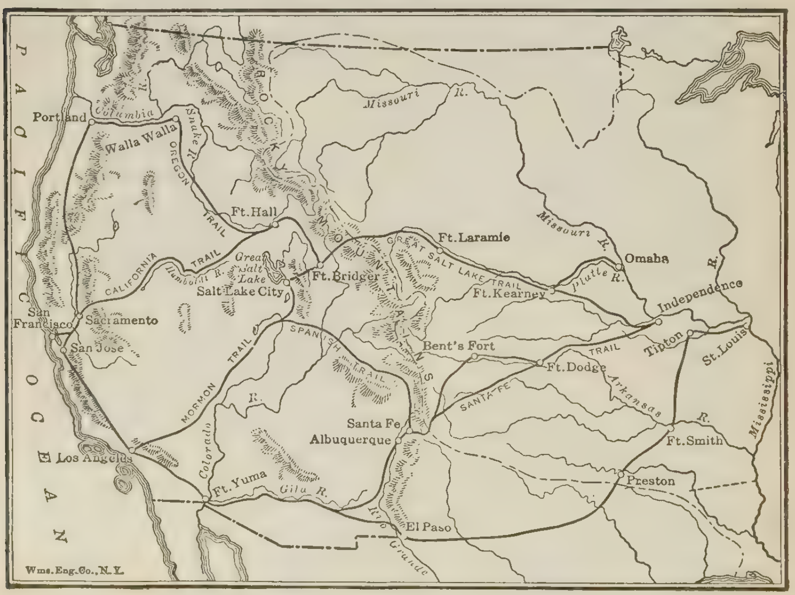
The Mormons Reach Salt Lake. Brigham Young. Feeling that they were persecuted for their religious faith, a part of them decided to move to the Far West. In 1847 their new leader, Brigham Young, with a company of picked men and supplies went to hunt for the distant home. After a long search he chose a spot overlooking the Salt Lake Valley in Utah and then went back to bring his people with him to their new home in the desert, far from civilization. They traveled West in a great train of several hundred wagons. On their arrival they set to work with a will "to make the desert blossom as a rose." They succeeded wonderfully well.

They dug long ditches that brought water from the mountains to irrigate the desert soil. They built sawmills and gristmills, roads and bridges, and soon had flourishing farms and thousands of cattle. Within a short time the Mormon population numbered fifteen thousand people. The discovery of gold in California was fortunate for them because Salt Lake City became a stopping point for the westward and eastward trade. The Mormons became rich and prosperous. Soon they discovered minerals in the regions about them and built mills to refine the ores. In 1850 the Utah country had so many inhabitants that it was organized into a regular territory of the United States.

California. *The Early Trade with Indians and Spaniards.* When California was brought under the Stars and Stripes by the War with Mexico, it was by no means an unknown country. Already hundreds of Americans had pushed out to the coast. There they traded with the Indians and Spanish or settled down to till the soil.

After the War of 1812 Yankee ship captains in large numbers began to round Cape Horn and visit California with cargoes of hardware, guns, ammunition, cloth, blankets, and leather goods. In 1823, for instance, Captain Cooper, in the ship *Rover*, went from Boston to Monterey with a cargo of cotton cloth and "Yankee notions." He traded these goods for furs and sailed to China. In China he traded the furs for silks and tea and other products, which he took back to California.

The Santa Fe Trail. While New England sailors were opening ocean commerce with California, landsmen were making an overland route. Zebulon Pike, whose famous expedition we have already described (p. 229), called attention in a book published in 1808 to the rich resources of northern "New Spain"; that is, the region now included in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Pike also pointed out how easy it would be to reach Santa Fe from the Arkansas River. Thereafter traders with stores of


PACIFIC OCEAN
Portland
Columbia R.
Walla Walla
Snake R.
OREGON TRAIL
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
Missouri R.
Ft. Hall
Great Salt Lake
Humboldt R.
CALIFORNIA TRAIL
Salt Lake City
Ft. Bridger
Ft. Laramie
GREAT SALT LAKE TRAIL
Ft. Kearney
Platte R.
Omaha
Independence
San Francisco
Sacramento
San Jose
SPANISH TRAIL
MORMON TRAIL
R.
Bent's Fort
Ft. Dodge
SANTA FE TRAIL
Tipton
St. Louis
Mississippi
Arkansas R.
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Colorado
Los Angeles
Ft. Yuma
Gila R.
Rio Grande
El Paso
Ft. Smith
Preston
Wms. Eng. Co., N. Y.

The Overland Trails

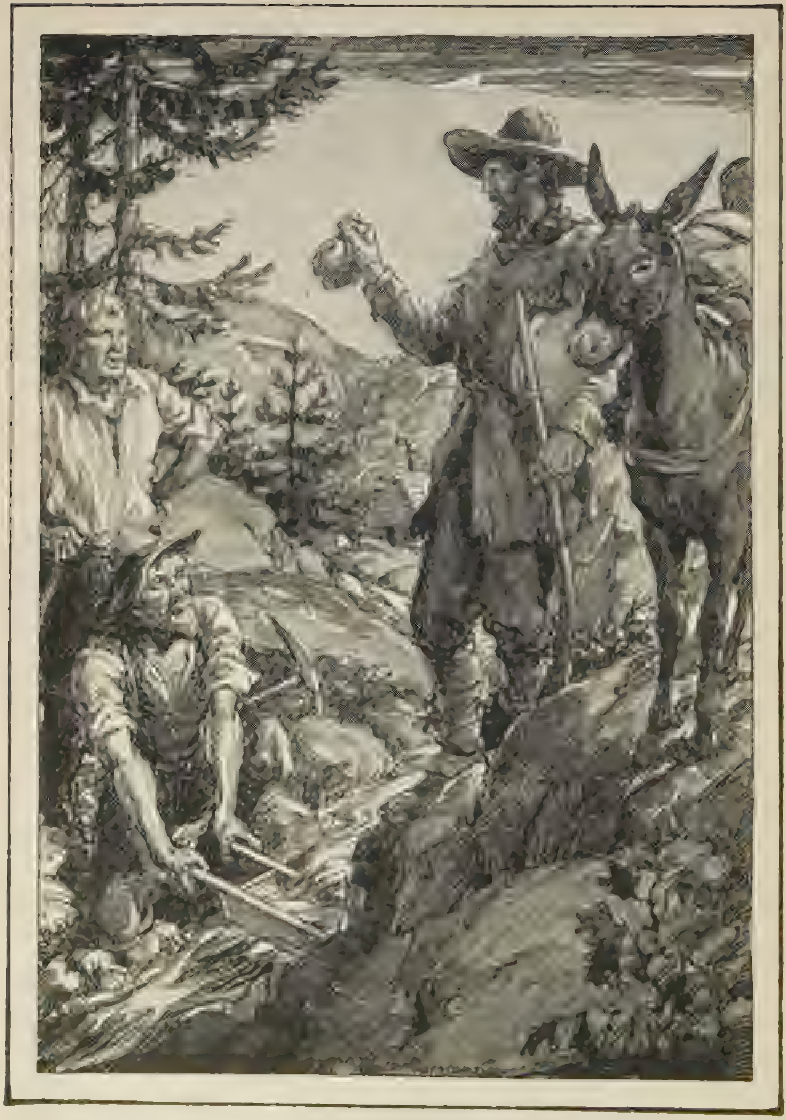
cottons, chinaware, glass, hardware, and ammunition journeyed from time to time from points on the Arkansas River across the desert to Santa Fe. They made large profits by exchanging their goods for Mexican and Indian blankets, furs, and silver.

In 1825 Congress voted money to lay out a trail from Franklin, Missouri, to Santa Fe. Later, Independence, Missouri, became the starting point of the Santa Fe caravans. Great trains of wagons guarded by armed men were sent out once a year with goods which had been brought up the Missouri by steamboat.

Sometimes these wagon trains were attacked by Indians bent on robbing them. Sometimes the traders lost the trail when sand storms covered it, and many died of thirst and hunger. Still the profits of the trade were so large that adventurous drivers and fighters could always be found to make the trip.

From Santa Fe to the Coast. When once the route to Santa Fe was open, it was only a short time until a trail was completed to the Pacific Coast. In 1829 Ewing Young went overland from a post near Santa Fe to Los Angeles. Adventurers and settlers finding the way open began to cross the desert and mountains in large numbers. In 1847 there were more than four hundred Americans in a little settlement of less than two thousand on San Francisco Bay. They gave the name of the bay to the village. Soon the humble trading post grew into a great town, and then into a city.

Gold Discovered in California. California Admitted as a State. A mighty rush to California began in 1848, when the news went out to the world that gold had been discovered near Captain Sutter's sawmill in the Sacramento Valley. Thousands caught the gold fever. The inhabitants of San Francisco and other towns deserted their shops and homes and went to the mining camps; captains and crews left their



California Forty-Niners

ships; miners from Europe rushed across the Atlantic and joined Americans from the East in the long overland journey or went around Cape Horn or across the Isthmus of Panama; lawyers, doctors, and editors left their work to search for gold. It was estimated that one hundred thousand people went to California in the single year of 1850. The gold output was $5,000,000 in 1848 and $40,000,000 in 1849.

On account of the great increase in population the prices of ordinary supplies, food, and clothing mounted skyward. San Francisco laundry women were paid eight dollars a dozen for washing miner's clothes. Little board shanties, called *hotels*, charged from seven dollars to fourteen dollars a day for poor rooms and worse board.

After a few years the gold that could be washed out of the river sands was nearly all collected, and the thousands of wandering miners disappeared. Ranching, fruit growing, and manufacturing gradually took the place of mining. The "mining fever" died down in California, but it broke out a little later in Nevada, and still later in Colorado and Montana. While it lasted in California, it had one very important political result. Miners had little use for slaves, and very few were taken on the long, expensive journey. California, when admitted to the Union in 1850, came in as a free state.

IV. SUMMARY OF THE FAR WESTERN MOVEMENT

The immigrants into the Far West may be divided into six distinct groups:

1. *The fur traders.* In the early days the fur business was well organized by great companies which sent out men to trap fur-bearing animals, to trade with the Indians for furs, and to bring the furs and skins back to the Eastern markets. For a long time the fur trade was the chief business of St. Louis, the point from which most of the routes to the Far West started.

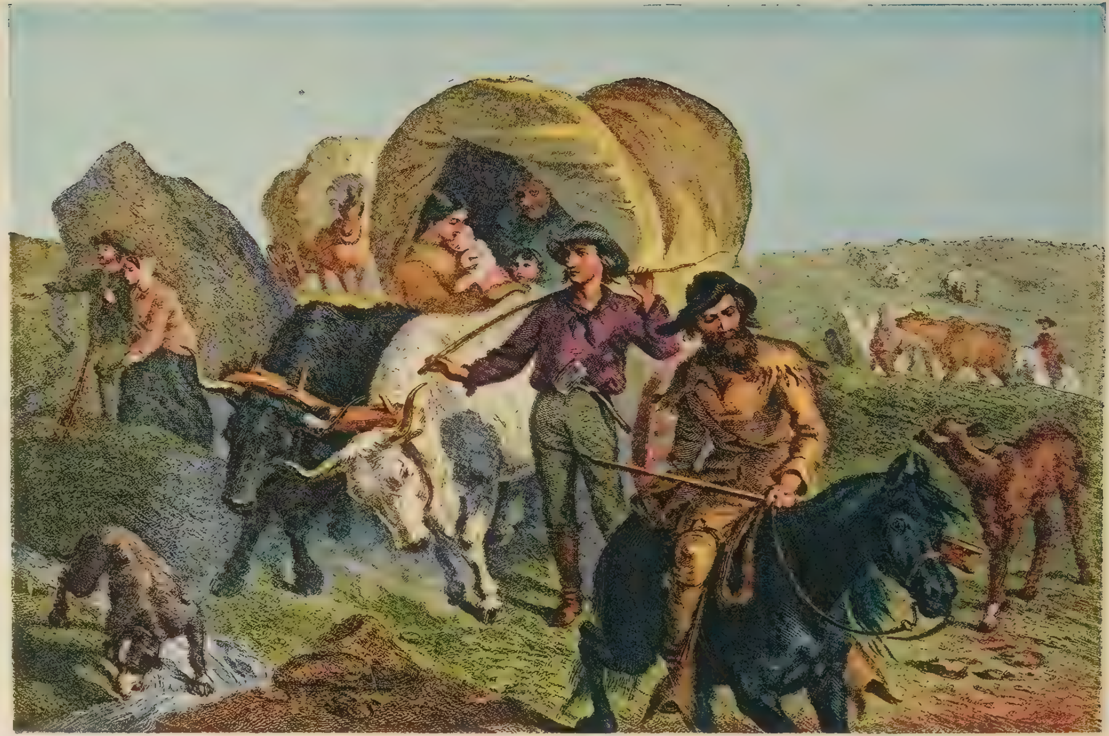
2. *The miners.* After the discovery of gold in California, miners and prospectors searched all the Rocky Mountain regions for precious ores. During the rush to California many trading posts had been built along the way, and from these centers explorers began to push out in every direction. Most of the early settlements in the present states of Idaho, Nevada, Montana, and Colorado were mining camps.

3. *The cattle raisers.* The early explorers, the fur-traders, and the miners all brought back news of vast plains of rich grass upon which cattle could be pastured without cost. So cattlemen drove great herds north from Mexico and Texas to graze. For a long time cowboys with herds of cattle roamed over the great plains from Texas to Montana.

4. *The farmers.* After the cattlemen came the farmers, who fenced the land and became permanent residents. The farmer was usually a different type of man from the cattleman or miner. He did not expect to get rich quickly, but he went out knowing that only by hard labor and thrift could he expect to support himself and his family. Unlike the miner and the cattleman, he generally took his wife and children with him to share his life and labor.

5. *The women.* The trappers, the early miners, and the cowboys seldom settled down anywhere very long. Many of them were lawless and took delight in drinking and gambling. Quarrels and shooting affairs were frequent. With the coming of women and children frontier life changed. Homes were built, schools were opened, churches were established, and law-abiding communities sprang up.

Whoever journeys to-day over any of the great railway lines through these Western states to the Pacific can scarcely understand the hardships of the men and women who crossed the plains and deserts in wagons drawn by mules and oxen. And yet there is nothing more wonderful in the history of exploration and daring than the westward sweep of the



The Covered Wagon on the Westward Trail

Americans to the Pacific. There is no Plymouth Rock or Jamestown along the Salt Lake, Oregon, or Santa Fe trails to mark any single expedition as famous as those which founded the English colonies in America; but there are thousands of spots beyond the Mississippi, unrecorded in history, where happened deeds of bravery and self-sacrifice no less heroic than those connected with the beginnings of America on the "cold and barren coasts of New England," or in the lowlands of Virginia.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *the Middle Border, steamboat traffic, free states, "free soil," slave states, garrison, abolition, abolitionist, a joint resolution, annexation, "Yankee notions," mining camp, polygamy.* Review "*balance of power.*"

I. Chiefly from what sections of the Union did the settlers of Missouri come? The settlers of Arkansas, Michigan, and Iowa? Why would farmers moving westward tend to settle in regions similar to the districts that they had left? Why were Wisconsin and Minnesota slow in being settled? What causes led to the immigration from the South into Texas? Why did the Mexicans at first invite and then discourage American settlers?

II. State the important events that led to the war with Mexico. Why was this war unpopular in the North? Make a list of the important results of the war. Name the states that have been formed from the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico at the close of the war. Compare this territory as to area, surface, agricultural products, and mineral resources with the Louisiana Purchase.

III. How did the Oregon country come to be settled? Find on the map of North America the location of the parallel 54° 40′. What present British possessions would be part of the United States to-day if this country had secured all the territory it claimed? Why did the United States not press its claim to this territory? Why were the Mormons persecuted in Illinois?

Locate Salt Lake City. Find from your geography what the region about the Great Salt Lake is like and what the Mormons had to do in order to make this region their permanent home. What led Americans to California before the discovery of gold? Describe the effect of the discovery of gold in California.

IV. Name the groups or types of emigrants who successively went from the Eastern states into the Far West. Tell what each group did to develop the country.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Some people hold that the United States had no right to make war on Mexico. Make a list of the arguments on each side. What is your opinion?

2. Make a study of the three great routes of exploration, trade, and travel to the Far West. Be ready to trace each route on the map, telling as many interesting facts as you can find about its discovery, its advantages and difficulties, and why it became important.

See Hitchcock's *The Louisiana Purchase*, pp. 215–221; Semple's *American History and Its Geographic Conditions*, pp. 186–199, 210–213, 217–219; Hart's *Source Book* (brief reference to the Oregon Trail), pp. 268–271; Coffin's *Building the Nation*, ch. xxvi; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, chs. xxxiii, xxxvi.

3. Can it be said that the Texans were justified in their effort to secure their independence from Mexico?

See Bryan's *Sam Houston*, ch. v; Sprague's *Davy Crockett*, ch. xiv.

4. Imagine yourself a gold miner in California in the days of the "Forty-niners." Tell about the difficulties of reaching the gold fields, the work of the miners, and the life of the mining camps.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. xiii; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 276–279; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xxxv.

5. For a faithful and sympathetic picture of Ohio from 1820–1850 and of the events of the Mexican War, read Watts' *Nathan Burke* (The Modern Readers' Series, Macmillan).

6. Why was Oregon settled by the Americans so much earlier than the other parts of the Pacific Coast region?

7. Why do fewer ships "round Cape Horn" now than in the 1850's?

8. Take an outline map of the United States. Use different colors to show where all our territory came from. (See maps pp. 297, 301. You may need to look up maps in other books.)

CHAPTER XVII

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

While the American people were struggling to win their independence and establish a new government, certain events took place in Great Britain that were to bring about all over the world some further sweeping changes. No one dreamed at the time that a half dozen inventors and mechanics, tinkering away in their workshops in different parts of England and Scotland, were even then beginning a new kind of revolution — not a revolution in government but a revolution in the way that people live and do their daily work.

I. The Growth of Industry in England

James Watt and the Steam Engine. From the time of the ancient Greeks men had known something about the power of steam, but not until the eighteenth century was steam power used to help people in their work. The first steam engines, even then, were very clumsy affairs, and were employed for only one purpose — to pump water from the coal mines. James Watt, a highly skilled English mechanic, after long years of study and experiment with the pump engine, finally found a way to make steam power turn wheels, thus changing a clumsy device with only a very narrow field of usefulness into a dependable machine that could be used for a multitude of purposes.

It is difficult for us even to-day to understand what Watt's great work has meant for the world. It is true that long before the time of Watt men had used some of the forces of nature to help them. Water power, for example, turned the heavy millstones that ground grain into flour; windmills were used for the same purpose and to pump water; and the power of the winds, of course, was used to drive ships over the sea. But with all this, the great bulk of the world's heavy work was done by the muscular power of horses and oxen and of men themselves. What changes a single century has seen! To-day, in all civilized countries, more and more of the necessary work, of the hard, back-breaking work, is being done by power-driven machines. Man has harnessed the forces of nature and turned them to his own needs.

It is small wonder that these changes are thought of as making up a revolution that is just as real as were the political revolutions which took place in America and France toward the close of the eighteenth century. The many great changes brought about by the invention and wide use of power-driven machinery are summed up in the term, the *Industrial Revolution*.

Hargreaves and Arkwright. Steam power, as we have seen, was used first in the work of pumping. After Watt had improved the steam engine so that it could successfully turn wheels, it came to be used in manufacturing and especially in what are called the "textile" industries; that is, the spinning of threads or "yarns" and the weaving of cloth or "textiles" from these yarns.

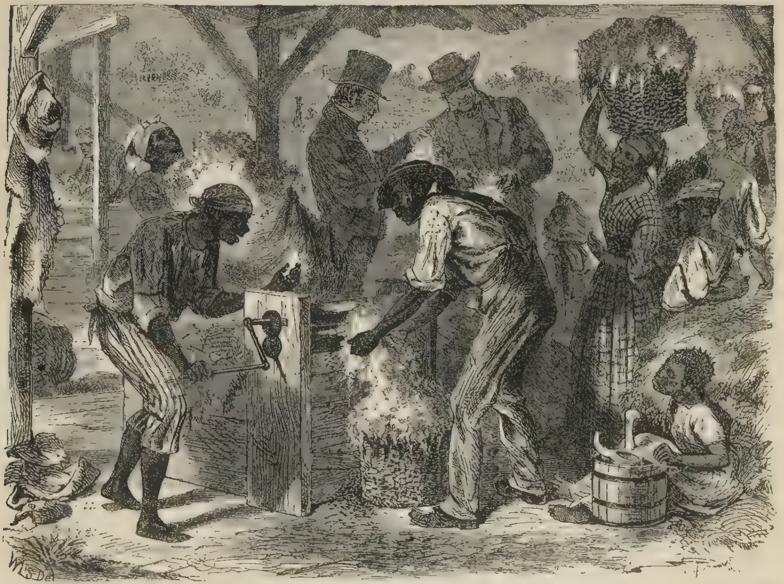
While Watt was working on the steam engine, other inventors were trying to make machines for spinning and weaving. From very early times both spinning and weaving had been done by hand, and while cloth of a very fine quality was sometimes made, the process was slow and laborious.

The fibers of wool, hemp, cotton, or flax were twisted or spun into long threads; then the threads were interlaced or woven into cloth.

Until the seventeenth century only one thread could be spun at a time by a single worker; then an improvement in the spinning wheel made it possible for one worker to spin two threads. A far greater advance was made in 1770, when James Hargreaves invented a spinning *jenny* with which one worker could spin from twenty to thirty threads at a time, and with no more labor than was formerly required to spin one thread. At about the same time, Richard Arkwright patented a spinning *frame* which, with later improvements, made it possible to spin a very large number of threads of any degree of hardness or fineness. This machine, however, could not be worked by hand. For some time water power was used, but it was not long before the steam engine was ready to take over a large share of the work.

Edmund Cartwright and the Power Loom. By 1780, the English spinning mills were turning out large quantities of yarn. The weavers, still working on hand looms in their homes, bought this yarn and made cloth which the English merchants sold all over the world. But the weavers could not work fast enough to use all of the yarn that came from the mills. Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman, saw clearly that the old hand loom could not meet the new needs. Some means must be found to produce cloth more rapidly and more cheaply. After many trials, he succeeded in making a loom that could be run by mechanical power, either water or steam.

Eli Whitney and the Cotton Gin. A machine of still another kind was needed before the textile industry could be highly prosperous. While most of the English weavers made woolen cloth, there was a much larger demand for the lighter fabrics made from cotton. Some cotton was brought to England from India and other countries. Cotton could also be grown in the southern part of the United States. Everywhere, however, the cost of producing a bale of cotton was very high because of the labor required to separate the fibers from the seeds. The cotton spinning and weaving industries could not prosper very much unless some way could be found to produce seed-free fibers on a " quantity basis."

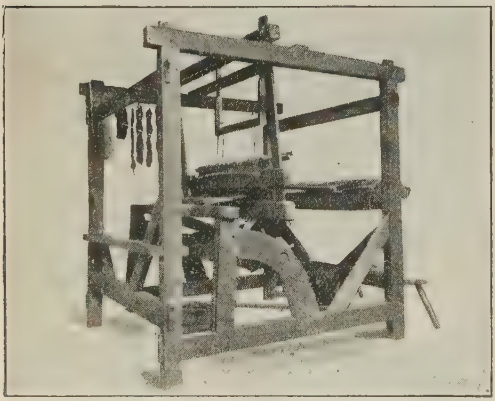


THE FIRST COTTON GIN

From an old print

It was an American schoolmaster, Eli Whitney, who finally solved this problem by inventing the *cotton gin*, a machine made up of rollers mounted with teeth which seized the cotton fibers and drew them through narrow slits, thus tearing away the seeds and leaving them behind. The first cotton gin was operated by hand, but even without mechanical power it proved successful. Whereas the very fastest worker in a full day's work could clean at most but five pounds of cotton, Whitney with his first gin cleaned fifty pounds in a day. It was not long, of course, before larger gins were made and operated by steam or other forms of mechanical power. Cotton produced cheaply and in large quantities could now be used in the English mills.

The Beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. Watt took out his first patent on the steam engine in 1769, but it was 1781 before he had made his invention really useful in turning wheels. The important work of Hargreaves and Arkwright was also done between these years. Cartwright patented the power loom in 1785. Whitney built his first cotton gin in 1793. These great inventions, then, all came about within a period of twenty-five years. Within another twenty-five years some of the changes which we now call the Industrial Revolution made their appearance. Great manufacturing cities grew up in England. Spinners and weavers who had formerly worked in their homes or in small village factories were drawn to the new industrial centers. Commercial cities and seaports also grew rapidly because of the increased trade which the new industries brought about. Rich men were investing their money in factories and poorer men were laying the foundations of new fortunes. The workers, too, were beginning to see that the machine age would bring with it some new and difficult



Hand Loom of about 1800

problems. A bitter conflict between capital and labor was even then in sight.

In America, the first results of the Industrial Revolution were felt, not in the manufacturing industries, but rather in agriculture. With the invention of the cotton gin, Southern planters could afford to raise large crops of cotton for which there was a rapidly increasing demand in England. Farm after farm was given over to this crop until it is hardly too much to say that the Southern states from North Carolina and Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico formed one great cotton field. And with the spread of cotton planting came a demand for more and more negro slaves to work in the cotton fields. To America as to England, then, the work of the inventors brought not only a new prosperity but also some new problems that proved in the end to be very difficult to solve.

II. THE COTTON AND WOOLEN INDUSTRIES IN AMERICA

English Mechanics Attracted to America. *Samuel Slater.* With so much wealth coming to her as a result of the new inventions, England naturally wished to keep other countries from getting hold of the patents and becoming rivals in industry. The English government, therefore, forbade anyone to carry the new machines or even models or drawings of them out of the country.

With all of their efforts, however, the English could not prevent the Industrial Revolution from spreading to America. Keen Yankees in New England set about making machines of their own with such help as they could get from English mechanics who came over to the United States. Societies of "Artists and Manufacturers" were formed, which advertised in England for skilled workmen, offering them large rewards for success in building machines in America. Samuel Slater, who had been employed in one of

Arkwright's spinning mills, saw an advertisement of this sort and came to America in 1789. He was engaged by Moses Brown, of Providence, Rhode Island, to build a complete spinning mill at the falls of the Pawtucket River. Slater drew plans for the machines and taught American mechanics how to build them and American workmen how to operate them.

The steam engine could now be used in places where there was no water power. In 1810, spinning machinery was driven by steam power in a mill at Ballston, New York. Other mills were opened, especially in New England, and it was not long before American machine-made cotton yarns were quite as good as those imported from England. This was fortunate, for the Napoleonic war between England and France (p. 213) made it increasingly difficult to get manufactured goods from Europe.

The Cotton Weaving Industry. As in England, the manufacture of textiles in America was for several years limited to the spinning of yarns. The weaving was done on hand looms. While Cartwright had patented the power loom in 1785, it was not used extensively even in England for nearly thirty years. The first practical power loom in America was set up, it seems, at Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1814 by Francis Lowell.[1] The machines were so built that women and little children " of a tender age " could be profitably employed to " mind " them, while men were needed only for the heavier work.

Rise of the Woolen Industry. The growth of the woolen industry did not lag far behind the manufacturing of cotton. A broadcloth factory, including a carding machine for cleaning and straightening the wool fibers, a spinning jenny, and a hand loom, was established at Newburyport, Massachusetts, in 1804. Somewhat later, a power loom was set up at South Kingston, Rhode Island. By 1828, this had become a complete woolen mill, equipped with power machinery throughout. Step by step cloth making was being taken from the homes.

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[1] A cotton mill is still running on the site where the first mill was built, and the name of the first builder is now borne by one of the important textile manufacturing cities of America — Lowell, Massachusetts.

The Sewing Machine. *Howe and Singer.* When the spinning and weaving machines had taken cloth making out of the homes, sewing by hand was left behind. Clothes had to be made with thread, needle, and thimble. Then came a revolution in sewing. In 1846 Elias Howe, a poor man who had labored for years in a Boston garret on the verge of starvation, brought out a sewing machine. A little later I. M. Singer began to sell machines on the installment plan, so that any person who could pay a small sum down and a small amount at regular periods for a certain time could have one. By 1860 there were over forty thousand sewing machines in the United States.

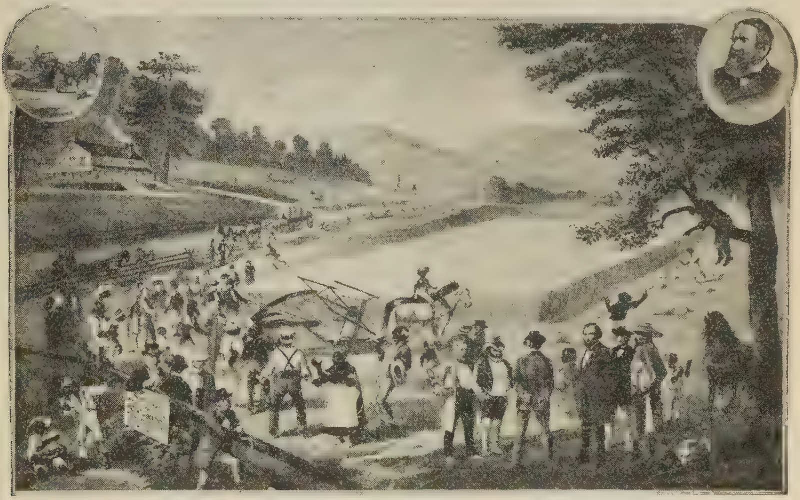
Very soon after it was invented, the sewing machine was introduced into factories and operated by power. "Ready-made" clothing of all kinds was then put on the market at astonishingly low prices — one fourth those charged by hand-sewing tailors. Between 1850 and 1860 the output of the clothing factories increased in value from $48,000,000 to $80,000,000 annually. The making of clothing has become one of the big industries of the commercial world.

III. THE IRON INDUSTRY; FARM MACHINERY

The Iron Industry. The use of power-driven machinery could not go very far without large supplies of iron and steel. Before the American Revolution, there had been little iron mines and forges in nearly every colony, and charcoal had been used to melt down the ore for drawing off the metal. After independence had been established, American smiths brought large quantities of soft coal from England for smelting purposes; but when the War of 1812 cut off the supply, ironmasters of eastern Pennsylvania came to use the coal which could be mined in their own neighborhood. The use of the air blast, invented in the eighteenth century, enabled them to make very hot fires even with hard coal. As the supplies of coal in Pennsylvania were immense, the iron industries began to grow there so rapidly that in time they drove out of business most of the smaller foundries in the other states.

Western Pennsylvania Becomes the Center of the Iron Industry. The great development of the industry in Pennsylvania came after the discovery of iron ore in the valley of the Youghiogheny, where a smelting furnace was erected as early as 1790. Fifteen years later there were five furnaces and six forges in Fayette County. Rolling mills and steel furnaces quickly followed. Soon the valleys of the Allegheny and the Monongahela were dotted with mines and furnaces, and Pittsburgh, which had only about four hundred inhabitants in 1789, grew into a great city. Ore and pig iron were floated down in barges to Pittsburgh, where furnaces, rolling mills, and ironworks turned out nails, hinges, locks, plows, axes, spades, skillets, sugar kettles, and many other implements and utensils used by the settlers of the West. Pennsylvania's ironmasters boasted that they could soon supply all the needs of the United States, if the importation of English iron and steel could be kept down by a high tariff.

Improvements in Farm Machinery. With all the inventions for spinning, weaving, and ironworking, it was natural that inventors should try to improve the tools used by farmers. At the time of the American Revolution the farmers' implements did not show much advance over those which had been used in the days of the Romans. The plowshare and moldboard were made of wood and were easily worn out or broken. Only the plowpoint was made of iron or steel. Wheat and oats were cut with a hand sickle or with a scythe and cradle and the grain was beaten out with a hand flail or tramped out by cattle. Toward the close of the eighteenth century an English machine for threshing grain had been introduced in a few places, and an iron plowshare was sometimes used. A plow with a moldboard of iron was patented in 1797; within twenty-five years the wooden plow had almost disappeared.



From an old print

TESTING THE FIRST REAPING MACHINE

The Reaper; Cyrus McCormick. In 1833 Obed Hussey of Baltimore invented a reaper. The next year Cyrus McCormick made one in a blacksmith's shop in the Shenandoah Valley. In 1846 McCormick established a factory at Cincinnati; three years later he built a plant in Chicago, the center of the grain-growing region. From year to year he improved his machine; finally it was so improved that one man with a team of horses could cut as much grain in a day as five or six men with scythes and cradles. At first the machine merely cut the grain and let it fall behind as it was cut; then a carrying-board was attached, and a child rode along to rake the wheat off at intervals for binding into bundles. The "self-rake," which automatically laid the grain in piles, was next invented; about 1880 came the "self-binder," which cut the wheat and bound it into bundles; and at last there was invented a giant machine, drawn by many horses or by a tractor, which cut and threshed the wheat in one operation — the *combined harvester.*

Industries in the West. For a long time the development of industries was confined largely to the East. In 1810 the value of American goods made in the mills and in the homes of the people reached nearly two hundred million dollars, and four fifths of the amount was produced in five states: Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts. But it was not long before factories began to spring up beyond the mountains, especially where there was water power.

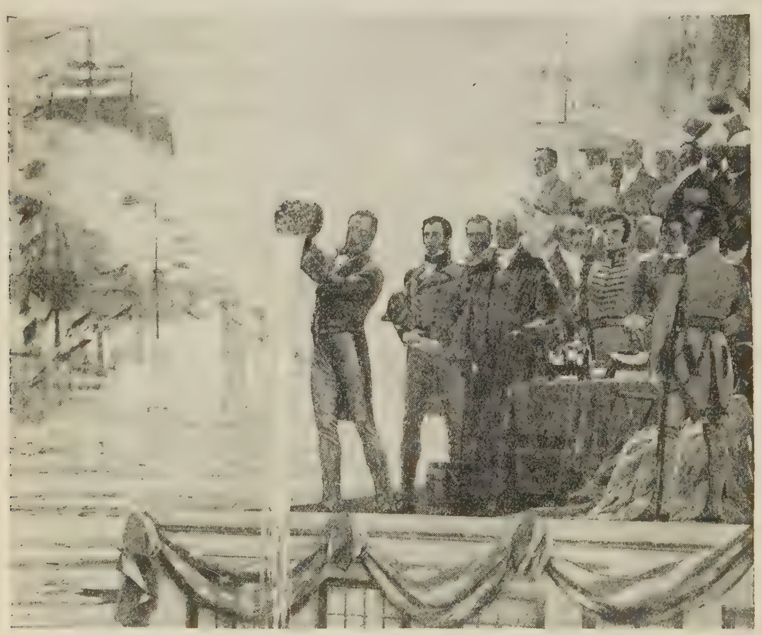
In 1821 Beaver Creek, Kentucky, boasted of sawmills, gristmills, a carding mill, and an iron furnace and forge; Maysville had a rope factory and glass works; there was a cotton mill at Paris. At Cincinnati, about the same time, a traveler reported a foundry and nail mill, woolen and cotton factories, a tannery, glassworks, and a shipyard where river steamers were built. To Cincinnati farmers for a hundred miles around hauled their wheat or drove their hogs and cattle and exchanged them for goods made there or brought over the mountains to that market. A visitor in 1840 described the city: "There I heard the crack of the cattle driver's whip and the hum of the factory: the West and the East meeting."

IV. IMPROVEMENTS IN TRANSPORTATION; CANAL DEVELOPMENT

The Need for Improved Transportation. All great industries depend on the sale of goods over a large territory. No single community can consume the output of a huge factory, and in building up and carrying on its business it is necessary for men to travel widely with samples of their wares. There must also be ways of shipping goods to those who buy them. This calls for rapid means of transportation, linking together many sections. American enterprise quickly set to work on this problem, and in a little while there were wonderful results. All over the country private companies were organized to build roads and canals. State governments gave their aid to the undertakings. The federal government came to the help of the people and built the National Road connecting Cumberland, near the head-waters of the Potomac, with the Mississippi Valley (p. 257).

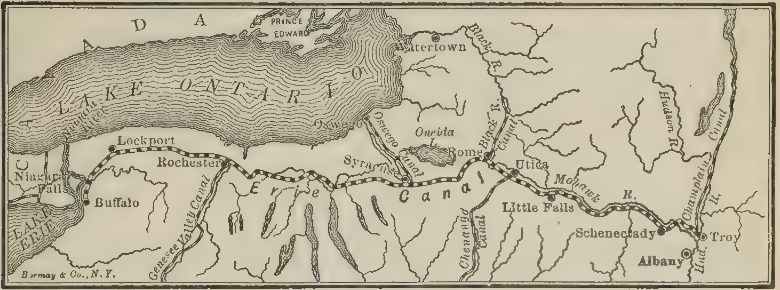
The Erie Canal (1825). *De Witt Clinton.* The opening of the Cumberland Road which did so much for the western trade of Philadelphia and Baltimore alarmed the merchants of New York and led them to demand a direct route to the West too. The best solution of the problem seemed to be a canal connecting the Hudson River with Lake Erie, and under the direction of Governor De Witt Clinton it was begun in 1817. The project called for great engineering skill. The canal was to be 363 miles long; and although much of the way was level, there were many hills to be cut through and rivers to be crossed. A large number of locks had also to be built, for Lake Erie is higher than the Hudson River. Many people said it never could be done, and they called it "Clinton's Big Ditch" and "Clinton's Folly." Nevertheless the canal was dug.

In 1825 the work was finished. News of the event was carried to New York City by the firing of cannon all along the line at intervals of five miles. On November 4 Governor Clinton and a party of his friends started from Albany for New York City on a fleet of canal boats that had come from Buffalo. They carried kegs of water from Lake Erie, which, as part of a great celebration, they poured into the New York harbor as a sign that the Atlantic and the Great Lakes were forever united.


From a painting

GOVERNOR CLINTON EMPTYING WATER FROM LAKE ERIE INTO NEW YORK HARBOR

Influence of Canal Traffic on Freight Rates. Other Canals. The effect of the canal was startling. Freight which cost $32 a ton to carry a hundred miles by wagon road was reduced to $1 a ton by canal route. Barges of wheat, corn, bacon, and other farm produce from the lands around the Great Lakes passed through the Canal. Buffalo, Rochester, and Syracuse soon became thriving trading centers. Passenger boats fitted up "luxuriously" made regular trips between Albany and Buffalo. Although the traveling was slow, it was safe and sure, and it was rapid compared with wagon journeys over bad roads. In time a chain of canals connected Cleveland on Lake Erie with Columbus and Cincinnati and the Ohio River to the south, thus opening a water route from New York City to the Ohio Valley.


C A N A D A
PRINCE EDWARD
LAKE ONTARIO
Niagara River
Watertown
Black R.
Oswego
Oswego Canal
Oneida L.
Rome
Black R. Canal
Utica
Lockport
Rochester
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
LAKE ERIE
Syracuse
Erie Canal
Genesee Valley Canal
Chenango Canal
Little Falls
Mohawk R.
Schenectady
Albany
Troy
Hud. R.
Hudson R.
Champlain Canal
Bormay & Co., N.Y.

THE ERIE CANAL

Canals and Portage Railways in Pennsylvania. Philadelphia merchants, frightened at the thought of losing their Western trade to New York merchants, persuaded their own state to construct a system of canals and portages [1] connecting the coast with the Ohio Valley. As far as possible, the rivers were used and were connected by canals to afford continuous water passage. Wherever canals could not be dug, rails were laid and the boats and cargoes were hauled overland on wheeled cars to the nearest navigable stream. This was an expensive line to build and operate, but it made possible direct connection between the Atlantic coast and

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[1] The place where boats are carried across land between waterways is called a *portage*.

Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and the other trading points on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It enabled the Philadelphia merchants to extend their trade in the West and Southwest. The boats which carried cargoes of merchandise to the West returned filled with farm produce or with coal and iron from the Pittsburgh region.

V. The Steamboat and the Railroad

The Steamboat. *Robert Fulton.* While the states were planning and building so many canals, a new means of carrying freight and passengers by water was being invented and perfected; namely, the steamboat. In the latter part of the eighteenth century several inventors had worked on the problem of using the steam engine to drive boats on rivers and at sea. At length Robert Fulton in 1807 launched his famous steamboat, the *Clermont*. He made the trip from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred fifty miles, in thirty-two hours and the return journey in thirty hours

The Oldest Steamboat in the United States with the wind against him both ways.[1] In 1811 a steamboat was plying the Ohio, and the next year steamboats made regular runs between Pittsburgh and New Orleans.

Faster Transportation Needed. The steamboat was a great improvement in water transportation. It made it easier to carry freight and passengers to and from the points connected by canals. At best, however, any travel by water was slow, and many water routes were closed in winter by ice. A quicker and more certain means of carrying goods and passengers was demanded. Scores of inventors in England and the United States were at work on the problem.

Stephenson's Locomotive. In moving heavy loads from mines and quarries it had long been a practice to lay down wooden tracks on which the wagon wheels could run. Strips of iron called " rails " were often laid on the wooden tracks to keep them from wearing down. There were many of these short " railroads " both in England and in the United States at the opening of the nineteenth century. The next step was to use steam to draw cars over them. This step was taken in 1814 by George Stephenson, an English miner, who built a steam locomotive, " Puffing Billy," which was used to haul cars at the mines where he worked. In 1824, the Stockton and Darlington Railroad in the north of England was opened.

The Railway in America. *John Stevens.* American inventors were alive to what was going on in England, and they had plenty of ideas of their own as well. John Stevens of Hoboken, New Jersey, has been called " the Father of the American Railway " because he early began to experiment with " steam carriages." In 1811 he applied to the legislature of his state for permission to build a railway line. He was regarded as a dreamer, and his request was not granted.

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[1] It usually took about forty-eight hours for a sailing vessel to make this trip one way.

He then applied in New York for permission to build a railroad to Buffalo to be used instead of the canal. Again he failed. Then he turned back to New Jersey, and finally in 1815 he secured the first railway charter granted in the United States. It gave him the right to build a line connecting the Delaware and Raritan rivers.

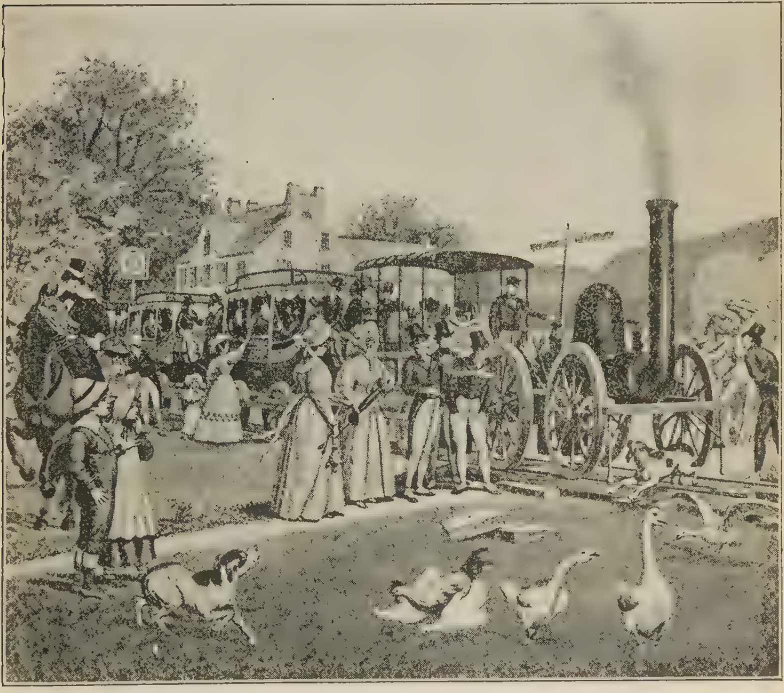
Stevens was unable, however, to persuade men with money to invest in his scheme. People laughed at the idea of traveling at the rate of twenty miles an hour. They also said it was impossible for a steam engine and a train of cars to round a curve. Stevens proved them wrong by building a circular track in Hoboken and driving around it an engine with cars. Opponents of railways said that it would be impossible to get over the mountains. Friends of railways replied that they would make tunnels — " passages like a well, dug horizontally through the hills or mountains."

In spite of discouragements men here and there in the country began to build short lines. The Mohawk and Hudson was chartered by New York in 1826, and in the same year the Granite Railway from the Quincy granite quarries to the water's edge was chartered by Massachusetts. The first line over which a steam locomotive was driven was the Carbondale road, built in 1828 near Honesdale, Pennsylvania, to connect the town with coal mines sixteen miles away.

Early Railway Lines. In 1828 the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company began to build the first great railway system in the United States. The work was opened with much ceremony. Charles Carroll, then ninety-three years old and the only living signer of the Declaration of Independence, turned the first sod. He declared that he considered that day's deed second only in importance to his famous service on July 4, 1776. After some experiments with horse cars, the Baltimore and Ohio adopted steam. In 1830 Peter

Cooper's engine, "Tom Thumb," made the journey between Baltimore and Ellicott's Mills at the speed of thirteen miles an hour.

In other parts of the country railway companies were busy. In South Carolina, "The Best Friend," an engine built by a New York foundry company, made a trip from Charleston to Hamburg in 1830 at a speed of from sixteen to twenty-one miles an hour, drawing five loaded cars. In 1832 a trial trip over the line from Albany to Schenectady, a distance of seventeen miles, was made in one hour by Governor Clinton, of canal fame, and a party of legislators. When they reached their journey's end, they dined in state.



One of the First Passenger Trains in the United States

Among the toasts drunk on that occasion was this seemingly wild prophecy: "The Buffalo Railroad — May we soon breakfast in Utica, dine in Rochester, and sup with our friends on Lake Erie!"

The Rapid Railway Development. As soon as the railway was found to be a success, railway building began everywhere. Within thirty years the Atlantic coast was connected with the West by what are now the Boston and Albany, the New York Central, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Ohio lines. Within less time than that, the distance from Portland, Maine, to Wilmington, North Carolina — a thousand miles — was covered by a chain of short connecting railways.

Soon the West started building lines. In 1838 a line between Detroit and Ann Arbor (now the Michigan Central) was constructed. Four years later it was possible to travel by rail from Boston to Buffalo, and by 1852 a railway journey from the East to Chicago was advertised. In 1857 Chicago and St. Louis were connected by what is now the Chicago and Alton Railroad; that same year Baltimore and Ohio trains began running into St. Louis.

In the South the growth of railways was slower, but by 1850 Fredericksburg, Virginia, was connected with Wilmington, North Carolina; and Norfolk with Raleigh. A line from Charleston extended into eastern Tennessee and united Knoxville with the coast. A railroad connected Savannah with the heart of Georgia, and trains were running from Montgomery, Alabama, to Pensacola, Florida.

In 1850 Congress made huge grants of land to Illinois to aid a company in building a line (now the Illinois Central) from Chicago to Cairo, and similar grants were made to Alabama and Mississippi for railways. By 1860 the Illinois Central, the Mississippi Central, and connecting lines were open. Thus the Gulf of Mexico was linked with Chicago.

The Development of the Express Business. With the railways came express companies. In 1839 W. F. Harnsden of Massachusetts began to make trips between Boston and New York three times a week to transport under guard valuable packages. It was not long before he had so much to carry that it became necessary to use special cars for the purpose. Soon express offices were opened in the cities.

In 1845 a western express to Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis was opened by Wells and Fargo. Seven years later the American Express Company bought out the Eastern lines of Wells and Fargo, who thereupon opened express routes over the plains and deserts and, by way of Panama, to the Pacific. A pound package was carried from New York to the Pacific coast for forty cents.

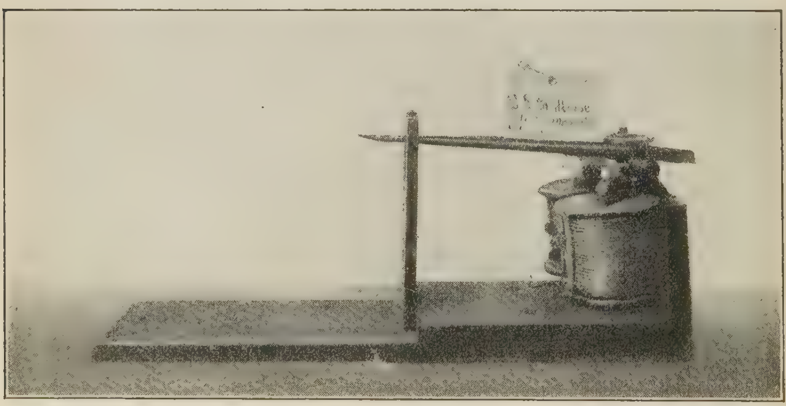
The express companies did not confine their operations to railway lines. They built stage and wagon routes, and established the pony express to carry mail and packages into the wilds of the mountains and to the very borders of civilization. To-day express companies are making use of the airplane routes.

VI. THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH; OCEAN NAVIGATION

The Electric Telegraph. *S. F. B. Morse.* The people were hardly used to the steam railway before a still more mysterious device, " the magnetic telegraph," was invented. Experiments in sending signs by electricity along wires had been made by many men, but it was an American, Samuel F. B. Morse, aided by Alfred Vail, who made a practical success of it.

After he found that he could communicate over three miles of wire, Morse applied to the government of the United States for aid, because he was a poor man and had no money to carry on his work. He had already suffered many hardships and used all his money. After five years of weary waiting, Congress voted $30,000 for a line between Washington and Baltimore, which was completed and opened in 1844. The first message sent over the wires was the sentence, "What hath God wrought!" The success of this experiment led to the organization of telegraph companies to connect all the important cities of the country.

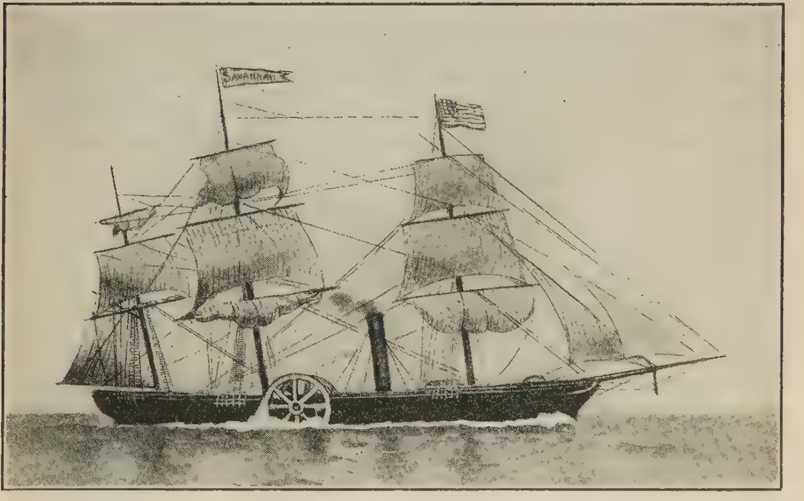
The Atlantic Cable. *Cyrus W. Field.* A still more wonderful experiment — a trans-Atlantic cable — was begun in 1857. The idea of a cable was suggested years before by John A. Roebling of Trenton, New Jersey, and also by Matthew Maury, a distinguished scientist of Virginia, whose studies of ocean currents and beds gave him the name of "The Pathfinder of the Seas." Cyrus W. Field, aided by the federal government and by business men in this country and England, began to lay a cable along the floor of the Atlantic Ocean to unite the New World with the Old. Twice the cable broke after it had been laid far out at sea. Each time Field renewed his labors, and at last in 1858 the President of the United States and Queen Victoria of England exchanged greetings by means of this submarine telegraph. Field was rejoicing in his victory when the cable broke and



Morse's First Telegraph Instrument

his work had to be done over. He went right at it and within two years opened communications with the Old World, which have never ceased.

Ocean Navigation. *Early American Shipbuilding.* In spite of American progress in nearly every field, the United States came to depend mainly on European vessels to carry freight and passengers across the Atlantic. This was not because American shipbuilders and sailors were less skillful than those of the Old World. On the contrary they equaled in skill the best in the world, and they had oak and hard pine in abundance to build fast clippers and great merchant ships.



THE STEAMSHIP *SAVANNAH*

For a long time after the War of 1812 they proved their ability. American vessels carried the flag into all harbors of the world, and American masters and sailors showed that they were second to none in their energy and talents. Moreover it was an American-built ship, the *Savannah*, that first crossed the ocean partly under steam power in 1819. But most people in America did not realize the importance of this event, and it was a long time before steam-driven vessels were common on the ocean.

Ocean Transportation Aided. In 1839 the English government gave a large cash bonus, or subsidy, to the Cunard Steamship Company, which at once began to send vessels across the Atlantic and soon grew to immense proportions. The next year the English government voted money to lines operating between England and the ports of India and China and those along the west coast of South America. It was not until this time that steamships began to compete with sailing vessels for the ocean-borne trade, although for thirty years steamboats had been widely used on rivers and on sheltered waters along the coast.

This great increase in shipping on the part of the British was followed in 1845 by action on the part of the United States government. In that year it too voted money to the Ocean Steamship Line, running from New York to Bremen, and to the Collins Line, operating from New York to Liverpool. Three years later the Pacific Mail Line around Cape Horn to California was granted a subsidy. For a time American companies, thus aided by the government, held their own, and men dreamed of the day when American shipping would cover the sea.

The Decline of American Deep-sea Commerce. Then dissatisfaction with granting public money to ship companies grew up. Southern planters thought that they could ship cotton and other produce more cheaply in English ships. In 1856 Congress lowered the grants of money to the Collins Line and in 1858 abandoned aid to steamship companies altogether. In a few years most of the American ships were sold to English companies, and the trade on the high seas passed into their hands.

American skill and energy went into manufacturing, mining, and railway building. By 1850 manufactured products began to rival in value the output of farms and plantations. The United States was on its way to being a great manufacturing nation, not merely a nation of planters and small farmers as Jefferson had hoped.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *power-driven machines, "harnessing the forces of nature," spinning jenny, spinning frame, producing on a quantity basis, cotton gin, capital, capital and labor, cotton planting, planter, plantation, air blast, plowshare, mold board, plow-point, sickle, scythe, cradle, flail, self-binder, harvester, canal traffic, freight rates, portage, portage railways, trans-Atlantic cable, subsidy, ocean-borne trade, deep-sea commerce.*

I. Why are the changes that were brought about by the steam engine and the use of power-driven machinery called the Industrial Revolution? What inventions are connected with the names of Watt, Arkwright, and Cartwright? How did the invention of the cotton gin influence the Industrial Revolution? What did it do for the Southern states?

II. Who was Samuel Slater? Why is his name remembered? In what part of the country did the cotton and woolen industries first develop? What reasons are there for their early development in this region? What names are connected with the invention of the sewing machine?

III. Why did Pennsylvania become the center of the iron industry? What are the advantages of Pittsburgh as a center of iron and steel manufacturing? Find from your geographies the names of the principal iron and steel manufacturing cities in the Pittsburgh district. What did Cyrus McCormick do to make his name remembered?

IV. Why did the Industrial Revolution increase the demand for improved methods of travel and transportation? What led the people of New York to approve of Clinton's plan for the Erie Canal? What other means of getting goods from the Atlantic coast to the Middle West were there at this time? What are the advantages and disadvantages of shipping goods by canal?

V. When and by whom was the first successful steamboat built? What names are connected with the early railroads of England and of the United States? Compare the speed of the early American locomotives with that of present-day locomotives.

VI. What names and dates are connected with the invention of the electric telegraph and the laying of the first ocean cable? At about what time did steam become important in ocean transportation?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. How would you explain the fact that the steamboat came much earlier than the steam railroad? Can you think of any reasons why ocean steamships were developed much later than river steamboats?

2. Tell the story of the invention and early development of the steam engine.

See Mowry's *American Inventions and Inventors*, ch. vii; Warren's *Stories from English History*, pp. 399–400; Beard and Bagley's *Our Old World Background*, ch. xiii.

3. Select one of the following men for special study and report. Be ready to give a brief account of his life and of the work for which he is remembered: Samuel Slater, Eli Whitney, Elias Howe, Robert Fulton, Cyrus McCormick, De Witt Clinton, S. F. B. Morse.

Something regarding each of these men and his work will be found in the following books; refer to the index or table of contents in each case: Mowry's *American Inventions and Inventors*, Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. Also see, for Fulton, Sutcliffe's *Robert Fulton* and Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised, vol. i, ch. viii, and for Morse, Bolton's *Famous Men of Science*, pp. 202–245; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xl; Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 19–22.

4. Imagine yourself a passenger on an Erie Canal packet about 1830. Tell the story of your trip.

See Hart's *How Our Grandfathers Lived*, pp. 102–104; Nida's *Following the Frontier*, ch. xxi.

5. Read again the prophecy on p. 330. Find from your geography map the distances between the places mentioned. Name three cities that would make the prophecy true in railroad traveling to-day. Compare the distances with those in the old prophecy.

6. Look at the picture of Peter Cooper's engine. Name the things you see which are found on the engine of to-day in a different form.

CHAPTER XVIII

GREAT CHANGES MADE IN AMERICAN LIFE BY MACHINERY

Two hundred years lay between the founding of the colonies and the Industrial Revolution which we have just described. During that time the nation expanded westward and the population grew, but the people continued to work and travel, to buy and sell in the same way as in the early days of Virginia and Massachusetts.

In this old order of things steam and machinery made radical changes. They altered the life of the American people — their ways of working, traveling, buying, selling, and gaining a livelihood and what they thought about. The great inventions created here, as in Europe, huge cities with tens of thousands of industrial workers. They brought to this country problems like those in Europe. One can truly say that the steam engine has made the whole world kin.

I. Changes in Working Conditions

Division of Labor. When manufacturing was done by hand, each worker could usually make a complete article. Take, for example, the old textile industry. The same person could card, spin, weave, and dye; that is, he could start with raw materials and make a finished piece of cloth.

With the coming of machinery each worker had to give all his time to a single task, such as watching and controlling a carding machine, a spinning jenny, or a loom. This created a division of labor. The old-fashioned workman skilled in an entire trade passed away; his place was taken by the specialist, who was very expert in one part of a manufacturing process but often helpless in other parts equally necessary in making the complete product.

Photo by Ewing Galloway

Boring Steering Pivots. A Specialist Workman

Towns, as Well as People, Specialized. In the old days each community produced nearly all the things it used. With the Industrial Revolution, however, some manufacturing towns made cloth, others hardware, and others boots and shoes. The huge cities that grew up depended upon distant farms for food supplies and for buyers of their manufactured goods. In "hard times," that is, when business was dull, they were almost helpless, so great was their dependence on the outside world.

The Factory System. When work was done by hand and only a few simple tools were used, a skillful workman often went into business for himself after he had served his apprenticeship, that is, when he had learned his trade. It did not require a very large outlay of money for him to set up a loom house, shoe shop, or smithy; and with the aid of his wife and children he could usually supply all the labor needed for the work.

After the introduction of costly machinery, however, and the use of the steam engine to drive hundreds of machines in a single factory, these conditions changed. Workers in small shops could not make goods as fast as could machines; nor could they sell their products at prices as low as those charged by factory owners. So the "factory system" and "quantity production" took the place of "small-scale industry." Since the system called for the investment of large sums of money — capital — in lands, buildings, machines, and patent rights, few individual workmen could hope to become owners of factories.

The Wage Question. In the days of hand labor, moreover, the owners of shops were, as we have seen, usually workers also and thus supplied both capital and labor. In such circumstances there could be no question as to who was entitled to the money that came from the sale of the articles manufactured. With the coming of the factories, however, one group of men supplied the capital and another group the labor. The just division of the total income then presented a problem difficult to solve to the satisfaction of both groups. Thus the modern factory system created the wage question.

Women in Factories. *The Labor Supply.* The effect of the new inventions on the lives of women was even greater than on the lives of men. Factory owners looked to women for help, particularly in the textile-manufacturing regions of New England. To quiet the fears of the farmers who did not want to lose their "hired men," it was widely advertised that a large share of the new manufacturing would be done by women. Without their aid, the early textile industries of New England could not have flourished; it was not until after 1850 that European immigrants began to be the chief source of the labor supply.

New Tasks for Women. When women stepped from the spinning wheel at home to the spinning jenny in the mill, they did not enter an entirely new field. They had always been spinners and weavers. As the variety of machine industries multiplied, however, they were drawn into new tasks. Manufacturers, finding women to be skillful and faithful, offered them many kinds of work. Between 1820 and 1840 more than one hundred different industrial occupations were opened to women, including several trades in which skill rather than muscular strength was required. For example, boot and shoe making had been a man's trade; but when even the heaviest nailing and sewing could be done by machines, thousands of women were drawn into this industry.

When once the old view of "woman's work" was abandoned, women went into stores and offices as well as mills. In 1858 the *New York Times* urged more women to take up "clerking" because they were specially fitted for that calling.

Industries and the Home. While spinning, weaving, and dyeing were done by hand, women were generally at home even while working. The factory system, however, took their work away from the fireside, and the women had to follow it into the great buildings where the machinery was operated. Thus women went out into the world to labor with men in the same factories, for the same hours, and under the same dangers to life and health. Sometimes women found themselves bidding against men for jobs.

Child Labor. Besides women, boys and girls were an important source of early labor supply. Many of them were driven by poverty into the industries. Selfish parents, also, seeing a chance to add to the family income, often put their little ones at work in the mills when it was not really necessary. Even the great statesman, Hamilton, thought it one of the excellent features of the factory system that "children of tender years" could be so employed. Mill owners, thinking child labor cheap, approved the idea.

Child labor was, in reality, nothing new, for many children had worked on the farms and in the homes. The thing that was new was labor in the factories, where children could not have the care of their fathers and mothers. Their hours of labor and their health were no longer matters arranged by their parents. The wheels of the mills turned from early morning till late at night. Children who expected to hold their positions had, therefore, to work long hours.

New Activities for Men. Machine industry also opened hundreds of new occupations to men as well as to women and children. New trades and crafts sprang up rapidly as inventions multiplied. Moreover, men invaded some of the fields once occupied solely by women. In colonial times the making of cloth and clothes had been almost entirely in the hands of women, as we have seen. As machines took the place of handwork, men went into spinning, weaving, and garment making. As women had once cut out and made men's clothes, now men designed and manufactured women's clothes. There was no longer any sharp division between the work of the two, except that certain of the heavy industries like mining, iron making, and railroading fell to the man's share.

New Labor Supplies. *European Immigration. The Irish.* With the growth of factories and the building of railways and canals, the demand for labor increased rapidly; in response an army of immigrants began to invade America. First in importance before 1860 were the Irish, who had many reasons for leaving their native land. They were ruled by a parliament which sat in London, whereas they wanted a parliament of their own — home rule. They were Catholic in faith, but were forced to pay taxes to support the English Church established in their midst. To add to their discontent, vast sections of their island were owned by landlords who lived in England and drew princely revenues from estates tilled by Irish peasants.

In 1846 the potato crop, on which about one half the population depended, was almost a total failure; more than a third of the people were thrown upon charity and thousands perished of starvation. Before the famine was over, two millions had died or left Ireland, tens of thousands finding homes in America. The Census of 1850 recorded nearly a million Irish people in the United States.

The German Tide of Immigration. Next in order were the Germans. They too had suffered from failures of the potato crop and from harsh government. When in 1848 they rose in their distress against the kings and princes who ruled them, they were utterly defeated. Their revolutionary leaders were shot, imprisoned, or banished, and their plans for popular government were rejected. (See *Our Old World Background*, ch. xiv.)

In this period of unrest Germans began to cross the Atlantic in large numbers, including many men of distinction, such as Carl Schurz. In 1847 over fifty thousand of them landed in New York, and for many years the migration from Germany continued steadily. In 1850 the four states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Iowa had nearly a hundred thousand German inhabitants.

The Foreign-Born Population. From many other foreign countries, as well as from Ireland and Germany, immigrants began to come. In 1860 there were over four million foreign-born in the United States, most of whom had come here within the preceding ten years.

II. The Labor Movement

The Wage System. With the growth of machine industry there arose many grievances. The hours of labor were long, usually from sunrise to sunset. This left little time or strength for anything else. If an employer failed in business, the employees ran the risk of losing any wages due them, for they had no claim upon his property. Wages were not always paid weekly or even monthly, and frequently they were paid in paper money of uncertain value or in "store orders" which could be cashed only at a heavy loss. In many cities working people were liable to fine and imprisonment if they combined and went on a strike or even formed a union for the purpose of bargaining more effectively with their employers to increase their pay or shorten their hours.

The Low Wages of Unskilled Labor. Wages were often very low. The ordinary laborer, such as a woodcutter or hodcarrier, was fortunate to find employment for twelve hours a day at seventy-five cents. Large numbers were glad to work for thirty-seven and even twenty-five cents a day in winter; in fact, in very hard times, there were always hundreds ready to work for their board and lodging during the cold season. The wages of women were still lower, even in the skilled trades. Besides, many of the best positions were closed to them, and large numbers of them had to engage in unskilled work, such as making shirts, folding and stitching books, and sewing rags, which brought very low pay.

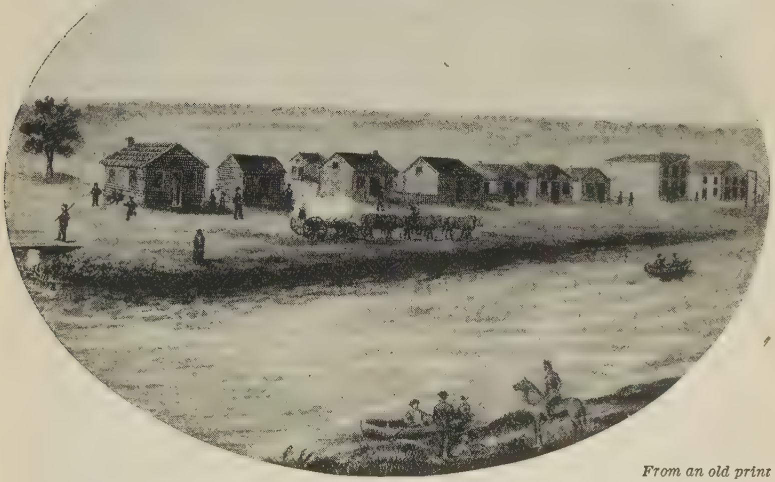
Although the cost of living was then much lower than it is at present, the wages paid were by comparison far below modern standards. In the land of plenty, poverty and distress appeared, especially in the great cities.

Labor Organizes. Such was the state of affairs when working people and their sympathizers set to work to organize for improvement of their lot. Before the end of the eighteenth century some of the skilled workmen — printers, shoemakers, tailors, and carpenters — had formed local unions in the large cities. About 1825 this movement began to grow rapidly. The women in the textile mills of New England organized societies and demanded shorter hours and better pay. Workmen of the various crafts in the factories and mills all over the country drew together in local unions. By 1830 there were such organizations in every important trade. A second step was taken when these "locals" began to form a central labor body in each city; that is, the printers, iron molders, tailors, or other craftsmen, after organizing their separate unions in a city, combined, or federated, and created a council to represent them all. A third step was taken when the unionists of each particular craft from all parts of the country formed a national federation of local unions. The printers federated in 1852; the ironworkers in 1858; and the machinists in 1859. Occasionally the trade-unionists went into politics. In 1828 the workingmen of Philadelphia formed a party of their own and put up candidates for election. In other cities similar efforts were made, but they were usually short-lived.

Labor Question Discussed. The ordinary trade-union had very definite plans, such as to enforce certain standards of hours and wages. Still the interest of labor was not confined entirely to this purpose. All kinds of questions were discussed at meetings of working people: the abolition of imprisonment for debt, the right of all men to vote, public education, free land in the West, women's safety in factories, prison labor, and similar topics. In debates on these subjects both men and women took part. Robert Dale Owen, an Englishman who had settled in Indiana, became a champion of many reforms in behalf of labor, especially universal education. Frances Wright, a Scotch woman, went up and down the country lecturing on "the rights of working men and women," to the horror of many people who were opposed to women's talking in public. Labor newspapers were founded and there was great interest in industrial questions. Especially were there loud protests whenever a court fined union leaders for forming "a conspiracy" to raise wages. Later the slavery issue became so serious that for a time industrial questions were overshadowed by it.

Competition between Native and Foreign Labor. The coming of so many foreigners and their activities in labor organizations were regarded with misgivings by native Americans. In New England the daughters of farmers left the mills because the supply of men and women from the Old World resulted in lower wages. Everywhere immigrants from Ireland took over the work of building roads, digging ditches, draining swamps, and other forms of labor which had hitherto been done by American workingmen.

When persons of foreign birth began to take part in politics, many native Americans were even more alarmed, especially since many of the newcomers were Catholic in religion. So great did this alarm become that a "Native-American" party was formed and in 1856 nominated a candidate for President. This party was popularly known as the Know-Nothing party, because its meetings were secret and its members, when questioned as to their aims, always replied that they did not know. It adopted the slogan, "Americans must rule America." It declared that no alien should be admitted to citizenship until he had resided in the United States continuously for twenty-one years and that no foreign-born person should be allowed to hold office. On the other hand many people maintained that nothing could be more un-American than a political party which worked secretly. For a time the Know-Nothings made a great furor, but they disappeared amid the gathering storm of the Civil War.



From an old print

Chicago in 1834

III. Cities and Industrial Progress

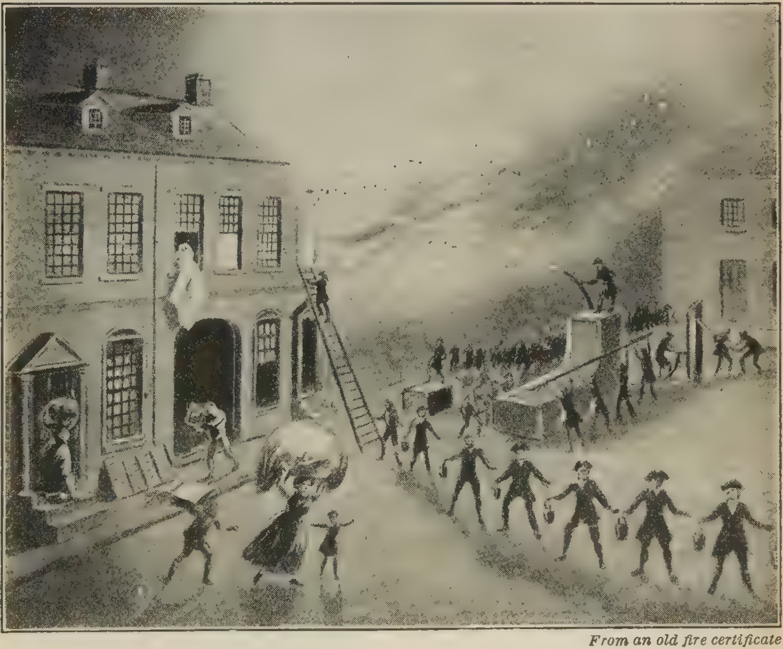
The Rapid Growth of Cities. The effect of the new inventions upon towns was swift and widespread. The old seaports, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston, flourished as their trade increased; in 1840 the first of these boasted over 300,000 people and the last, 93,000. Meanwhile, as the great mills rose in New England, cities like Lowell, Fall River, Brockton, and Providence grew like magic.

To the west new towns were springing up. Buffalo was the gateway through which flowed the westward migration — twelve hundred people a day, it was reported in 1835 — and also Western products on their way to the Eastern markets. In 1850 Buffalo had a population of 42,000.

On low, marshy land along Lake Michigan the village of Chicago was growing into a lively trading center. In 1840 there were five thousand inhabitants dwelling in rough wooden houses. Weeds and prairie grass were still growing in the streets, which were knee-deep in mud when it rained. Yet the signs of future greatness were already there. Hundreds of ships — both sailing vessels and steamers — carried away farm produce and brought in manufactured articles from the East, giving employment to large numbers of sailors, merchants, warehousemen, and wagoners.

By the middle of the century Detroit and Cleveland were also important trading centers. Milwaukee had forged ahead so rapidly that her population was half that of Chicago. To the south Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis were alive with business as the steamboat trade on the rivers flourished.

The Backward State of City Government. With the growth of the cities came all the modern problems of city government — street paving, street repairing and cleaning, lighting, fire protection, police, public health, transportation, housing, taxation — to which so much attention has to be given. Even when New York was a city of fifty thousand there was no regular street cleaning. For fire protection, in the early days, each citizen was required to keep in his front hall a number of buckets, according to the number of his fireplaces. When a fire alarm was rung, he set them on his front doorstep to be carried off to the fire by the first passer-by. The next day he went to the city hall and got the buckets, which he could identify by his initials painted on them. There was no regular police force. Carters and other laborers who worked by day were employed as night watchers. Sometimes they actually went home and slept when they should have been patrolling the streets. It was not until 1850 that a regular police force was organized for Philadelphia. Three years later a uniformed force was established in New York.



From an old fire certificate

FIREMEN AT WORK IN 1800

Foreign Trade. Industrial progress prevented the people of the United States from settling down to a self-satisfied life and becoming entirely indifferent to what was going on in other parts of the world. Instead of waiting at home for European ships to bring manufactured goods to exchange for farm produce, Americans began to seek in Europe and Asia markets in which to sell the output of their own industries. In this way they grew interested in other countries.

Thus the United States became one of the powers of the world, searching like the rest of them for trade and commerce. It began official relations with China in 1844 and ten years later " gently coerced " Japan into a treaty which opened that country to Western civilization.

The Idea of Progress. With the inventions came also the idea of making constant progress instead of " sticking to the good old ways." When a clever inventor contrived a new machine which could make an article more cheaply than the old one, the old one was scrapped, that is, abandoned or broken up. If one clever man found a new and more profitable method of doing business, he changed his ways, and the others had to follow his example or fall behind in the race. When young men and women found that they could make better wages in another city, they " pulled up stakes " and set out from the old home to the new one. So the old-fashioned ways of working with grandfather's tools and grandmother's utensils were cast aside.

Instead of remaining in the villages where they were born, people became accustomed to moving about. Villages and families were broken up. Moreover when people from other parts of the world came over in large numbers, there was a mingling of ideas. Petty prejudices against neighboring states or cities or people ceased as a result of constant dealings with them.

The South Not Greatly Changed by the Industrial Revolution. The most striking feature about this great Industrial Revolution — one full of meaning for the future — was that industrial progress was confined almost entirely to the North. In 1840 New York City had more inhabitants than all the important towns south of Washington: Richmond, Petersburg, Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. The South had water power and immense natural mineral resources, but they were undeveloped. It could have rivaled Pennsylvania in iron production and New England in cotton weaving and spinning; but so long as slavery prevailed, few European immigrants went to the Southern states, and capital did not seek investments in Southern industries. While slavery lasted the South was destined to be engaged chiefly in agriculture and to remain small in population as compared with the North. It was mainly owing to the difference between industrial and agricultural interests that serious friction sprang up between the two sections and led finally to the Civil War.

Looking Forward. In a preceding chapter we tried to draw a picture of the romance of westward migration — a restless movement of fur hunters, miners, cattle raisers, plainsmen, pioneers, and farmers — that conquered and occupied the great West. Now we must try to picture to ourselves the work of the new groups created by the Industrial Revolution — business men, inventors, captains of industry, railway magnates, real-estate speculators, and capitalists — hurrying to improve every kind of machine, establishing banks and raising money for industrial and railway enterprises, erecting factories, building railway lines through forests and over mountains. Under their daring leadership great cities rose, the backward and waste places of the country were made accessible, forests were cut down, mines and oil wells were opened — indeed, the very face of the earth was transformed. Under their direction were massed tremendous numbers of wageworkers, who began to demand a voice in the control of industry.

Adding the business men and the industrial workers to the free farmers and the planters, we have the four important groups that were to influence the current of American history for many generations. All these groups were continually striving to advance their own interests. The work of government thus became largely the task of adjusting differences among them and preventing any one group from going too far. At the same time there was the task of welding them all into one nation having high ideals of liberty and striving to maintain its place among the powers of the earth.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *division of labor, the factory system, small-scale industry, quantity production, capital, the wage system, the labor movement, labor unions, trade unions, federations of labor unions, the idea of progress.*

I. What is meant by the "division of labor"? Illustrate by comparing the older method of making things, such as cloth and shoes with the modern factory methods. What was the effect of the division of labor upon the worker? How did the division of labor influence the growth of towns and cities? How did the division of labor and the introduction of factory methods affect the individual worker? How did it give rise to the wage question? Why was it possible under the new factory conditions for so much of the work in the factories to be done by women and children? What differences did this bring about in home life? How did the Industrial Revolution and the development of the factory system lead to a large immigration of Europeans? Why did so many of these come from Ireland? What were the causes of the immigration from Germany? Chiefly in what parts of the country did each of these groups of immigrants settle?

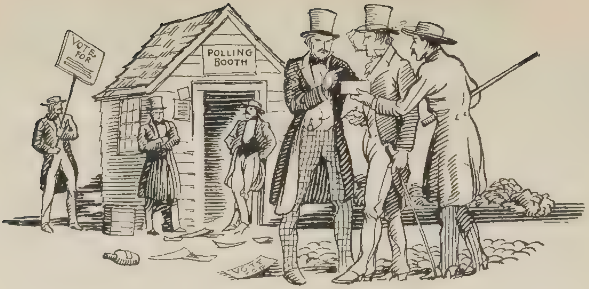
II. What were some of the hardships of the wage earners before 1860? At what time did the wage earners begin to organize for the improvement of conditions? Who were some of the leaders of the labor movement at this time? What is meant by a "federation" of trade unions?

III. What effect did the Industrial Revolution have upon the growth of cities? Name some of the new problems that the rapid growth of cities brought about. How did the development of the factories influence commerce with other countries? Why were Southern states little affected by the Industrial Revolution?

PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Imagine yourself a member of a large family engaged in home manufacturing before the days of the factory system. Imagine yourself a member of a similar family working in a factory. What differences would result in your life and surroundings?

2. Find the main facts about the effect of the Industrial Revolution in England. See Warren's *Stories from English History*, pp. 393–411; Quennell's *History of Everyday Things in England*, vol. ii, pp. 111–166.



CHAPTER XIX

THE GROWTH OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY IN THE UNITED STATES

Everywhere in the United States during the first part of the nineteenth century were signs of a new age. People from the East were rushing westward into the Mississippi Valley. Immigrants from all the countries of western Europe were crowding to our shores, and taking their places in the life of the nation. New states were being admitted to the Union one after another. New questions were being debated. New problems — growing out of the rise of cities, the building of railways, the increase in the numbers of the workers, and the development of the factory system — were troubling those who took an interest in public affairs. The slow and easy-going ways of colonial times were being left behind just as the landscape disappears behind a rapidly moving express train.

I. The Growth of Popular Government

The Old Political System. Naturally all these changes in ways of living, working, and traveling brought new ideas into politics and in time led many persons to question some of the beliefs which had come down from earlier days. The truth is that many of the men who founded the republic feared the direct rule of the common people as much as they did the rule of kings.

Alexander Hamilton said that humanity was divided into the few and the many — "the rich and well-born" and "the mass of the people who seldom judge or decide rightly." Madison declared that the rule of a majority of the people was as dangerous to liberty as the rule of a monarch. Even Jefferson, more democratic in his views, was at first opposed to granting the right to vote to any man who did not own land; only in his later years did Jefferson come to believe that all men ought to be permitted to vote. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in the early laws and customs many traces of this fear of too much "democracy," — this fear that the common people would make serious trouble if allowed to take too great a part in the government of the country.

These traces may be summed up as follows:

1. In nearly all the states a man had to be a property owner or a taxpayer in order to vote.
2. In addition to withholding the right to vote from many men, some of the first state constitutions provided that only wealthy men could hold office. Thus, even if people with a little property did vote, they could not elect one of their own kind to office.
3. Members of certain religious sects in some states were not allowed to hold any public office.
4. Presidential electors were usually chosen by the state legislatures, not by the voters directly.
5. Candidates for President were not nominated by party conventions. The members of Congress belonging to each party held a *caucus*, or meeting, and selected candidates for the voters.

The Cry for More Democracy. The nineteenth century was not far advanced when protests were heard against all these old practices. Writers, editors, and public speakers demanded that the vote be given to all men regardless of their property and that public offices be opened to all. A Maryland writer sent broadcast a leaflet announcing that the time had come to give the vote to every man, rich or poor. In New York a petition with seventy thousand signatures was laid before the legislature asking that all men be given the right to vote. In Virginia, where only landowners, or *freeholders*, could vote, voteless men petitioned the constitutional convention of 1829 for the "precious right" of suffrage, that is, the right to vote. For years, too, there had been a growing demand that presidential electors be chosen by the people instead of by the state legislatures, and the choice of party candidates by a caucus of Congressmen was denounced.

Arguments over Democracy. Those who urged these reforms referred to statements in the Declaration of Independence for their arguments:

(1) that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed";

(2) that "all men are created equal";

(3) that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Since these things were true, the reformers agreed, all men should be given the right to vote in all elections.

Opponents of reform usually brought forward practical objections. They praised the wisdom of the men who had made the first state constitutions and criticized those who attacked them. They said that there was no real demand for manhood suffrage and that a few noisy leaders were stirring up the trouble. In the New York convention of 1821 a noted speaker said that the poor had no interest in government because they had no property and that Providence had decreed that there should always be poor people with us. He went on to add that workingmen, if given the vote, would sell it to their employers or engage in politics for which they were not fitted. In Massachusetts Daniel Webster argued that property, as well as men, ought to be taken into account in creating governments because governments tax property and regulate its uses.

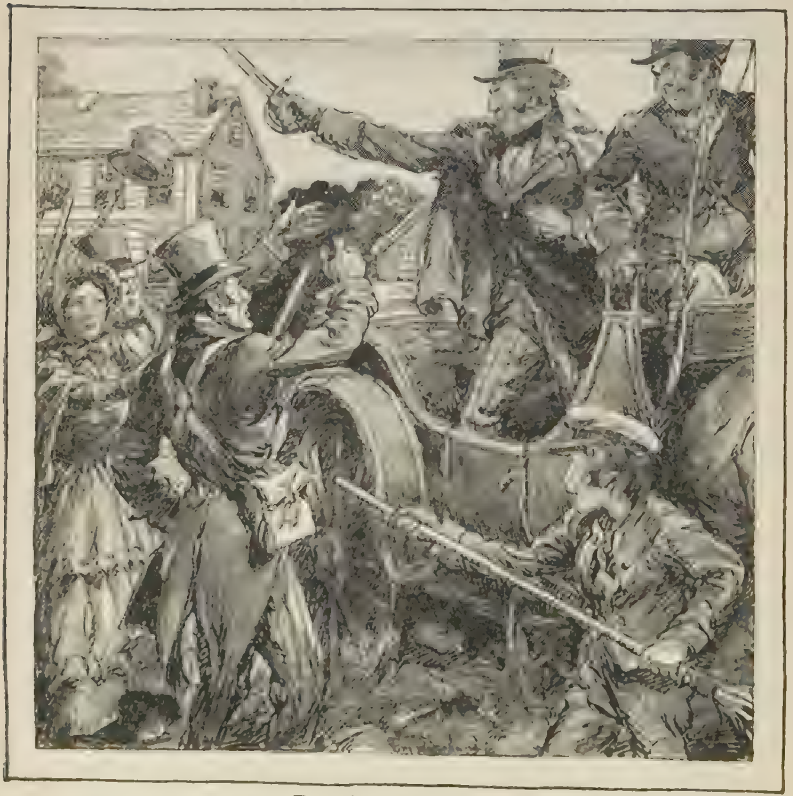
The Right to Vote Slowly Won. The fight for manhood suffrage was a long, hard battle in some states. In others, however, particularly in the West, it was easily won. Kentucky came into the Union in 1792 with a provision for manhood suffrage, that is, every man of voting age was allowed to vote. Tennessee in the constitution of 1796 gave the vote to every freeman who had resided in any county in the state for six months preceding the election. Ohio in her first constitution gave the vote to freeholders and all others who paid a state or county tax, no matter how small. Indiana in 1816 gave the ballot to every free white male, and Illinois two years later followed the example of Indiana.

Some of the Eastern states did the same; New Hampshire, Georgia, and Maryland early removed tax and property qualifications of the right to vote.

Other states, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, still held with great firmness to property qualifications. New York refused to give up the old system until 1826. Virginia held out until 1850, and North Carolina did not give up the fight against white manhood suffrage until 1854.

Dorr's Rebellion. In Rhode Island the demand for manhood suffrage broke out into open violence and resistance to law. In that state only landholders could vote. This meant, after the growth of the factory towns, that workingmen, clerks, teachers, and business men who did not hold land were without a voice in the government. For many years these people made strenuous efforts to get the ballot; but the freeholders replied that their forefathers had established the system, and they were going to keep it.

In 1841 the nonvoters called a convention of their own, drafted a constitution giving themselves the vote, and elected Thomas Dorr, a young lawyer, as governor. In the trouble that followed, the old government won — happily without bloodshed — and Dorr was imprisoned for life, but later pardoned.



Dorr's Rebellion

The next year, however, those who had upheld the old system granted to practically all men the right to vote for state officers. Connecticut, frightened by the trouble in Rhode Island, granted manhood suffrage in 1845.

Popular Choice of Presidential Electors. During this long contest over manhood suffrage a change was made in the manner of selecting presidential electors. The Constitution of the United States provided that they should be chosen as the legislatures of the states might decide. In many cases the legislatures decided to do the choosing themselves, much to the discontent of the voters at large. The cry was heard that the voters themselves should have the right to choose presidential electors, and state after state adopted the reform. In 1824 the legislatures of only six states clung to their old power. By 1832 every state except South Carolina had established "popular choice of presidential electors."

The National Nominating Convention. At the same time an important step was taken in the development of political parties. As we have said (p. 355), by an early custom the presidential candidate of each party was selected at a caucus attended by members of the party who were members of Congress. This put the choice of President in the hands of a very small number of party members, and a great protest was made against it. In 1824 the last *congressional caucus* was held. In place of it a new custom was adopted. A few months before the presidential election the voters of each party elected delegates to a *national convention*, which in turn selected the candidates for President and Vice President. The method was used for the election of 1832 and has been employed ever since, each party usually holding its convention in June before the election in November.

II. The Struggle for "Women's Rights"

Rights That Women Were Denied. While all this discussion about the rights of men was going on, women began to inquire about their rights. Women were denied all the rights which men were seeking and many others besides. A woman could not vote or hold office (with some very minor exceptions), no matter how much property she owned.

Women were barred from the colleges, from the professions, such as law and medicine, and from a large number of the trades and business enterprises. In many states a married woman could not hold and manage property in her own name at all. If a married woman owned houses or land, her husband had the right to collect the money paid for rent, and do what he pleased with it. He could even claim as his own all her other property, such as jewels, money, and wages.

Women's Protest. Many earnest and thoughtful women objected to this state of affairs. Leaders among them began to ask: " Why should we not have the right to control our own property and wages? " " Why should we not have opportunities to obtain even the highest education possible? " " Why should we be excluded from the professions — law, medicine, and the ministry? " " Why should we be denied all voice in the government — the political right claimed for every white man, rich and poor, good and bad, educated and ignorant? "

At first the protest was heard only in small groups; then it grew louder and louder; finally it was taken up by the newspapers and voiced on the public platform. In 1826 when manhood suffrage was being demanded in New York and near-by states, Frances Wright pleaded that suffrage should be made " universal," that is, for women as well as men.

Women's Rights Ridiculed. All these activities in behalf of women's rights were laughed at. Cautious people were shocked at hearing women speak in public. It was said that it would break up the home if a married woman was entitled to hold her own property and keep the money she earned instead of turning it all over to her husband. To give her the vote would be even worse.

The First Women's Rights Convention. Arguments against or laughter at their demands did not stop the leaders. In 1848 on the call of Lucretia Mott, Martha C. Wright, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Mary Ann McClintock, a Women's Rights Convention, the first in the United States, was held at Seneca Falls, New York. The convention issued a " Declaration of Rights." The newspapers made great sport of both the convention and the declaration, saying that the " Reign of Petticoats " was now announced.

Rapid Gains of the Suffrage Movement. The new movement gained steadily in numbers and in strength. It won the support of the ablest women in the country, including Margaret Fuller, a well-known writer and lecturer of Massachusetts, and Lucy Stone, of Oberlin, the first woman college graduate in the United States. In 1851 Susan B. Anthony became an important leader and began her fifty-four-year campaign for woman suffrage.

Prominent men began to help. The great antislavery agitators, William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, spoke for the women. Emerson, Whittier, and other New England writers helped them. Far in the West, Abraham Lincoln early approved the principle of sharing the government with those who carried its burdens, " by no means excluding the women."

Woman Suffrage and the Slavery Struggle. The woman suffrage movement was making rapid progress when the struggle over slavery and the Union came like a dreadful storm overshadowing everything else. The leaders in the movement, basing their claims on the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, declared that they believed in liberty for all; therefore they aided the abolitionists in the attack on slavery. They hoped that freedom, when it came, would bring suffrage for all. In that they were to be disappointed. They saw slaves set free and given the vote; but they were made to wait.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *popular government, a political system, caucus, freeholders, ballot, property qualification, popular choice of presidential electors, national nominating convention, suffrage, manhood suffrage, universal suffrage, women's rights.*

I. In most of the states what men were denied the right to vote in the early days of the federal government? What people could not hold office? What were the chief arguments in favor of extending the right to vote? Against this? How did the Constitution provide for the choice of presidential electors? How are presidential electors chosen in all the states to-day? What was Dorr's Rebellion? Why was it important?

II. Name some of the rights that were denied to women in the early days of the federal government. Who were some of the important leaders in the women's rights movement? In what way was the movement opposed?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. The following rules on the right of suffrage have been in force from time to time or suggested. Which one do you think the most unreasonable rule? Put its number down. The next most unreasonable? Put its number down, and so on until you have completed the list. This means that the best rule will be last in your list. Be ready to defend the order you have selected when these are discussed in class.

(1) Only those should be allowed to vote who can read and write the English language.

(2) Only those should be allowed to vote who own land or other real estate.

(3) Only those should be allowed to vote who belong to a particular church or hold a particular religious belief.

(4) Only those should be allowed to vote who have reached the age of twenty-one.

(5) Only those should be allowed to vote who have not been convicted of some crime.

(6) Only those should be allowed to vote who are either native-born or naturalized citizens of the country.

(7) Only those should be allowed to vote who are male citizens of the country.

(8) Only those should be allowed to vote who are of sound mind.

(9) Only those should be allowed to vote who are taxpayers.

(10) Only those should be allowed to vote who could serve as soldiers in time of war.

2. It has been said that every "right" carries with it certain "duties." If this is true, what "duties," in your opinion, go with the "right" to vote? Name some conditions that might be good reasons for a voter's remaining away from the polls on election day. Name some excuses, commonly made, that cannot be accepted as good reasons by those who believe that "duties" go with "rights."

CHAPTER XX

THE BEGINNINGS OF FREE EDUCATION

The rise of factories and cities, the coming of immigrants in ever larger numbers, and the extension of the right to vote and hold office made the people think more about the New America that was being made. It became evident to far-sighted persons that the people in general would have to know more than they had ever known before in order to take care of themselves properly and vote intelligently. Hence the problem of popular education soon became important.

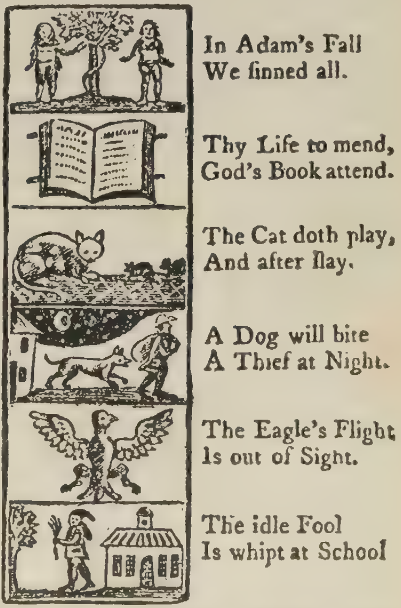
The reasons for establishing schools and colleges in colonial times were religious rather than educational. Children were taught to read and write, not merely because knowledge was a good thing in itself but in order that they might read the Bible and learn the doctrines of the churches to which their parents belonged. The main purpose of the colleges was to train clergymen for the churches (p. 135).

I. The Development of Free Elementary Schools

Lower Schools Removed from Religious Control. By the opening of the nineteenth century the old schools had lost something of their strictly religious character. Certain subjects like arithmetic and geography had been added to reading and writing; but the schools were still under the influence of religious authorities. Owing to the rapid growth of religious sects in every community, however, difficulties arose over teaching religious doctrines in schools in any way supported by public funds.

There were three possible solutions of the problem: (1) the children could remain ignorant and "illiterate," that is, unable to read and write; (2) each church, if it could raise the money, could establish its own school; or (3) there could be one school for the teaching of ordinary school subjects, religious instruction being left to the homes and the Sunday schools.

Immigration helped to settle the matter. In addition to teaching the "foreigners" how to read and write English, it was thought necessary to give them some knowledge of the geography and history of their adopted country. For these and other reasons the strictly religious purposes which marked the schools of earlier times began to give way to other purposes. This change was well started by the opening of the nineteenth century.



In Adam's Fall
We ſinned all.

Thy Life to mend,
God's Book attend.

The Cat doth play,
And after ſlay.

A Dog will bite
A Thief at Night.

The Eagle's Flight
Is out of Sight.

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School

From "The New England Primer"

A PAGE FROM A FAMOUS SCHOOLBOOK

The Development of Free Schools. *Early Difficulties in the Way of Universal Education.* When elementary education is really "universal," that is, when all children between the ages of six and fourteen are attending school, large sums of money must be spent for school grounds, buildings, furniture, and apparatus, as well as for teachers' salaries. Lack of money for these things blocked the efforts even of those who early saw the need of universal education.

Reliance on Charity for the Support of Schools. Several plans were used to pay the bills. In New York and other cities of the middle states, the elementary schools for the masses were for a long time supported entirely by gifts of money from private persons. Societies raised money for schools just as they obtain gifts for orphans' homes to-day.

Indeed, such schools were often known as "charity schools." This aroused a great deal of criticism from those who believed that education was a right which society owed to all children. Workingmen especially objected to charity schools, and they had great influence in bringing about a system of free, tax-supported elementary education.

Schools Controlled by Religious Bodies. In other parts of the country the well-to-do churches tried to provide elementary education, either free or at a very small cost, for the children of the poor of all religious sects. This also had its disadvantages. Children attending such schools learned the religious doctrines of the people who furnished the money. This displeased many parents. Often, too, the denominations controlling these schools tried to obtain aid from taxation, and this brought protests from other denominations.

Proposals for Providing Elementary Education at a Low Cost: the Lancaster-Bell Monitorial System. A clever scheme for making a little money go a long way in the work of education was borrowed from England, where it had been introduced early in the nineteenth century. The largest item in the cost of schools is the teachers' salaries. When the demand for universal education became strong in England (as it did about this time), two men — John Lancaster and Andrew Bell — thought out a plan which they believed would reduce this item to a low figure. They proposed to place one mature and well-prepared teacher in charge of each large school. The first duty of this teacher was to instruct a group of the older pupils who, after they had made some progress, were placed in charge of still younger pupils. They taught during part of each day and kept up their own studies during the rest of the time. As each group of pupils came into the higher classes, it took its turn at teaching the younger pupils. In this way a never-ending supply of pupil-teachers or *monitors* could be secured at a slight cost.

This plan, known as the Lancaster-Bell system or the monitorial system, was hailed in England as the solution of the problem of universal education. It was tried in schools of Pennsylvania and New York and was felt at the time to be a long step forward. It at least made possible some education for all children, but it was a very poor plan at best.

The Struggle for Tax Support. It took hard work to convince the majority of the people that education is a public necessity and should be supported by taxation. People of wealth who had no children asked why they should be taxed for the education of other people's boys and girls. Yet the demand for education was so strong that in the end all the Northern states passed laws compelling townships, towns, and counties to support free elementary schools. By 1850 free schools were general throughout the North and the Middle West; in some of the states the percentage of illiterate, *i.e.* unschooled, persons in the total population was almost as low as it is to-day.

The Leaders of the Free-school Movement. *Horace Mann and the Educational Revival in Massachusetts.* There are several men and women who should be remembered and honored because of the work that they did for free schools. Among these leaders Horace Mann holds a high place. As Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education he journeyed up and down the state. He called the people together in the cities, villages, and rural districts and convinced them that they must grant money generously to support free public schools. The newspapers carried the message to other states, and Mann was called upon to lecture throughout the North and the Middle West. He not only pleaded with the taxpayers to be more liberal in their support of schools; he gathered the teachers together and helped them to organize institutes for their own improvement. Through his efforts the methods of teaching were improved, and school punishments were made less severe. He urged with good results the establishment of tax-supported and state-controlled normal schools for training public-school teachers. Under his leadership and that of James G. Carter, the first state normal school in the country was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839. Mann also induced many towns to build free libraries.

Horace Mann

Henry Barnard. New England gave to America another great educational leader in Henry Barnard, who for many years served as Secretary of the State Board of Education of Connecticut. Barnard stirred the people to take a greater interest in their schools and to support education more liberally. Moreover he brought to them through a magazine which he edited news of the rapid progress of public education in Europe. This was pure generosity on Barnard's part. His magazine, although widely read, never repaid the cost of publication. He supported it almost entirely from his own funds and thus spent the greater part of his modest fortune for the people.

De Witt Clinton. In the history of the gradual building up of free public schools, Governor De Witt Clinton of New York also has a notable place (pp. 323, 329). He urged the founding of free schools supported entirely by taxation. In 1842 other leaders succeeded in having the state provide that the city of New York should appoint a Board of Education, and within a few years a system of free public schools was created there. In 1849 a "free school" law was adopted for the whole state.

MARY LYON

Emma Willard and Mary Lyon. With Barnard and Mann there are two women who hold a high place in the record of American educational progress. The first of these, Mrs. Emma Willard, founded a "Female Seminary" in Vermont as early as 1814 and seven years later opened a seminary in Troy, New York. She wrote many textbooks for schools, some of which were translated into foreign languages and used abroad. She journeyed far and wide speaking for the support and encouragement of popular education.

The second, Mary Lyon, after a long teaching experience in academies, founded in 1837 at South Hadley, Massachusetts, a "Female Seminary," which later became Mount Holyoke College. This seminary won fame everywhere for the high character of its teaching and did much to give standing to "female" education. Among the many ideas advanced by Mary Lyon was plain and simple living for the students. She devised a plan which reduced the cost of education and made more parents willing to make sacrifices for their daughters.

Robert Owen and Frances Wright. In the history of popular education credit must also be given to many of the leaders and friends of working people. Robert Owen, a distinguished Englishman who believed in the education of all the people, rich and poor, visited the United States and started hundreds of workingmen to thinking about education for their children. His son, Robert Dale Owen, kept up the appeal. Frances Wright was also a prominent leader in the struggle of artisans and mechanics for free schools in the United States (pp. 346, 360). The labor unions helped the educational reformers by calling upon legislatures to vote the money to carry out their plans.

The Work of the Teachers. To the names of the early reformers should really be added those of hundreds and thousands of public-school teachers throughout the country. Not all the teachers of that day looked upon their work as a great profession or sought to increase its services to the people; but many teachers did take this view and labored untiringly for better schools and for laws that would make universal education a reality instead of a dream. They formed societies for the improvement of their teaching, sent delegates to plead the cause of the people's schools before the legislatures, and lost no occasion to impress upon their own pupils the need and the value of better education.

The Free-school Movement in the Northwest. One might expect to find a more rapid growth of free schools in the new Western states than in the East. It will be remembered that the Land Ordinance of 1785 had set aside for the support of elementary schools a great deal of land in the

Northwest Territory (p. 191), besides making very liberal land grants for higher institutions. As a matter of fact the development of education in these new states was by no means rapid. In a great many cases the value of the school lands was not foreseen ; instead of being held until they could be sold at a good price, they were almost given away. In other cases they were leased for very long periods of time at a low rental. Sometimes the money that came from the sale or the lease of school lands was not used for education at all. One of the most generous gifts ever made for education failed to yield the largest benefits chiefly because the people did not take the proper care of their funds.

And so in all the Middle Western states, as in New England, the struggle for tax-supported schools had to be carried on. As in the East, the people seemed sometimes not to care very much whether their children could go to school or not. The " educated man " was not popular, for the rough work of conquering the wilderness seemed to demand brawn and muscle rather than " book learning." Although the state constitution of Indiana which was adopted in 1816 declared that there should be a complete system of public schools and colleges, little was done for thirty years to carry out its terms. Even then there was a hard struggle like the one that had been waged by Horace Mann in Massachusetts.

Across the border in Illinois popular education did not fare any better. The constitution of the state which was drawn up in 1818 did not contain a single word about education or public schools. Indeed, the elementary schools of Illinois were in a wretched condition until the middle of the century when a wave of educational reform struck the state. In Missouri the movement for free schools did not come until after 1865.

Conditions in the South. The South in general did little to encourage free schools before the Civil War, although some progress was made by certain of the states. The merchants in the towns and cities could depend upon private schools, while the planters could employ tutors for their children. The more prosperous sections had academies for boys and girls and boasted of some of the finest private libraries in the country; but the white population of the upland and mountain districts was too poor to support schools. Since there was little immigration from Europe, the need of free public schools for teaching English to the foreign born was not so keenly felt as in the North.

II. HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES; THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

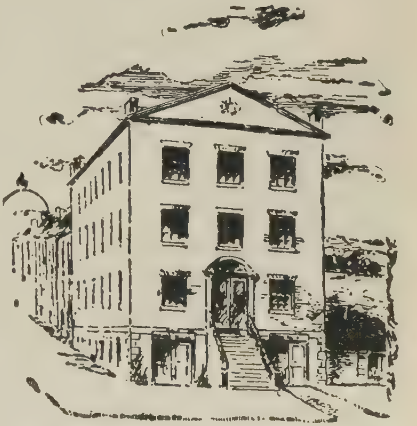
The Development of Secondary Education. *The Academies.* Before the Revolution a new type of secondary school known as the *academy* had appeared in many towns. It was different from the old Latin grammar school in which Greek and Latin were the chief studies, and which was intended only to prepare boys for college. The academy laid more emphasis upon such subjects as English, mathematics, drawing, and the natural sciences. The academies were not public schools supported by taxation, but they were somewhat more democratic than the older Latin grammar schools. They were attended largely by the children of fairly well-to-do merchants and farmers, who could afford to pay the tuition fees and the board and lodging of their children.

After the Revolution these academies increased in number. Finally they took the places of almost all the Latin grammar schools, especially after they also began to prepare students for college.

The Beginnings of the Public High School. About 1820 a demand arose for secondary schools of another kind. This demand was for a public school to prepare children for the work of life rather than for college and open to all without cost.

In 1821 such a school was established in Boston by the public school board acting for the people of that city. In 1825 a somewhat similar school was founded in New York City. These were the first American public high schools.

High schools in the beginning were not connected with the lower, or elementary, schools as our present-day high schools are. That is, children were not "graduated" from the elementary school and then sent on to the high school. The grading system, indeed, was unknown as yet. The high schools were open to boys who had completed certain studies. They kept the boys for four or five years, giving them work in English, mathematics, drawing, surveying, navigation, bookkeeping, and similar "practical" studies. As a rule they did not teach Latin or other foreign languages at first, nor did they attempt to prepare pupils for college.



THE ENGLISH CLASSICAL SCHOOL, THE FIRST HIGH SCHOOL IN BOSTON, ESTABLISHED IN 1821

The idea of the public high school spread very slowly. The battle for getting support from public taxes had to be fought again. Many who favored free elementary schools still thought that only such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history should be taught at public expense. By 1860 there were probably not more than one hundred public high schools in the country. The private academy still prevailed as the leading type of secondary school.

Higher Education. While the public schools were being created, colleges were increasing in number. The different religious sects needed schools to train young men for the ministry. Their colleges, once established, came to attract students who were not looking forward to the ministry at all, but who desired a broad general education.

The University of Virginia

The Beginnings of the State University. The idea of free, tax-supported education also reached the colleges and universities. Leaders came to believe that education in all its branches should be free and open to everybody. The ideal had appeared in the Land Ordinance of 1785, which provided a grant of land for a public college in each of the states to be carved out of the Northwest Territory. This same ideal is found in the grand plan of Thomas Jefferson, for Virginia — a complete educational system, including elementary schools, high schools, and finally a state university.

Some of the state universities of the South were opened very early in the country's history: North Carolina, 1795; Georgia, 1801; South Carolina, 1804. In the Middle West, Ohio in 1802 and Indiana in 1824 led the way. The first of the state universities to attain a wide reputation was the University of Michigan, which was planned in 1817 but not opened until 1841.

The Education of Girls and Women. So far we have spoken of education as if it concerned boys and girls alike. As a matter of fact the education of girls and women lagged far behind that of boys and men. In colonial times, only to the lowest elementary schools were girls freely admitted. The grammar schools and the academies which prepared boys for college or for business were closed to girls. In the early part of the nineteenth century a serious writer claimed: "All a girl needs to know is enough to reckon how much she will have to spend to buy a peck of potatoes in case she becomes a widow." As such opinions were widely held, all the colleges remained closed to women.

Higher Education of Women. Barred from the grammar schools, the academies, and even the few public high schools, girls turned to "female" academies and seminaries, which began to spring up all over the country. In 1833 Oberlin College did a daring thing in opening its doors to women; in 1847 it graduated Lucy Stone who, as we have said, became one of the leading champions of higher education and equal political rights for women. In 1853 Horace Mann, on being called to the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio, invited women to come and share the advantages offered to men. These were striking exceptions. By 1860 there were only four or five colleges open to women. Even the state universities, supported by taxation, did not admit them.

The Influence of the Early Textbooks. No account of American education in the first half of the nineteenth century would be complete without at least a brief reference to certain textbooks and the men who wrote them. In a great many places almost the only books, except the Bible, were the textbooks used in the schools. At a time when only a few teachers were trained for their work, and when some were almost as ignorant as their pupils, the textbook was almost the only source of learning.

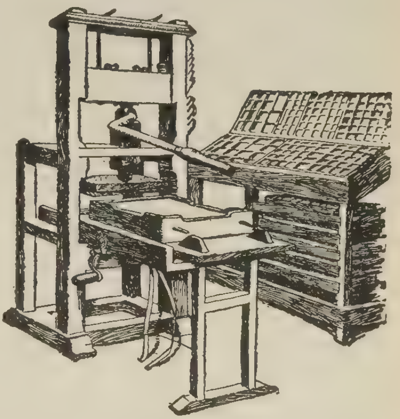
Noah Webster, " Peter Parley," and William H. McGuffey. Soon after the Revolution, Noah Webster published his famous " blue-backed " *American Spelling Book,* which was used all over the country for many years. It is said that more than a hundred million copies have been printed and sold. This book was a combined " speller " and " reader."

Samuel G. Goodrich wrote storybooks for children as well as textbooks for the schools. He was the author of some of the earliest texts in geography and history. His pen name, " Peter Parley," was known to millions of boys and girls up to, and even after, the time of the Civil War, although he did most of his work early in the century.

The textbook writer who probably had the widest and best influence, however, was William H. McGuffey. Knowing well how few good books there were in most communities, McGuffey set himself the task of selecting from the best writers pieces of real literature. These he used with classes of children until he found what they liked the best and got the most from. Then he printed these proved and tested selections in the famous McGuffey Readers, which came to be used in almost every school in the land. It would be hard to imagine how great an influence these books have had in forming the character of the American people. There are men and women living to-day who recall their lessons from the McGuffey Readers as among the great events of their early lives.

III. THE NEWSPAPERS

The Colonial Press. The history of the press and the history of the schools run parallel. The printing press was first regarded as a powerful ally of the schools in the spread of religious doctrines. In 1639, within ten years after the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, a printing press was set up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The next year the first book published on American soil, the "Bay Psalm Book," was issued.



KIND OF PRINTING PRESS USED BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

For a long time printing was confined mainly to religious works, but in 1690 a newspaper appeared in Boston, bearing the curious title of *Publick Occurrences both Foreign and Domestick.* It was regarded with so much alarm that its publication was promptly stopped by the government. Fourteen years later, in 1704, a publisher brought forth a second paper, *The Boston News-Letter*, a little sheet of four small pages, the first regular newspaper in America. The oldest newspaper in North America which has continued without a break or change of name is the *New Hampshire Gazette*, a paper started on its career in 1756. At the opening of the Revolution there were thirty-seven newspapers in the colonies with a combined circulation of five thousand among three million people. It was not until 1784 that the first daily, the *American Daily Advertiser*, was founded in Philadelphia.

Only three hundred copies of the *Boston News-Letter* were printed each week. The type was set by hand, and the printing was done on a hand press which printed one sheet at a time. By the hardest labor only two or three hundred copies an hour could be printed.

There was little news in the papers. The editors assumed that everyone knew what was going on in the local community, and they depended upon foreign newspapers and private letters for information about outside affairs. Sometimes, however, there were startling " sensations " as in 1704, when the *Boston News-Letter* described in detail the execution of six pirates.

The Royal Governors Oppose the Freedom of the Press. Small as these papers were, they passed from hand to hand and were widely read ; consequently the royal officers in the colonies objected to their saying anything about political matters. In New York, for example, a publisher, Peter Zenger, was imprisoned in 1735 for criticizing the governor, and lawyers who agreed to defend him lost their licenses permitting them to practice law. When the trial was held, a lawyer from Philadelphia, Andrew Hamilton, was called to defend him. There was great excitement during the trial, as Hamilton declared in his speech to the jury : " It is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone, that the jury is now trying. It is the cause of liberty ! " A verdict of " Not guilty " from the jury caused public rejoicing. In Virginia the one newspaper seems to have been controlled by the royal governor. The printer would not publish anything that displeased the governor. Jefferson said in 1766 that in order to get a public discussion of disputes with Great Britain it was necessary to found another paper.

The Influence of the Colonial Press on the Revolution. The royal officers were correct in thinking that the newspapers would stir up discontent with the English government. The feeling against Great Britain on the eve of the War for Independence was strongest in the news centers: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburg, and Charleston. In the newspaper offices eager young patriots wrote appeals to their countrymen to resist Great Britain. The editors in each town copied extensively from the newspapers published in other places. In this way the news of the revolutionary movement was spread broadcast and helped to create a national feeling by enabling the citizens in every part to know what was going on in the most distant places.

Growth of Newspapers after the Revolution. After the Revolution the number of newspapers rapidly increased. With the adoption of the Constitution and the growth of the two political parties, Federalists and Republicans (p. 211), the discussion of political issues became lively. Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury and a leading Federalist, raised money among his party friends to support the *United States Gazette.* Jefferson, Secretary of State, gave his support to the Republican paper, *The National Gazette.* In a little while party papers appeared everywhere, abusing one another and public officers who held opposite views.

Newspaper Development in the Nineteenth Century. It would be impossible to record here the marvelous growth of newspapers during the first half of the nineteenth century, but some of the reasons for their development may be briefly summarized:

1. The railway and later the telegraph helped immensely in collecting news.

2. As the cities grew in size and business increased, the newspapers secured more and more advertisements; thus they were able to reduce their subscription prices. In 1833

the *New York Sun* startled the newspaper world by issuing a penny daily. That price enabled everyone to have his newspaper every day if he wished.

3. Free public education made it possible for the humblest to read.

4. There appeared a number of newspapers of national influence. One of these was the *New York Tribune*, founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley. Daily and weekly editions were published. Thousands of farmers in the East and the West relied upon the *Tribune* for their national news and their political opinions.

5. About 1850 in all the larger newspaper offices a rapid rotary printing-press driven by steam took the place of the old-fashioned hand press. Instead of two or three hundred copies an hour publishers could then turn out several thousand copies an hour.

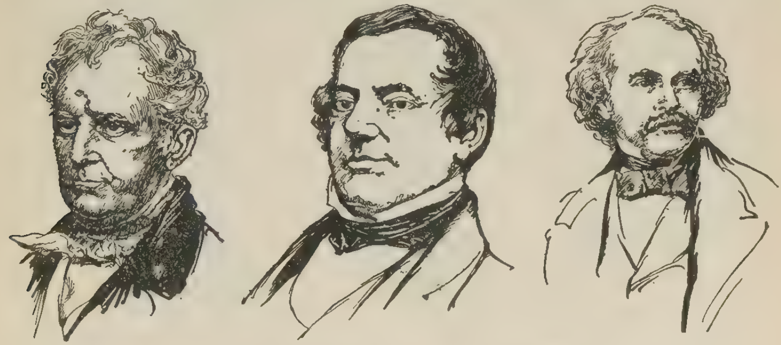
6. In order to encourage the reading of newspapers, the government made a very low postage rate for printed material — even less than the actual cost of carrying the papers.

IV. Magazines and Books

The Magazines. Although the popular magazine with its circulation of millions belongs to our own day, the beginnings of such periodicals run back beyond the Revolution. Before the end of the eighteenth century there were at least forty magazines, registers, reviews, " museums," and " repositories of knowledge." They printed articles on music, poetry, literature, and political questions.

Among the most noted of the early magazines was the *North American Review* which was established in 1815. It has continued to the present day. Twelve years later the first magazine for women alone, the *Ladies' Magazine*, was founded. In connection with the illustration of women's magazines the art of steel engraving was highly developed. It was the pictures that made magazines popular.

The Development of the Novel. *Early American Novels.* The earliest American writers of romance closely imitated European writers. Even when they did lay the scenes of their stories in this country, they brought in Old World characters — aristocratic gentlemen and ladies of fashion. Neither here nor in England was it thought that America could supply materials for stories and tales. There were no palaces, no lordly knights, no giants or ogres. American life was hard and practical, and even the most fanciful did not think that interesting stories could be written about the doings of common people. James K. Paulding (1779–1860) wrote a novel, *The Backwoodsman*, dealing with American life on the frontier, but it was not widely read. Courage and a new kind of skill and imagination were needed to create a truly American story.

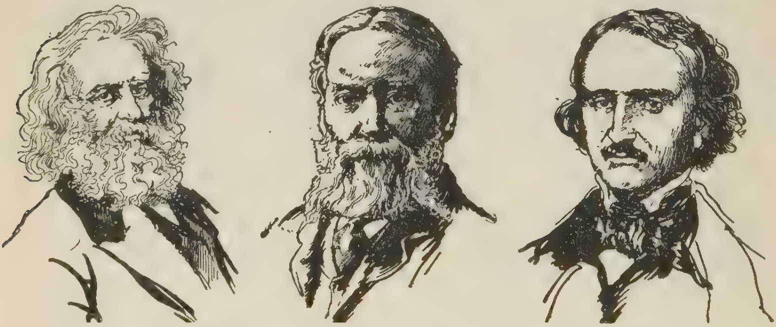


COOPER, IRVING, AND HAWTHORNE

Cooper, Irving, and Hawthorne. During the years 1820 to 1840, a great change came in American writing. American authors turned to subjects and stories from American life, and they succeeded in writing so well that they won high praise in foreign lands as well as at home. In 1821 James

Fenimore Cooper published *The Spy*, a tale of the American Revolution. This he followed with many interesting stories about soldiers, sailors, and Indians. Washington Irving laid the scenes of *Rip Van Winkle* and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* in the Catskill Mountains and the Hudson Valley. Nathaniel Hawthorne chose New England as the setting for *The House of the Seven Gables* and other stories. Harriet Beecher Stowe took the burning issue of slavery as the theme of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Poetry. Most of the poetry of this period was given to the country by New England. In some of it, such as "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and the "Courtship of Miles Standish" by Longfellow, American romances were chosen. In some of it the voice of the reformer was heard. James Russell Lowell in *The Biglow Papers* sharply criticized the government for waging the Mexican War. John Greenleaf Whittier condemned slavery and preached the causes of abolition and of woman suffrage. William Cullen Bryant won high praise both in America and in Europe by his "Thanatopsis," written while he was a youth not yet eighteen.



LONGFELLOW, LOWELL, AND POE

Nor was the voice of the South silent. Edgar Allan Poe's poetry equalled his prose stories. Some of the best critics of England and France placed him first among the writers of America. Paul Hamilton Hayne of South Carolina, though by no means as great as Poe, wrote verses of real worth. A young soldier in the Southern army, Sidney Lanier of Georgia, turned to poetry after the Civil War and wrote lines that " rank close upon the best achievements of American song."

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *popular education, universal education, religious doctrine, illiterate, illiteracy, elementary school, the masses, the Monitorial system, normal school, secondary education, academy, public high school, higher education, state university, the press, freedom of the press, the novel.*

I. What was the chief reason for the establishment of schools in early colonial times? Why did the growth of different religious denominations lead away from religious teaching in the public schools? What effect did immigration from Europe have upon education? What is meant by "universal" education? How did Lancaster and Bell plan to make elementary education universal? What, in your opinion, would be some of the disadvantages of schools organized on their plan? Who were some of the important leaders in the movement for free, tax-supported schools? What aid was given by the federal government for the support of schools in the Western country? Why was this aid not sufficient for the schools? Why did education develop more slowly in the South than in the North and the West?

II. How did the academies differ from our present high schools? Why did the high schools grow so slowly at first? How were the early colleges supported? What opportunities did girls and women have for education in colonial times? In the early days of the republic? What causes led to a recognition of the need of education for women as well as men?

III. Why did the colonial governors often oppose the development of newspapers? What influence did the newspapers have upon the struggle for independence? To-day each newspaper usually represents some political party. When did this practice begin? What causes led to the rapid development of newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century?

IV. Name some of the early magazines. Why were novels and poems dealing with American life so slow to appear? Who were the important American writers of novels and poems in the first half of the nineteenth century?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Find out how much it costs to maintain the public schools of your town or city for a year, including salaries for superintendent, principals, teachers, and other school employees, and the cost of fuel and other supplies. Divide the total cost by the number of pupils enrolled in the schools each year in order to find how much is spent for each pupil. Where does the money for the support of your schools come from?

2. Prepare a brief account of the work of Horace Mann.

See Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 250–257.

3. Each pupil should have a copy of a newspaper. Suppose that one hundred years from now a person living in your community found that same newspaper among some old letters and papers. From this one copy what would he be able to learn about American life of to-day?

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION (CHAPTERS XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX)

I. Political and commercial development between 1815 and 1845

- *A*. Important political and business issues of the period
    - 1. The protective tariff
    - 2. The growth of manufacturing
    - 3. Speculation and panic
- *B*. Political leadership
    - 1. The administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams

        2. Andrew Jackson's administration: the United States Bank; internal improvements and public lands
        3. Webster, Hayne, and Clay
    - *C*. The rise of the Whig party
        1. The campaign of 1840; Harrison and Tyler
        2. Tyler's unpopularity; Webster-Ashburton Treaty

II. The settlement of the territory west of the Mississippi
    - *A*. Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota
    - *B*. The Texas problem: the admission of Texas

III. The war with Mexico: cause, campaigns, and terms of peace

IV. The settlement of the Far Western country
    - *A*. Oregon, California, and Utah
    - *B*. Summary of the Far Western movement

V. The Industrial Revolution
    - *A*. The work of the inventors: Watt, Arkwright, Hargreaves, Cartwright, Whitney
    - *B*. The development of manufacturing in America
        1. The cotton industry
        2. The woolen industry
        3. The invention of the sewing machine
        4. The iron industry: development in Pennsylvania
    - *C*. The development of farm machinery
    - *D*. Means of transportation and communication
        1. Canals and portages
        2. The steamboat
        3. The railroad
        4. The express business
        5. The telegraph; the Atlantic cable
        6. Ocean navigation

VI. The effect of the Industrial Revolution upon American life
    - *A*. Changes in working conditions; the wage question
    - *B*. Women in the factories; child labor

- *C.* Immigration stimulated to bring new supply of labor
- *D.* The labor movement; foreign-born workers
- *E.* The growth of the cities; city government
- *F.* Foreign trade
- *G.* The South and the Industrial Revolution

VII. The growth of political democracy

- *A.* The struggle for manhood suffrage
- *B.* The struggle for women's rights

VIII. The development of popular education

- *A.* The religious character and purpose of colonial schools
- *B.* The removal of the schools from church control
- *C.* The development of free elementary schools
- *D.* The development of high schools
- *E.* The development of higher education; state universities
- *F.* The education of girls and women
- *G.* The development of the newspapers, magazines, and political pamphlets
- *H.* The early American novels; American poetry

Important names:

Presidents: James Monroe (1817–1825), John Quincy Adams (1825–1829), Andrew Jackson (1829–1837), Martin Van Buren (1837–1841), William Henry Harrison and John Tyler (1841–1845), and James K. Polk (1845–1849)

Other Political Leaders: Clay, Webster, Calhoun

Pioneers: Stephen F. Austin, Marcus Whitman, Brigham Young

Inventors: Watt, Arkwright, Cartwright, Whitney, Fulton, Howe, McCormick, and Morse

Educational Leaders: Mann, Barnard, Clinton, Mary Lyon, and Emma Willard

Labor Leaders: Robert Dale Owen and Frances Wright

Writers: Paine, Cooper, Irving, Hawthorne, Poe, Bryant, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Lanier, and Harriet Beecher Stowe

Military Leaders: Houston, Taylor, and Scott

Important date: 1846–1848 (Mexican War)

PART FIVE

THE SLAVERY PROBLEM, THE CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE NEW SOUTH

TIME CHART — Chapters XXI to XXIII

	Growth of the Slavery Issue
1619	Introduction of Slavery in America
1787	Slavery compromises in the Constitution
1780–1827	Abolished in Northern States
1787	Northwest Territory
1820	Missouri Compromise
1831	*The Liberator*
1846	Wilmot Proviso
1850	Compromise of 1850
1852	*Uncle Tom's Cabin*
1854	Kansas-Nebraska Act —— Formation of Republican Party
1857	Dred Scott Decision
1858	Lincoln-Douglas Debates
1859	John Brown's Raid
1860	Tariff and Homestead issues
	Election of Lincoln (Nov.) —— Secession of South Carolina (Dec.)
1861	Admission of Kansas
	Secession of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas
	Confederate States of America (Feb.)
	Crittenden's attempted compromise (March)

	The Civil War
1861	Fall of Fort Sumter (April 12)
	Lincoln's call for volunteers (April 15)
	Secession of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia
	Blockade of Southern ports —— Trent Affair
	Attack on 6th Mass. Regiment in Baltimore (April 19)
	Battle of Bull Run (July 16)
1862	Grant's Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson (Feb.)
	Battle of Pea Ridge (March)
	The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* (March 9)
	Battle of Shiloh (April 6 and 7) —— Capture of New Orleans (Apr. 25)
	Seven Days' Battle (June 26–July 2)
	Battle of Fredericksburg (Dec.)
	Battle of Murfreesboro (Dec. 31–Jan. 2)
1863	Emancipation Proclamation (Jan. 1)
	Federal Conscription Law
	Battle of Chancellorsville (May) —— Lee's Invasion of the North (May)
	Admission of West Virginia (June 9)
	Battle of Gettysburg (July 1, 2, 3)
	Fall of Vicksburg (July 4) —— Fall of Port Hudson (July 8)
	Fall of Chattanooga (Sept. 9) —— Battle of Chicamauga (Sept. 20)
	Battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge (Nov. 24, 25)
1864	Battle of the Wilderness (May 5, 6)
	Battle of Spotsylvania Court House (May 8–12)
	Battle of Cold Harbor (June 3)
	Sinking of *Alabama* by *Kearsarge* (June 19)
	Fall of Atlanta (Sept. 2)
	Battle of Winchester (Sept. 19)
	Fall of Savannah (Dec. 1)
1865	Conference at Hampton Roads (Feb.)
	Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House (April 3)
	Assassination of Lincoln (Apr. 14)
	J. E. Johnston's surrender (Apr. 16)

	Reconstruction
1865	Thirteenth Amendment (Dec.)
	Freedmen's Bureau —— Carpet baggers (to 1870)
1868	Trial and acquittal of President Johnson
	Fourteenth Amendment
1870	Inauguration of Grant
	Fifteenth Amendment
	11,000 miles railroads in South
1879	5,000,000 bales output of cotton, or more than 1860
1880	Alabama tenth in pig-iron production
1900	Increase of cotton-spinning mills 12-fold over 1860
1905	1,000,000 wage earners in cotton mills
1910	63,000 miles railroad in South

CHAPTER XXI

THE GREAT POLITICAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH

All during the years of westward expansion and industrial progress a dark cloud hung on the horizon. It grew larger day by day. The storm of the Civil War was approaching. The very changes we have described helped to prepare the way for it by marking the country off into three distinct sections: the manufacturing Northeast, the free farming West, and the planting South. These differences in occupations led to sharp disputes about the tariff, internal improvements, and other matters.

1. The planters of the South demanded free trade with Europe in order that they might easily exchange their cotton, rice, tobacco, and hemp for manufactured goods.

2. The manufacturers of the Northeast, on the other hand, insisted that the government should put a high tax on foreign goods coming into the country in order that they themselves might have a decided advantage in American markets.

3. The free farmers of the West were divided in opinion. At some elections they voted with the South and at others they voted with the Northeast.

As time went on, the feeling between the North and the South became more and more bitter. Attacks finally were made on slavery, the chief source of Southern power.

I. SLAVERY BECOMES A NATIONAL PROBLEM

The Constitution a Compromise on the Question of Slavery. The makers of the Constitution in 1787 fully realized the jealousy between the " commercial " and the " planting " sections of the country. Only by a number of agreements or compromises had they been able to bring the two together into the Union. Although the word slavery is not used in the Constitution,[1] they agreed, as we have seen :

(1) That the importation of slaves from abroad should not be forbidden before 1808 (Art. I, Sec. 9, Par. 1) ;

(2) that the slave states should be given representation in the House of Representatives for three fifths of their slaves (Art. I, Sec. 2, Par. 3) ;

(3) that slaves escaping into other states should be returned to their masters when properly claimed (Art. IV, Sec. 2, Par. 3) ;

(4) that the consent of two thirds of the senators should be necessary for treaties (Art. II, Sec. 2, Par. 2). Thus commercial treaties could not be made with other nations without the approval of at least some Southern Senators.

With slavery in the states the framers of the Constitution did not interfere at all, leaving each state to decide the matter as it saw fit.

Many of the " Fathers " Opposed Slavery. Several of the patriots who framed the Constitution were strongly opposed to slavery, but they thought the Union so important that it should not be put in danger by a quarrel over slavery itself. No one condemned slavery more vigorously than some of the leading men of Virginia. Washington, for example, disliked it and provided in his will that his own slaves should be set free after the death of his wife. George Mason, a Virginia member of the Convention, used very strong words on the subject, saying: " Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. Slaves prevent the immigration of whites." Jefferson even went so far as to introduce into the Virginia Legislature a bill providing for the gradual freeing or emancipation of slaves.

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[1] Look up the references in the Constitution and note how it is written so as to avoid using the word *slavery*.

Northern States Abolish Slavery. The early opponents of slavery were much encouraged by the fact that the Northern states had begun to abolish it within a few years after the Declaration of Independence. The Massachusetts constitution of 1780 declared all men to be born free and equal; this was held to put an end to slavery in that state. In the same year Pennsylvania provided for "gradual abolition."[1] This usually meant that all children of slave parents born after a certain date were to be free. While the older negroes remained slaves there would gradually grow up a group of free negroes. New York in 1799 passed a law for gradual abolition; and in 1827 the state legislature declared all slavery abolished. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey followed the example of these states. In Virginia and Kentucky there was some talk of abolition, and many slave owners joined an African Colonization Society founded in 1816 to assist free negroes in returning to Africa.

Arguments for Slavery in the South. Nevertheless there were many citizens who, from the very first, were bitterly opposed to the abolition of slavery. The delegates of South Carolina to the Constitutional Convention of 1787 declared that the plantations of their state could not be carried on without slavery. They also objected to stopping the importation of slaves, because the number of deaths in the rice-growing sections made it necessary for planters to have new slaves constantly. It is a mistake to say, therefore, that the makers of the Constitution were all agreed that slavery was an evil. Many worthy people, particularly from the far South, thought it not only necessary for the planters, but, on the whole, good for the negroes.

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[1] *Abolition* means the act of destroying or doing away with. It could be used in speaking of doing away with anything, but most frequently in American history it refers to slavery.

Why Slavery Became a National Problem. Most of the American people in the opening years of the nineteenth century probably did not think very much about slavery one way or the other. They were busy with the opening up of the West and Southwest; then came the War of 1812 which lasted for three years; and after that arose the questions of a protective tariff, a national bank, the Monroe Doctrine, and other important political issues. A few Quakers presented a petition against slavery to the first Congress under the Constitution; but most citizens were against bringing slavery into national politics at all. Whenever they did discuss it, they said that it was a matter for the states to settle for themselves.

It was impossible, nevertheless, to keep slavery out of national politics altogether, because it came to the attention of the whole nation in the following ways:

1. When a new state was about to be admitted to the Union, the question arose in Congress whether it should be admitted as a free or a slave state.

2. Whenever new land was acquired or new territories were organized by Congress, the question came up as to whether slavery should be prohibited or permitted. That caused a dispute as to whether Congress ever had the power under the Constitution to abolish or prevent slavery in the territories.

3. Since Congress had full power to govern the District

of Columbia, abolitionists[1] demanded that it should at all events abolish slavery at the national capital.

4. The Constitution provided that slaves escaping from their masters into other states should be given up on claim of their owners. On this account there arose a question as to how far the federal government should help to return runaway slaves to their owners. (See Art. IV, Sec. 2.)

5. Finally the extreme abolitionists became more earnest and kept up their demands that the slaves should be set free immediately, notwithstanding the fact that the Constitution recognized slavery in Southern states as lawful. Some of them even said that the free states should withdraw from what they called an "unholy union" with slave states.

The Situation in 1820. Did Congress have the power to prohibit slavery in any territory owned by the United States? That question arose early when Congress was planning the government of the lands beyond the Allegheny Mountains. It was agreed that Congress had full authority. The Northwest Territory was declared free by the famous Ordinance of 1787 (p. 192);[2] as a result the states afterward established therein — Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin — became free states. On the other hand, the territory to the south of the Ohio River became slave territory. Kentucky, which had been a part of Virginia, was admitted to the Union in 1792 as a slave state. Tennessee came in four years later on the same terms. The territory between Georgia and the Mississippi River was declared to be slave territory; and when Mississippi and Alabama were admitted to statehood in 1817 and 1819 respectively, slavery was continued there.

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[1] Those who believed in doing away with slavery.

[2] The Ordinance was afterwards approved by the first Congress under the Constitution, and thus the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the territories was confirmed by the new government.

Accordingly in 1820 there were in the Union eleven free states and eleven slave states:

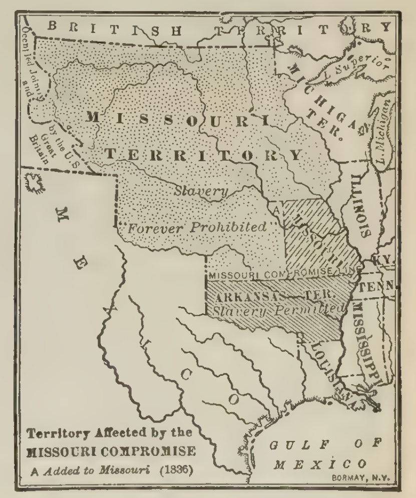
Free States	Slave States
Original	
New Hampshire	Delaware
Massachusetts	Maryland
Connecticut	Virginia
Rhode Island	North Carolina
New York	South Carolina
New Jersey	Georgia
Pennsylvania	
New	
Vermont	Kentucky
Ohio	Tennessee
Indiana	Alabama
Illinois	Mississippi
	Louisiana

The Missouri Compromise. So things stood when the people of Missouri asked for the right to form a state. There were many slaves in Missouri, because the lands had been taken up largely by settlers from Southern states, who had brought slaves with them (pp. 258, 289). Their right to do this had not been questioned. When they sought admission to the Union they thought as a matter of course that Missouri would be a slave state. It happened, however, that there were many men in Congress, who wished, if possible, to stop the spread of slavery beyond the Mississippi. Neither side would give way to the other.

This situation might have lasted for years, because Missouri could not get into the Union without the consent of both houses of Congress. One half of the Senators were from slave states, and they could prevent the Senate from voting for abolition in Missouri. On the other hand a majority of the House of Representatives were from Northern states, and they could keep Missouri with slavery out of the Union as long as they pleased.

The Admission of Maine. Just at that time, however, Maine, once a part of Massachusetts, was seeking admission to the Union. The friends of slavery would not admit a new free state unless the friends of freedom would admit a slave state. A compromise was the only way out. So in 1820 Missouri was admitted with slavery and Maine with freedom. The Union now contained twelve free states and twelve slave states.

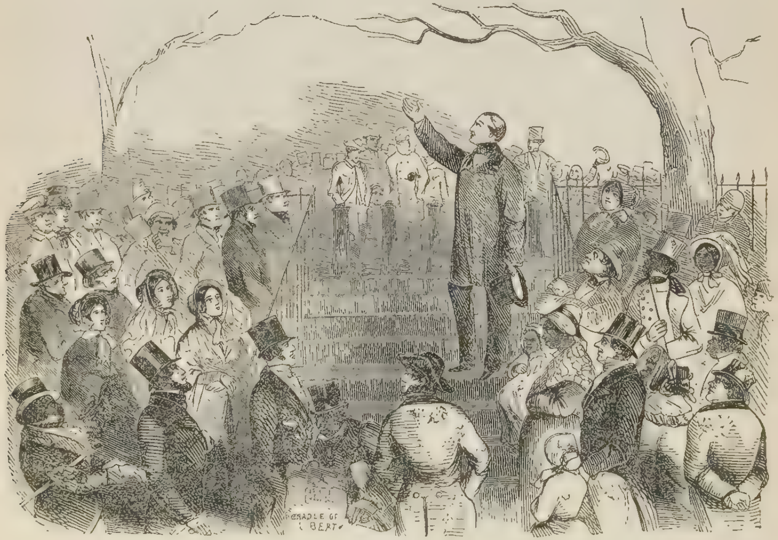
Other Features of the Compromise. At the same time it was agreed that the remainder of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′ should be forever free. It was understood that south of that line slavery would continue. This was really a great gain for the friends of freedom, because the area won for liberty was several times the size of the region left for slavery. Moreover the principle was once more approved that Congress could abolish slavery in the territories belonging to the United States. On the whole, therefore, the Northern states were the victors in the contest, although some declared that any favor to slavery was in fact a defeat.


BRITISH TERRITORY
Occupied Jointly by the U.S. and Great Britain
MISSOURI TERRITORY
Slavery "Forever Prohibited"
MICHIGAN TER.
L. Superior
L. Michigan
ILLINOIS
A
MISSOURI
KY.
TENN.
MISSOURI COMPROMISE LINE
ARKANSAS TER.
Slavery Permitted
MISSISSIPPI
LOUISIANA
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
Territory Affected by the MISSOURI COMPROMISE
A Added to Missouri (1836)
BORMAY, N.Y.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

II. THE ABOLITION MOVEMENT

Garrison and *The Liberator*. For a while after the Missouri Compromise very little was heard in national politics about slavery. Many people thought the question settled forever. But it was very far from settled. Within a few years a number of Northern men and women began to work for the complete abolition of slavery throughout the Union. Some of them proposed that the slaves be freed gradually and that owners be paid for their property. Others, more extreme and more impatient, called for immediate abolition of slavery without any payment whatever. Among the extremists, or radicals, was William Lloyd Garrison, who in 1831 began to publish in Boston *The Liberator*, a paper bearing at its head the motto: "Our country is the world — our countrymen, all mankind."



From an old print

Antislavery Meeting on the Boston Common

For years Garrison wrote and spoke against slavery, using bitter words against slave owners and all who favored the Southern cause. He openly criticized the Constitution of the United States and declared that he would rather see the

Union broken up than to remain a citizen of a slave nation. He and his followers held public meetings and wrote pamphlets and articles against slavery. They sent their publications all over the South as well as the North. They got up petitions against slavery in the District of Columbia, in the territories, and in the Southern states, and they sent these petitions to Congress. Annoyed by the many protests it received, the House of Representatives for several years refused to have read at its meetings any antislavery petitions. This " gag rule " was finally dropped in 1844.

Opposition to the Abolitionists. The work of the abolitionists quickly raised opposition, North and South. The mass of the people did not like to be disturbed by any trouble over slavery. Merchants with a large Southern trade did not want to have business relations upset by abolitionists. Angry crowds gathered wherever the abolitionists tried to hold meetings. Garrison himself was mobbed in the streets of Boston in 1835. Two years later Lovejoy, a mild-mannered antislavery leader, was killed at Alton, Illinois, and his printing press was broken to pieces as a warning to all men who attacked slavery.

The Southern people were especially angry because they believed the attacks upon them unfair and unjust. They were really alarmed in 1831, when some slaves in Virginia, led by Nat Turner, a slave preacher, killed a number of white men, women, and children. They declared that the abolitionists were simply telling slaves to murder their masters. They protested with great vigor against every demand of the abolitionists. They demanded that abolition papers be refused permission to use the United States mails.

Slavery Grows in Spite of Opposition. In spite of all the work for abolition the slaveholders were to all appearances growing more and more powerful. The new machinery for spinning and weaving (pp. 313 ff.) created such a demand for cotton in England and New England that the South could hardly supply it. In 1793, the year in which Whitney patented his cotton gin, less than two hundred thousand pounds of cotton was sent out of the United States to Europe. Within three years the shipments had risen to six million pounds. By 1850 cotton made up more than one half of the total value of all the exports from the United States. No wonder the Southern leaders were saying "Cotton is King!"

The demand for laborers to till the fields increased and the number of slaves multiplied. In 1790 there were about 700,000 slaves in the United States; forty years later the number had grown to 2,000,000; and in 1860 there were 3,954,000, valued at more than two billion dollars. In the older states slave owners began to raise slaves to sell in the Southwest, and thousands were smuggled into the country from Africa in spite of the law.

The Slaveholders a Small Group. At the middle of the nineteenth century only about one white man in five or six in the South owned slaves. Nevertheless, the slave owners, owing to their great wealth and power, were the leaders in Southern affairs. The influence of the South in the government at Washington was also strengthened by the fact that the Constitution allowed the South to count three fifths of its slaves as persons when representatives in the House were allotted them in proportion to their population although the slaves, of course, could not vote or have representatives of their own in Congress. Thus a Southern state had more representatives in the lower house of Congress than a Northern state with the same number of voters.

Calhoun's Defense of Slavery. As the South grew richer and richer from cotton, Southern leaders became more and more impatient with the abolitionists. There now sprang up a new generation of Southern men who began to defend slavery instead of making excuses for it. For instance, Calhoun, Senator from South Carolina, said that negro slavery, far from being an evil, was a good, " a perfect good," the only possible relation that could exist between the white race and the black. He argued (1) that the slaves were taken away from barbarism in Africa and brought up to a certain degree of civilization in the South; (2) that they were looked after in their sickness and old age by kind masters; and (3) that they were not usually so badly treated as were workmen in mills and factories. The modern free workingman, he said, was much worse off than the slave, because he had to work for long hours and low wages in factories; in case of sickness or accident his family were in distress; and in his old age he was turned out to die or live in a poorhouse, because he was no longer valuable to his employer. Thus the Southern leaders argued with the abolitionists. They turned on their critics and condemned the wage system of the North as more cruel to the workers than the slave system of the South. Furthermore they urged that discontented workmen would be far more dangerous than slaves to the country as a whole.

III. The Compromise of 1850

The Wilmot Proviso. There was ill feeling all over the country when at the time of the Mexican War the question arose as to what should be done with the territory that might be acquired. A quarrel over slavery again broke out in Congress. David Wilmot, a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania during the war, in 1846, proposed that any territory taken from Mexico should be free; that slavery should be entirely forbidden in it, as it had been in the Northwest Territory. The slave owners on their part were in no mood to give up their rights in the territory taken from Mexico. They intended to make it slave territory and to increase the number of slave states. The Wilmot Proviso, as it was called failed to become a law.

California Asks Admission. Having defeated Wilmot's measure, slave owners were much put out when California asked to come into the Union as a free state (p. 307). President Taylor, the hero of the Mexican War, who had been elected as the Whig candidate in 1848, laid before Congress in 1850 the request of California. Northern men were generally in favor of a free California; Southern leaders were opposed to it.

Varying Opinions. Squatter Sovereignty. At that time the country was roughly divided into five groups:

(1) A small number of abolitionists were bent on destroying slavery and were ready to work until this goal was reached.

(2) A small group of Southerners, equally determined on the other side, declared that slavery was a good thing and should be spread over the territories of the West — perhaps all over the United States.

(3) A very large group of Northerners were willing to let slavery alone in the South, but were firmly set against allowing it in the territories or in the new states admitted to the Union north of the Missouri Compromise line (pp. 394–395).

(4) A group of moderate Southerners feared that forcing slavery on all the territories would bring about a war between the North and the South. These men were willing to come to some compromise.

(5) Some people in the North and South believed that voters of each newly settled territory should be permitted to decide whether or not they would have slavery. This last plan, strongly argued by Stephen A. Douglas, was called *squatter sovereignty* because it proposed that the settlers, or *squatters*, in the territories should decide the question for themselves without interference by Congress.

The Compromise of 1850. As a result of the conflict among all these groups another compromise was arranged in 1850, by that master of compromises, Henry Clay of Kentucky. He said that the people of each section would have to give up some of the points in the dispute to prevent war. He was able to bring about the following agreement:

1. California was admitted as a free state.

2. Buying and selling slaves was abolished in the District of Columbia, though slavery itself was continued there.

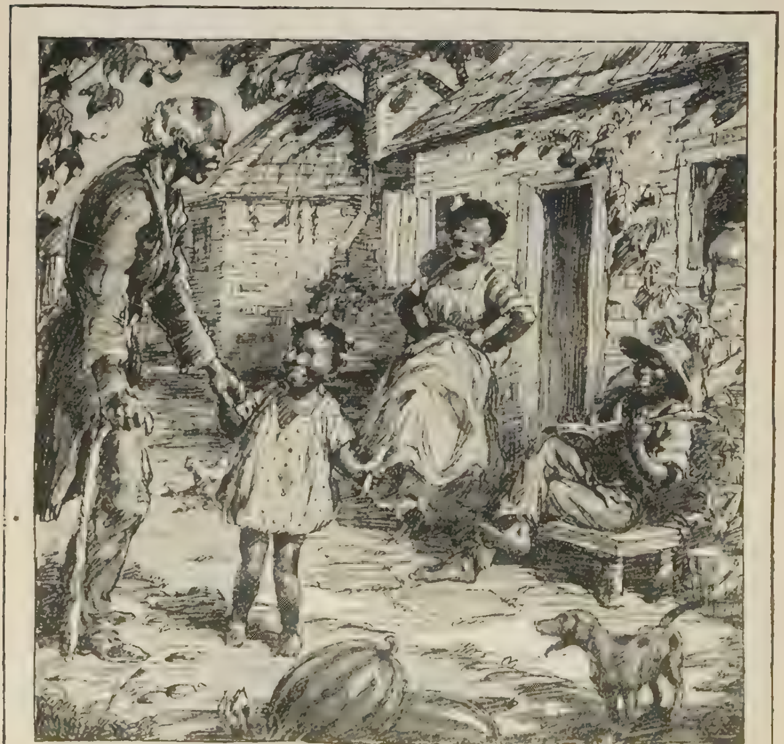
3. The voters of the New Mexico and Utah territories were to be permitted to choose for themselves between freedom and slavery.

4. There was enacted by Congress a strict fugitive slave law under which it became easier for slave owners to catch their runaway slaves in the North and take them home.

Opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. This compromise, arranged by political leaders, failed to bring about "the union of hearts," as Clay had hoped. On the contrary, it made the antislavery people in the North more determined than ever. They were especially angry about the fugitive slave law. Before the passage of that act slave owners, in trying to capture runaway slaves in the North, had been forced to depend upon local sheriffs and constables. Often they could not recover their slaves. Under the new law of 1850 it was provided that United States officers should aid owners in the search for their slaves.

In many a Northern city and village people who had previously thought very little about slavery were now deeply stirred. They saw federal officers capture and handcuff negroes and drive them through the streets on the way south to their former owners. Thousands who had had no strong opinion about slavery became violently opposed to it.

The "Underground Railroad." As time went on, the opponents of slavery started a regular system of smuggling negroes from the South to Canada, where the slaves under British law would be free. They laid out certain routes, known as "underground railroads," really a "hidden means of travel," from village to village. In each place one or two trusted families were selected as guards. Agents were sent into the South to bring slaves into free states. They then guided them at night along these routes, hiding them in the daytime in cellars and garrets at the homes of the keepers of "underground stations."



LIFE AMONG THE NEGROES BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

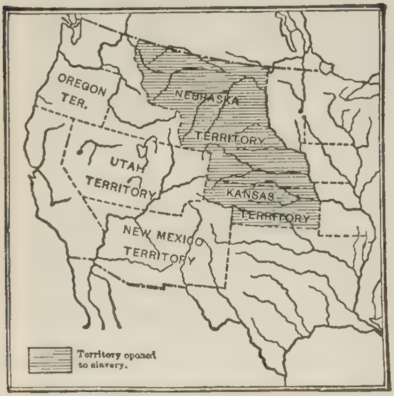
Uncle Tom's Cabin. While this slavery discussion was going on, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe published in 1852 a novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (p. 382), in which she pictured in vivid language the evils of slavery as she saw them. Perhaps nothing stirred the North as much as this moving story. Hundreds of thousands of copies were sold in a short time. The story was made into a play and put on the stage in the cities, towns, and villages of the Northern states. Thus millions of people who did not read serious books or newspapers on the subject began to wonder about slavery. Southern people were also stirred by *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* They said quite truly that it was not a correct picture of slavery. For this reason, they held, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was an insult to the entire South. Thus a mere story added further to the ill will between the North and the South. Undoubtedly it had a great deal to do in bringing on the Civil War.

Antislavery Political Parties. By this time some of the most active antislavery leaders had begun to leave the old political parties — Whigs and Democrats. In 1840 a few of them held a convention and nominated James C. Birney for President, but their candidate received only about seven thousand votes in the election of that year. They named their organization the Liberty party, and with Birney as their candidate again in 1844 they secured sixty-two thousand votes. Four years later they formed the Free Soil party and nominated for President, ex-president Martin Van Buren of New York. This time they polled nearly three hundred thousand votes, cast largely, it seems, by former Northern Democrats who were loyal to the stanch friend of Andrew Jackson (p. 285). In the presidential election of 1852 the Free Soil party suffered a serious loss in strength, for the popular vote for its candidate, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, was only about half that secured in 1848.

IV. The Repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the Consequences

The slavery sympathizers among the Democrats on electing their candidate, Franklin Pierce, in 1852 decided that the danger from the abolitionists was passing away.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act Repeals the Missouri Compromise. Apparently too confident, the Democrats, under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas, took a step in favor of slavery which startled the North. In 1854, by an Act organizing the Kansas and Nebraska territories, they allowed the settlers in those territories to decide whether they wished to have slavery or not. This "Kansas-Nebraska Act" actually repealed (did away with) the Missouri Compromise of 1820, by which it had been agreed that slavery should be prohibited in the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30′ (p. 395).



The Kansas-Nebraska Territory Opened to Slavery in 1854

The North was thoroughly angry. Hundreds of moderate people — Whigs and Democrats alike — were willing to let slavery alone in the states where it already existed, but they said that slave owners were now determined to rule or ruin the whole country. Northern voters began to desert both the Whigs, who refused to take a stand on the slavery question, and the Democrats, who seemed to favor the slaveholders. These deserters from the old parties demanded that the extension of slavery, at least in the territories, be stopped.

The Republican Party Organized. So it came about in 1854 that this new group formed a new organization, called the Republican party. It held its first national convention at Philadelphia in June, 1856, and nominated for President, John C. Frémont, the Western explorer (p. 298). It declared that it was the right and duty of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, and that Kansas must be admitted as a free state. With the creation of the Republican party the Whigs began to go to pieces, and many Democrats who disliked slavery went over to the new party. In the campaign of 1856, however, the Democrats were again victorious. Their candidate, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, was elected President by a large vote.

Border Warfare in Kansas. Having carried the election, the Democrats let the people of Kansas fight out among themselves the question as to whether slavery should be permitted there. They literally did fight — with rifles and knives. Families with their slaves from the South and antislavery men and women from the North rushed to Kansas, each side bent on winning the state. The result amounted to a civil war, usually known as the "Border Warfare." The attention of the whole nation was called to "bleeding Kansas" — and to the failure that resulted when the voters of a territory were allowed to choose between freedom and slavery. Each side set up a state government of its own, for each claimed to be the choice of the people. After a bitter struggle Kansas was finally admitted as a free state in 1861.

The Dred Scott Decision. Although they were defeated in their effort to make Kansas a slave state, the proslavery[1] Democrats won a great victory by a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in March, 1857. Dred Scott, a slave from Missouri, had been taken by his master into territory north of the Missouri Compromise line, where he lived for several years. Scott claimed in the Supreme Court of the United States that residence in this "free territory" made him "free." In deciding the case, Chief Justice Taney declared: (1) that the Missouri Compromise had been null and void from the beginning and the territory had never been free territory; and (2) that Congress had no power under the Constitution to prevent slavery in the territories.

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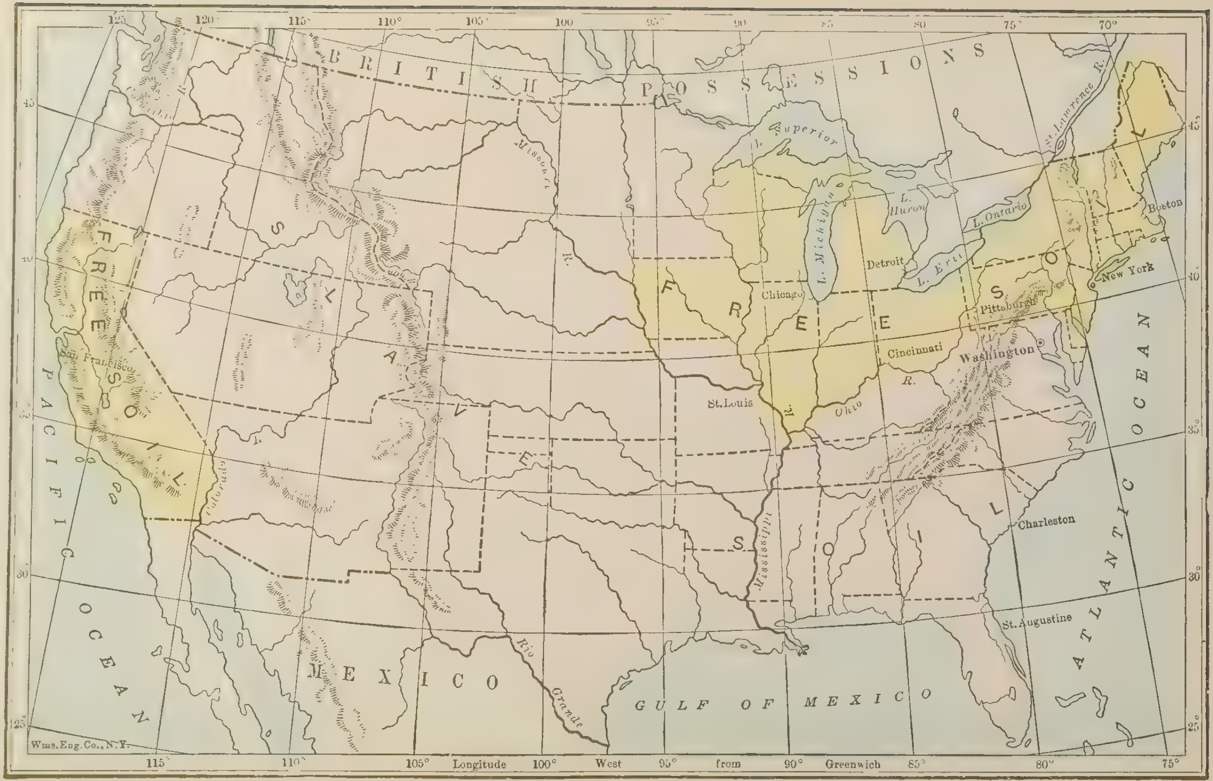
[1] For slavery.

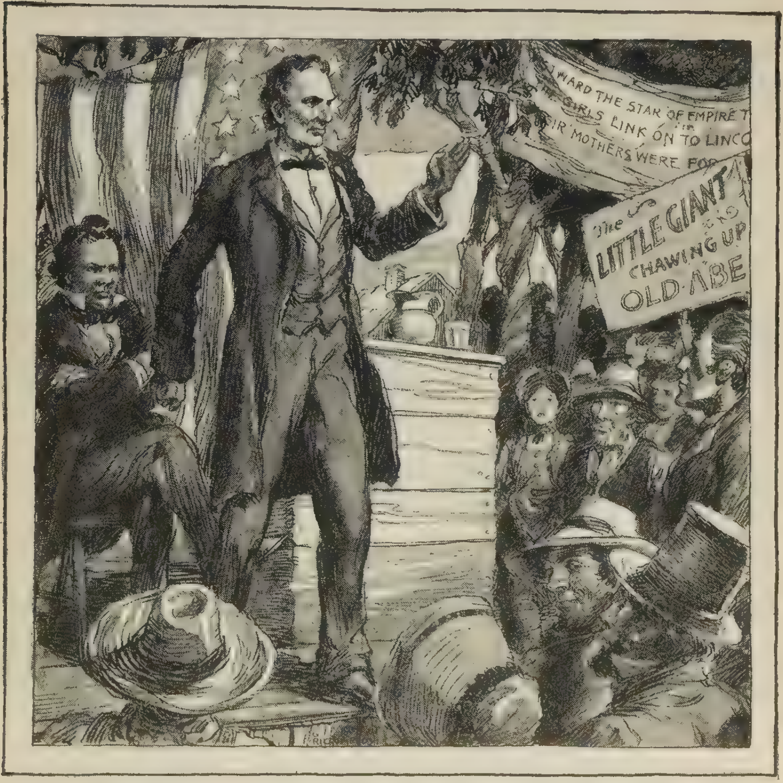
This was a great triumph for slavery. It meant that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories until the Constitution was amended. That was impossible because it required the approval of three fourths of the states to change the Constitution, and there were not so many free states in the Union. Southern leaders and their Northern sympathizers rejoiced. They thought that the Court had put an end to the abolition movement. Democrats rejoiced because the Court had apparently blocked the plan of the new Republican party for abolishing slavery in the territories by act of Congress. Antislavery leaders, on the other hand, were angry at the Court and declared it was nothing but a tool of the slave owners, for five of the nine justices in the Supreme Court were from slave states. They declared that they would continue to work for the prohibition of slavery in the territories in spite of what the Court had said.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. In 1858 Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, candidates in Illinois for the United States Senate, held a series of debates which aroused the whole country. Lincoln took the ground that slavery should be prohibited in the territories and vigorously attacked Douglas's doctrine of squatter sovereignty — allowing the voters of each territory to decide the question for themselves before admission to the union as a state. The Dred Scott decision had declared that Congress, which had the supreme power in governing the territories, could not prevent slavery in them. How then could the *people* of a


BRITISH POSSESSIONS
FREE SOIL
FREE SOIL
SLAVE
SOIL
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
San Francisco
St. Louis
Chicago
Detroit
Cincinnati
Pittsburgh
Washington
New York
Boston
Charleston
St. Augustine
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi
Ohio R.
Colorado
Rio Grande
Longitude West from Greenwich
125°
120°
115°
110°
105°
100°
95°
90°
85°
80°
75°
70°
45
40
35
30
25
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Slave and Free Soil after 1857

territory do it? Lincoln asked. This forced Douglas into a corner. He lamely replied that the people of a territory by "unfriendly" legislation could lawfully drive out slavery.


WARD THE STAR OF EMPIRE T
GIRLS LINK ON TO LINCO
IR MOTHERS WERE FOR
The LITTLE GIANT CHAWING UP OLD ABE

One of the Lincoln-Douglas Debates, Seven of Which Were Held between August 21 and October 15, 1858

Although Douglas won the election, he really lost the debates. The extremists among the Southern leaders were furious with him for saying that slavery could be abolished in a territory by popular action, for thus the Dred Scott decision meant nothing. Lincoln, on the other hand, as a result of his clear and striking statement of the Republican case against slavery in the territories, won fame and friends throughout the North.

John Brown's Raid. The next year a startling event happened. A grim and determined abolitionist, John Brown, with a band of followers went into the South for the purpose of stirring up a slave revolt. During the bloody struggle in Kansas Brown had hurried to the frontier to fight slave owners. By deeds of daring and cruelty he made himself an outlaw on whose head a high price was set. Then he went into Virginia. In October, 1859, with a handful of men he seized the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry. He declared the slaves whom he found there to be free and called upon them to take up arms in defense of their liberty. While fighting desperately, Brown was captured. A few weeks later he was declared guilty of murder and of treason against Virginia and hanged.

HARPER'S FERRY

Like an alarm bell on a still night, John Brown's raid brought the hearts of the American people to their throats. The South had visions of terrible slave uprisings in every community. The North feared that a civil war was at hand. Lincoln and nearly all the Republican leaders condemned Brown's rash deed as the act of a madman. But it strained still more the weakening ties between the North and the South.

V. THE POLITICAL SITUATION ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

The Tariff and Homestead Issues. Though the North was very much excited in 1859, it was by no means certain that the majority of the voters were in favor of abolishing slavery in the territories or even disturbing slavery at all. It seemed to be impossible for the Republicans to win the presidency on the slavery question alone. Luckily for them the Democrats in Congress gave them a second issue by reducing the protective tariff.

In 1857, the year of the Dred Scott decision, Congress under the direction of Southern leaders made a slashing cut in the tariff. This caused much discontent in the Middle Atlantic and Western states, especially Pennsylvania and Ohio. Many people who did not care about slavery at all did care about this reduction of the tariff made under Southern leadership. On top of this came a staggering blow to the West. President Buchanan vetoed a bill passed by Congress giving the public lands to settlers practically free of charge. The section of land to be given each settler was called a homestead. Workingmen and farmers looked upon this veto as an insult. Free land meant liberty to them.

Of course these things were not done without reason. The South feared that the continued growth of industries and free farming sections would make the North too powerful. If this growth continued, would not the Northern states be more numerous than the Southern states? Then what would become of the South?

The Republican Aid to Manufacturers and Farmers. When the Republicans came to hold their second national convention at Chicago in 1860, they found themselves strengthened. Their numbers were increased (1) by those who desired a high protective tariff and (2) by friends of the free farmers and workingmen who wanted to open up the Western lands for rapid settlement. In their platform,[1] the Republicans declared against slavery in the territories and in favor of a protective tariff and free homesteads. All these issues were really woven together. If the territories were free and if free states were erected out of them, the South would be weaker in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives. The industrial states would then be in less danger from attacks upon laws protecting manufacturing. The question of slavery was therefore tied up with another issue — the contest between the planting South and the manufacturing North. The free farmers of the West held the balance of power.

Lincoln a Son of the Soil. When the hour came for selecting their candidate, the Republicans had to be careful. It was necessary to win Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The southern sections of these states were filled with settlers from the South who were violently opposed to anything that looked like abolition. In all parts of these states the favor of the farmers had to be won. The selection of a violent opponent of slavery, like William H. Seward, a prominent Senator from New York, was therefore thought unwise. So the party managers chose Abraham Lincoln, a man of South-

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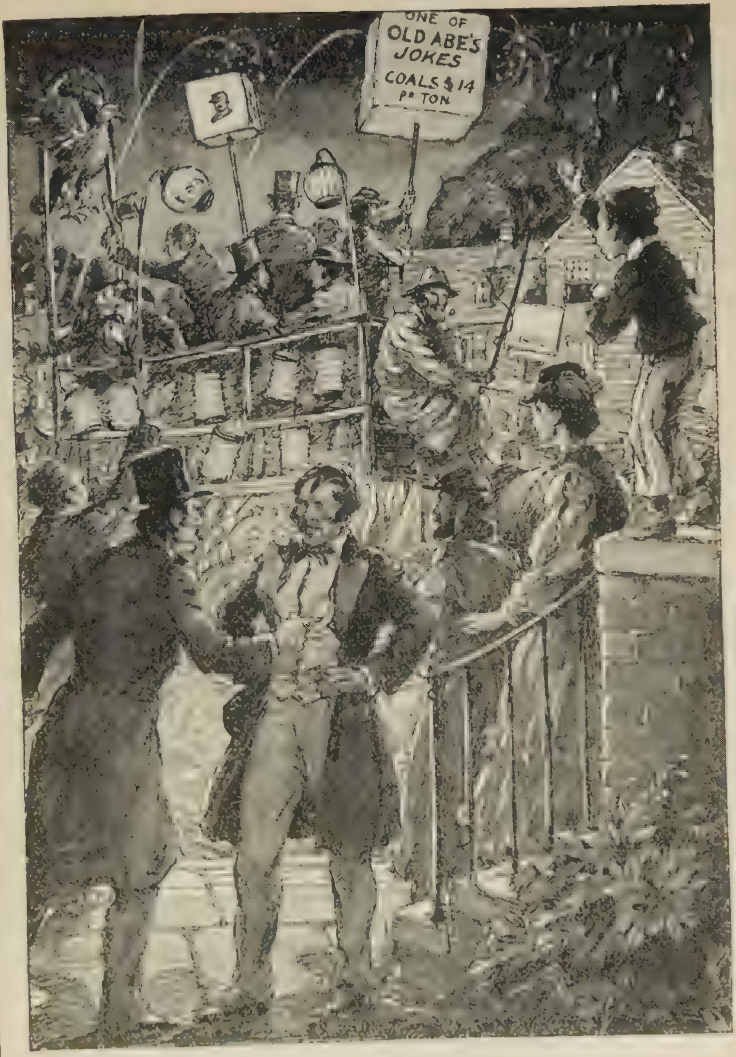
[1] Each political party at its convention writes a platform. This platform is a statement of what the party intends to do about national problems if its candidates are elected.


ONE OF
OLD ABE'S
JOKES
COALS $ 14
PR TON

A Pre-War Election Parade

ern origin, a son of the soil, born of poor parents, a pioneer who had in his youth labored in the forests and fields. It was known that he disliked slavery but that he was no abolitionist. He was firmly in favor of shutting slavery out of the territories, but he was willing to let it alone in the South. Of his sincerity there could be no doubt. He was a speaker and writer of unusual power, commanding by the use of clear and simple language the minds and hearts of those who heard him or read his printed words. With Lincoln as a candidate the farmers of the Northwest could be won; and with the protective tariff plank in the platform the great industrial state of Pennsylvania could be torn away from the free-trade Democrats. While the abolitionists were not satisfied with Lincoln or his platform, the milder opponents of slavery rejoiced in the thought of keeping it out of the territories even if it was still permitted in the states where it already existed.

Division among the Democrats. The Democrats were divided among themselves. In fact they split into two parties. One of them nominated as a candidate Douglas, who advocated "squatter sovereignty" (p. 400). The other group of Democrats demanded that slavery should be extended to the territories and upheld by the country; they put forward as their candidate John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Some of the old Whigs and moderate Democrats selected John Bell of Tennessee on a platform which called for loyalty to the Union and silence on the slavery issue. With the country thus divided Lincoln was elected President, although he received little more than one third of the total popular vote.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *emancipation, abolition, abolitionist, the Union, proslavery, antislavery, proviso, Wilmot Proviso, squatter sovereignty, fugitive, Fugitive Slave Law, underground railroad, repeal, border warfare, arsenal, a "son of the soil."*

I. What were the provisions of the Constitution regarding slavery? What did many of the prominent Southern members of the Convention think of slavery? Why did the South oppose the admission of new "free" states? Why did the North oppose the admission of new "slave" states? Would you say that the opposition of the North to the extension of slavery was all due to a belief that slavery was wrong? Give reasons for your answer. State the principal points of the Missouri Compromise. Was the Compromise a victory for any particular group?

II. Who were the abolitionists? How did their attitude toward slavery differ from that of most of the people of the North? Who were the leaders among the abolitionists? What is the difference between an abolitionist and one who merely disliked slavery? What conditions led to the large increase in the number and value of slaves in the Southern states? What were Calhoun's arguments in defense of slavery?

III. Why is the Wilmot Proviso remembered in our history even though it failed to become a law? Name the important events and conditions that led to the Compromise of 1850? What were the provisions of the Compromise? Which of these were favorable to the North and which to the South? How long did it settle the slavery question? Why did the South demand that the federal government pass a fugitive slave law? From the Southern viewpoint, why do you think another fugitive slave law was necessary? Why did *Uncle Tom's Cabin* have an influence that newspaper articles and speeches in Congress could not have in increasing the feeling against slavery?

IV. In what way did the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 repeal the Missouri Compromise? What were the results of the Kansas-Nebraska Act? Name the steps that led to the formation of the Republican party. What important party did it take the place of? Why was the Dred Scott decision unpopular in the North? State the important differences between the position taken by Douglas and that taken by Lincoln in the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

V. In what ways was the Republican party strengthened in the campaign of 1860? What conditions led to the division of the Democratic party into two groups in the campaign of 1860?

Review: 1. From the table of Presidents (see Appendix) find the administration in which each of the following events occurred: The Missouri Compromise; the Compromise of 1850; the Kansas-Nebraska Act; the Dred Scott decision; the Lincoln-Douglas debates; "border warfare" in Kansas. 2. Each of the following dates is connected with an important event relating to slavery. Find what the event was and why it is considered important: 1619 (p. 65); 1787 (p. 192); 1789 (p. 194); 1808 (p. 196); 1820 (p. 395); 1846 (p. 399); 1850 (p. 401); 1854 (p. 404); 1857 (p. 405); 1858 (p. 406). Make a "time line" of these dates.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Imagine yourself living on a Southern plantation during slavery days. Give an account of how the work of the plantation is done and how the slaves are treated.

See Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 1–8, 9–13, 18–28.

2. The Kansas-Nebraska Act has been called "the most momentous piece of legislation in the United States before the Civil War." Give as many reasons as you can for considering it so important.

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, ch. xxi; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 284–287; Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 94–107; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 378–383.

3. Select one of the following men for special study. Be ready to tell the class what this man did that makes him remembered in connection with this important period of American history:

Henry Clay: See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 158–165; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. viii; Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, pp. 225–229.

Daniel Webster: See Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 192–199; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 166–175; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, ch. x.

Stephen A. Douglas: See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. i, pp. 301-305; Nicolay's *Abraham*

Lincoln (see references under Douglas in the Index); Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 291–294.

John C. Calhoun: See Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 234–237.

4. Tell the story of Lincoln's life with reference to the part that he played in the events described in this chapter.

See Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, chs. vi, vii, viii, ix; Wheeler's *Abraham Lincoln*, chs. xiv, xv; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 199–205; Sparks's *The Men Who Made the Nation*, pp. 378–390.

5. Copy and fill in the following table for new states between 1789 and 1861:

NAME OF STATE	DATE OF ADMISSION	SLAVE OR FREE?

CHAPTER XXII

THE CIVIL WAR

I. Secession

When the news of Lincoln's election was received, South Carolina led the way out of the Union. The state legislature called upon the voters to elect delegates to a convention which met in Charleston on December 17, 1860. After a few days' debate the convention passed a resolution declaring that the union between South Carolina and the other states was dissolved. A Declaration of Independence was issued, stating South Carolina's grievances and declaring that she would take her place among the "free and independent nations of the earth." States far to the south followed the example set by South Carolina. Before March 4, 1861, the time for the inauguration[1] of Lincoln, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas had withdrawn from the Union, or seceded, and proclaimed their independence.

In seceding, the Southern leaders declared that they were acting lawfully for these reasons: (1) the treaty of 1783 with Great Britain had recognized each state by name as free and independent; (2) the Articles of Confederation had expressly recognized that each state was "sovereign," that is, supreme in power; (3) the Constitution had been made by agreement among free and equal states; and (4) sovereign states had a legal and moral right to cancel such an agreement. They felt that secession was the right thing for them to do.

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[1] Candidates for president are usually nominated by their parties in June. The election is held in November, and the successful candidate is inaugurated — begins his duties — as president on March 4th of the following year.

The Confederate States of America. The seceding states did not know, however, whether the government of the United States would attempt by force of arms to keep them in the Union. In order to maintain and defend their independence, therefore, they sent delegates to a convention held in Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1861, for the purpose of forming a Union of their own. The delegates made a plan of government in many respects like the Constitution of the United States. However, their constitution expressly declared that each state was free, sovereign, and independent. It adopted the name "Confederate States of America," which means a league of independent states. It guaranteed protection for slavery in the states and territories of the Confederacy.

In order to put the new government into effect, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President and a Confederate Congress was organized. Davis was a man of great ability and undoubted courage. He had served the United States honorably in the War with Mexico and as a member of the Senate. He was a stanch Southerner and had long ably presented opinions on slavery which the South approved. The people of the Confederacy looked to him with confidence and affection as a great leader.

Divided Opinion in the North. In the North various views were held about secession. Many of the extreme abolitionists rejoiced over it and declared that they were happy to be free from the union with slaveholders. The retiring President of the United States, James Buchanan, though he looked upon the action of the seceding states as unlawful, announced that the Constitution gave him no power to compel them to remain in the Union. Horace Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune,* openly said that the Southern states had a right to form a Confederacy of their own. Most Northern people, however, regarded breaking up the Union as a greater evil than slavery.

Attempts at Compromise. The leaders from the "border states" between the North and the South looked on both sides of the question. They usually favored slavery, but at the same time they opposed secession. So they attempted to arrange a compromise. Senator Crittenden of Kentucky proposed in Congress an amendment to the Constitution, providing:

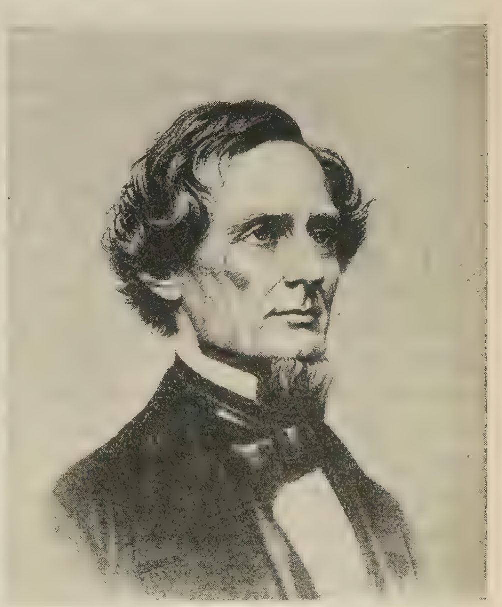
(1) that the territory north of 36° 30′ should be free; and all south of that line, slave;

(2) that all states thereafter admitted to the Union should be permitted to decide for themselves whether or not they would have slavery;

(3) that the United States should pay slave owners for any slaves that escaped to the North.

Senator Crittenden's plan was not accepted by the Republican leaders. Another compromise was tried. With the approval of Lincoln a thirteenth amendment to the Constitution was agreed upon. This amendment declared that Congress should never be given the right to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the states of the Union. Congress passed it by the necessary two-thirds vote, and it was awaiting the approval of the states when the firing on Fort Sumter brought war. If it had been adopted, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, instead of abolishing slavery throughout the United States, would have made it forever impossible for the national government to touch slavery in any state where it existed.

The Positions of Davis and Lincoln. For the moment everything seemed to depend upon the two Presidents in the divided nation. Davis was willing to compromise if slavery could be secured in a part of the territories. On this question Lincoln would not compromise. Then Davis expressed the hope that the two sections might part in peace. Lincoln replied that apparently the South would make war rather than let the nation live, and that the North would accept war rather than let it die.



JEFFERSON DAVIS

Lincoln's Inaugural Address. In his inaugural address Lincoln set forth the Northern view of secession. He declared (1) that the Union was older than the Constitution and independence; (2) that it was intended to be perpetual — to last forever; (3) that the states were pledged to maintain it; and (4) that no state merely on its own motion had the right to withdraw from it. He closed by saying to the South:

> In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. *You* can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while *I* shall have the most solemn one "to pre-

serve, protect, and defend it." I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely as they will be, by the better angels of our nature.

Fort Sumter Surrendered. As the inaugural address showed, Lincoln was firm in his resolve to maintain the Union. Still hoping for a peaceful solution of the problem, he took no strong measures immediately, and many leaders on both sides thought that war would be prevented. The dispute in words might have gone on indefinitely, if the government at Washington had not attempted to furnish food supplies to United States troops at Fort Sumter, an island fortification in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina.

The Confederates regarded this as an act of war, and their gunners in the Charleston forts on April 12, 1861, began to fire on Fort Sumter. Two days later the federal commander, Major Anderson, had to surrender. Strange to say, not a single man had been lost on either side. On April 15, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers. How little did the country realize the seriousness of the struggle thus begun!

Other Southern States Secede. When the first shot was fired, those who had been slow to make up their minds were obliged to take sides. In the South the middle tier of states, Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, broke from the Union and joined the Confederacy. In all these states, however, the citizens were divided, and it required vigorous action on the part of the leaders, especially in North Carolina and Virginia, to carry them out of the Union. In the western part of Virginia the Union sentiment was especially strong; several counties were strongly opposed to secession. Two years later (1863) they and a number of additional counties were admitted to the Union as the state of West Virginia. By the hard labor of Northern sympathizers within their borders, the northern tier of Southern states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri,[1] was held in the Union. Nevertheless thousands of their citizens either joined the Southern armies or engaged in a war on their Unionist neighbors at home. In these "border states" many families were divided in their sympathies, and some had soldiers in both armies.

II. PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

The Position of the South. At the beginning of the struggle the Southern states had one important advantage. They had been actively preparing for war for months before Lincoln took office and were in possession of many federal forts and arsenals within their borders. In addition to men and supplies the South had able and devoted generals, such as Robert E. Lee,[2] Thomas J. Jackson, and Joseph E. Johnston, who had all been well trained at West Point. They felt bound by allegiance to their native states to place themselves at the service of the Confederacy. Under brave and capable leaders, the Southern states were a foe that proved to be powerful.

The Advantages of the North. The North, on the other hand, had many things in its favor. The total population of the United States was about 31,000,000. A little more than 22,000,000 of all the people lived in the Northern states; of the Southern population more than 3,500,000 were slaves. Nearly all the industries of the country, especially the iron and steel works, the foundries for making cannon, and the factories and arsenals for making rifles, were in the North. The South as a result had to buy a large part of her military supplies in England and France. The North also had practically all of the naval vessels in its possession.

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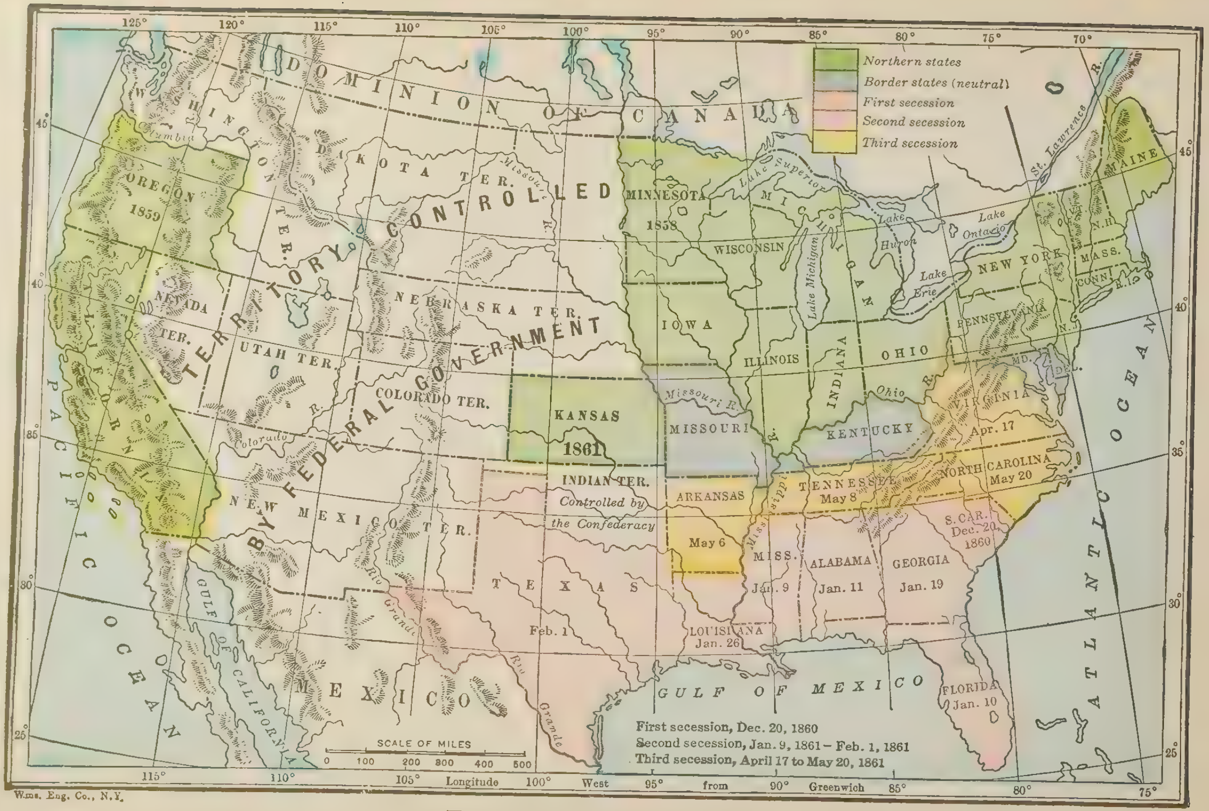
[1] In Missouri there was an especially severe contest. The government was in the hands of men who favored secession and who attempted to turn the state over to the Southern side. By the efforts of the Union men, led by Francis P. Blair and General Lyon, the state government was overthrown. Several months of local fighting followed.

[2] Lee had been offered command of the Union army but refused because, for him, Virginia was his country.

The wealth of the North was many times greater than that of the South, and the federal government was better able to borrow money to carry on the war. The Southern people had depended largely upon their trade with the North and with Europe for ready money and manufactured goods. The war itself cut off their Northern trade. In a few months the blockade of the Southern coasts by Union vessels cut off their European trade. The most important item in that trade had been cotton. As a result of the blockade the value of cotton exported fell from $202,000,000 in 1860 to $42,000,000 in 1861 and to $4,000,000 in 1862.

Confidence on Both Sides. Each side, thinking of its strength rather than its weakness, began the war in high confidence. While President Davis thought that the war might be long, he believed that in the end the South would be victorious. President Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand men to serve only three months showed that the Northern government expected an early victory. Both sides were deceived in their hopes and were soon awake to the seriousness of the task before them. The first blood was shed on April 19, 1861, when some soldiers of the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment were attacked in Baltimore and several men were killed and wounded. Not until four years later — April 9, 1865 — did the Confederate army under General Lee lay down its arms at Appomattox.


Northern states
Border states (neutral)
First secession
Second secession
Third secession
DOMINION OF CANADA
TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT
WASHINGTON TER.
OREGON 1859
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA TER.
UTAH TER.
DAKOTA TER.
NEBRASKA TER.
COLORADO TER.
NEW MEXICO TER.
MINNESOTA 1858
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KANSAS 1861
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
MAINE
N.H.
VT.
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
N.J.
MD.
DEL.
VIRGINIA Apr. 17
NORTH CAROLINA May 20
TENNESSEE May 8
ARKANSAS May 6
INDIAN TER. Controlled by the Confederacy
S. CAR. Dec. 20, 1860
GEORGIA Jan. 19
ALABAMA Jan. 11
MISS. Jan. 9
LOUISIANA Jan. 26
FLORIDA Jan. 10
TEXAS Feb. 1
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Missouri R.
Mississippi R.
Ohio R.
Colorado R.
Rio Grande
Columbia
First secession, Dec. 20, 1860
Second secession, Jan. 9, 1861 – Feb. 1, 1861
Third secession, April 17 to May 20, 1861
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich
125° 120° 115° 110° 105° 100° 95° 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°
45° 40° 35° 30° 25°

W.ms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1861

The Volunteer System Gives Way to Conscription. When the war began, both sides depended on volunteers to do the fighting. Before long they had to make use of the draft. In the South, practically every white male capable of bearing arms was in time drawn into the war. In the North, where more men were available, it also became necessary to compel men to serve. Under the federal conscription law of 1863 it was provided that each state should furnish a certain number of soldiers; it was then decided by lot who should be taken. This drafting, or conscription, of soldiers was resisted in New York, where riots broke out, and many people were killed. A bad feature of the law was the ruling that anyone who was drawn by lot might escape military service by paying $300 for a substitute. In this way the well-to-do could avoid military service, and the poor man or boy who could not raise that amount of money had to go whether he wanted to or not.

War Plans of the North. It is impossible here to describe all the important battles of the long war. Merely to give them in their order would only confuse the reader. Moreover they were all fought in some relation to larger plans which the leaders on both sides had in mind. Only by viewing them in that way is it possible to get a clear picture of the war.

The war plans of the North may be briefly stated:

1. Saving the border states to the Union through early occupation by federal troops
2. Splitting the Confederacy into two parts by a drive down the Mississippi Valley
3. Cutting off the supplies obtained by the Confederacy in Europe by the establishment of a naval blockade of Southern ports
4. A blow at the heart of the Confederacy by the capture of the capital, Richmond, Virginia

If we consider these movements in order of time and with relation to geography, they will be more easily remembered. We divide them, therefore, as follows:

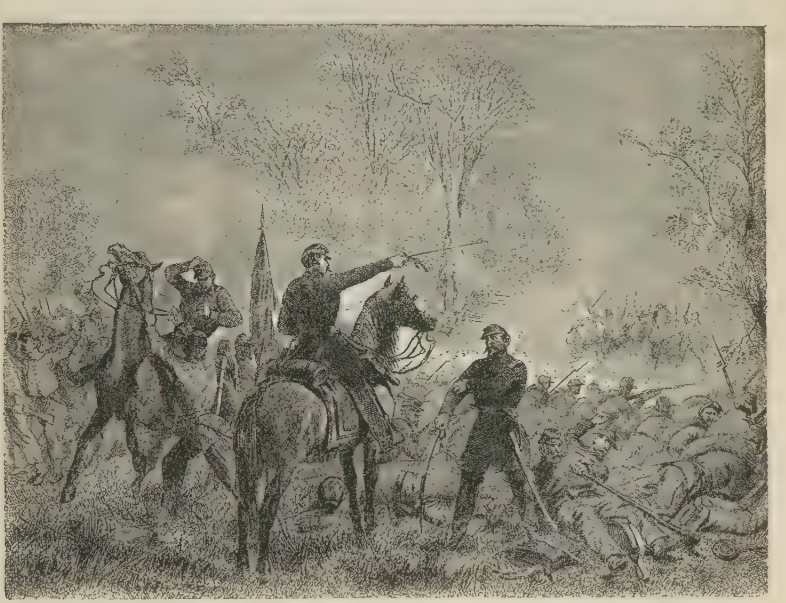
- The campaigns of 1861 and 1862
  - *a.* Saving the border states
  - *b.* The eastern campaigns
  - *c.* The western campaigns
- The Emancipation Proclamation (Jan. 1, 1863)
- The war on water
- The campaigns of 1863
  - *a.* The eastern campaigns
  - *b.* The western campaigns
- The campaigns of 1864 and 1865

III. The Campaigns of 1861 and 1862

Early Union Defeats in the East. *The Battle of Bull Run.* In the East the Confederates were especially well prepared. They established their capital at Richmond, Virginia, and gathered in that state a strong body of soldiers commanded by able officers. This formed a solid defensive front for the seceded states and was besides a constant threat to Washington, the capital of the Union.

President Lincoln realized the danger but was poorly prepared to meet it. The regular army of the United States was much reduced by the withdrawal of the Southern states. Moreover some of the ablest generals sided with the seceded states. The thousands of men who answered the call for volunteers were without experience. Yet before they could be properly trained, the people of the North demanded immediate action. "On to Richmond" was flung out on banners and cried in the streets.

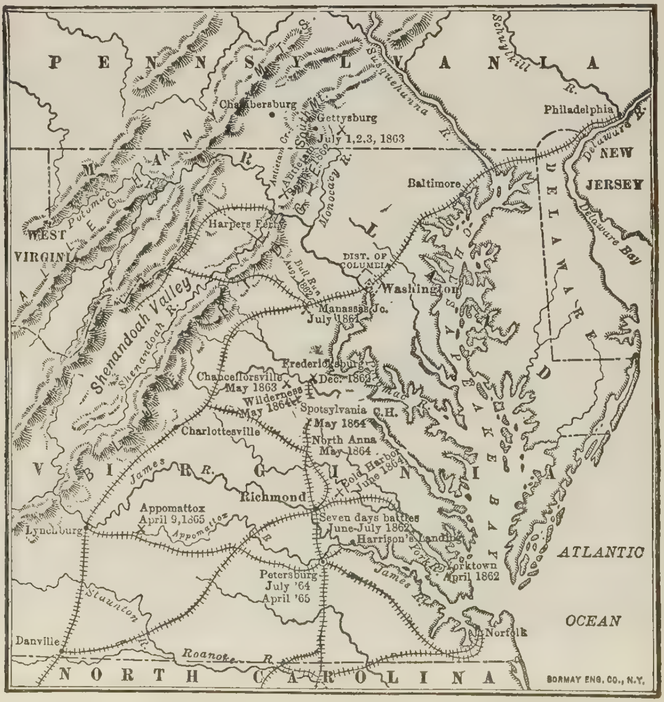
An attempt was made to meet this demand. General McDowell, in command of the federal troops, was ordered to attack the Southern general, Beauregard, stationed in northern Virginia. On the field of Bull Run (July 21, 1861), less than a day's horseback ride southwest of Washington, the federal army, after fighting courageously for many hours, crumpled up and was driven from the field. It was in this battle that the Confederate general, Thomas J. Jackson, stood out so bravely against the assaults of the Union troops that he won for himself the title of "Stonewall," by which he was ever afterward known.



From an old print

THE FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN

McClellan's Unsuccessful Campaign. After this defeat the North began to see that a heavy task lay before it. General McClellan, in command of the Union troops protecting Washington, started drilling his soldiers and getting his army in shape for a great campaign. It was not until the spring of 1862 that he was ready for action. Even then he was so slow and cautious that he was severely criticized on every hand for delays. However, he did advance, and in May, 1862, his army was within a few miles of Richmond. It looked as if victory might be at hand. But in the Battle of Seven Days (June 26–July 2, 1862) McClellan was forced back, and all hope of the immediate capture of Richmond had to be given up. A little later in that year the Union troops under General Pope were again beaten in a second battle at Bull Run and driven back toward Washington.


P E N N S Y L V A N I A
Chambersburg
Gettysburg
July 1,2,3, 1863
Philadelphia
NEW JERSEY
Schuylkill R.
Susquehanna R.
Delaware R.
Delaware Bay
D E L A W A R E
Baltimore
Antietam Cr.
Antietam Sept. 1862
Monocacy R.
Potomac R.
Harpers Ferry
WEST VIRGINIA
A L L E G H A N Y M T S.
DIST. OF COLUMBIA
Washington
Bull Run Aug. 1862
Manassas Jc. July 1861
Shenandoah Valley
Shenandoah R.
Fredericksburg
Dec. 1862
Chancellorsville May 1863
Wilderness May 1864
Spotsylvania C.H. May 1864
North Anna May 1864
Charlottesville
Cold Harbor June 1864
V I R G I N I A
James R.
Richmond
Appomattox April 9,1865
Appomattox R.
Lynchburg
Seven days battles June-July 1862
Harrison's Landing
York R.
Yorktown April 1862
Petersburg July '64 April '65
C H E S A P E A K E B A Y
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Staunton R.
Danville
Roanoke R.
Norfolk
N O R T H C A R O L I N A
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The War in Virginia

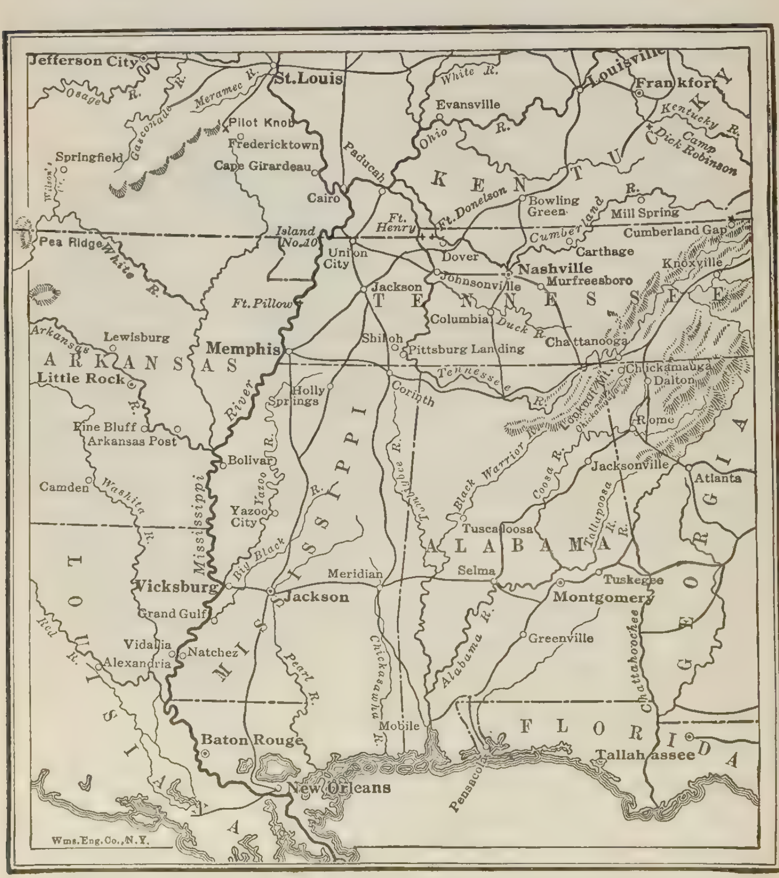
Lee Invades Maryland. *Antietam and Fredericksburg.* The spirit of the Southern troops was now at a high point, and General Lee boldly invaded Maryland (1862). McClellan with much larger forces marched against him. At Antietam a terrible battle was fought. McClellan lost more men than Lee, but he claimed a victory because Lee had to fall back into Virginia to reorganize his forces. Had McClellan pressed after him he might have won a big victory, for Lee's ammunition was practically gone and his main army was badly broken up. Such at least was the view taken by the authorities at Washington; so McClellan was removed from his command.

His successor, General Burnside, was even less fortunate. In the Battle of Fredericksburg in December, 1862, he was badly defeated in an attempt to storm General Lee's fortified posts on Marye's Heights behind the town of Fredericksburg. Having needlessly sacrificed thousands of brave soldiers, Burnside gave up his post in despair, and General Joseph Hooker was placed at the head of the Army of the Potomac. At the close of the year 1862 the outlook for the Union in the eastern scene of action was discouraging.

General Lee

Union Successes in the West. *Forts Henry and Donelson Captured.* In the West the Northern armies were more successful. In that section there were two generals of great talent, Ulysses Simpson Grant and George H. Thomas, both graduates of West Point, who had seen real fighting in the

Mexican War. By the opening of 1862 these commanders had made sure that Kentucky was safely held for the Union. In February, 1862, General Grant, aided by Commodore Foote in charge of a fleet of gunboats, captured two Confederate strongholds, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. Thus the way was opened for a drive southward through Tennessee.


Jefferson City
St. Louis
Osage R.
Gasconade R.
Meramec R.
Pilot Knob
Fredericktown
Springfield
Wilson's Cr.
Cape Girardeau
Cairo
Paducah
White R.
Evansville
Ohio R.
Louisville
Frankfort
Kentucky R.
Camp Dick Robinson
KENTUCKY
Ft. Donelson
Bowling Green
Mill Spring
Cumberland R.
Cumberland Gap
Ft. Henry
Island No. 10
Pea Ridge
White R.
Union City
Dover
Nashville
Carthage
Knoxville
Johnsonville
Murfreesboro
Jackson
TENNESSEE
Columbia
Duck R.
Ft. Pillow
Arkansas R.
Lewisburg
Memphis
ARKANSAS
Shiloh
Pittsburg Landing
Chattanooga
Chickamauga
Little Rock
Tennessee R.
Corinth
Dalton
Holly Springs
Lookout Mt.
Chickamauga Cr.
Rome
River
Pine Bluff
Arkansas Post
Yazoo R.
MISSISSIPPI
Tombigbee R.
Black Warrior R.
Coosa R.
Jacksonville
Atlanta
Bolivar
Camden
Washita R.
Yazoo City
Tuscaloosa
Tallapoosa R.
GEORGIA
Big Black R.
ALABAMA
Mississippi
LOUISIANA
Vicksburg
Meridian
Selma
Tuskegee
Jackson
Montgomery
Grand Gulf
Red R.
Vidalia
Natchez
Alexandria
Pearl R.
Alabama R.
Greenville
Chickasawha R.
Chattahoochee
Mobile
FLORIDA
Baton Rouge
Tallahassee
New Orleans
Pensacola
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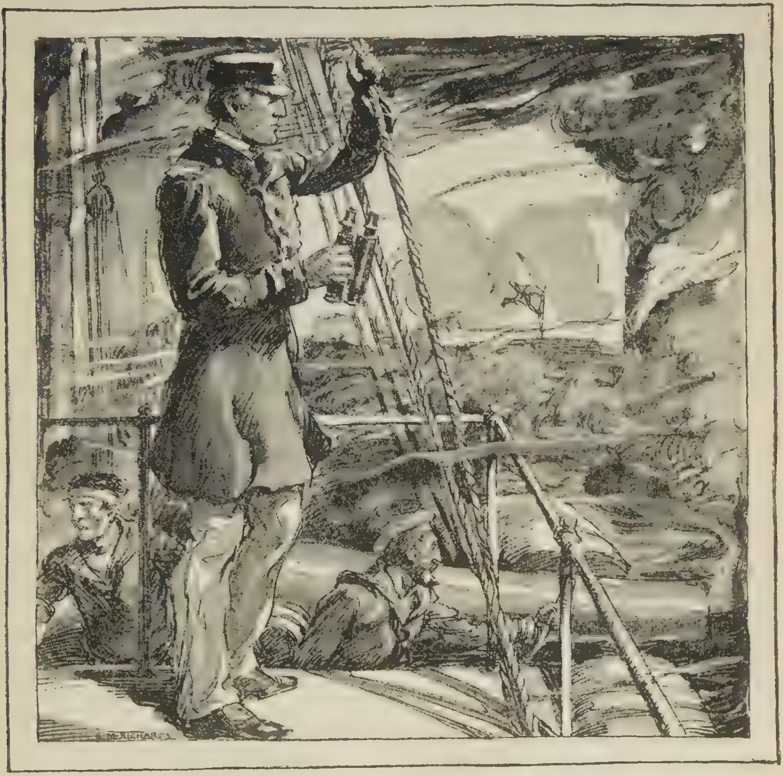
THE WAR IN THE WEST

The Struggle for Missouri and Arkansas. In Missouri strong forces had been raised on both sides. The Confederates under General Price, reënforced by Arkansas troops, defeated the Unionists under General Lyon at Wilson's Creek in August, 1861. Southern Missouri was recovered for the Union a few months later, however, and the Confederate army was pushed southward into Arkansas. A Union victory at Pea Ridge (March, 1862) practically decided the war west of the Mississippi.



Farragut Running the Blockading Batteries at the Capture of New Orleans

Farragut Captures New Orleans. Battles of Shiloh and Murfreesboro. In April, 1862, the North was thrilled by the news that Admiral Farragut had steamed into the Mississippi, bombarded the forts at the mouth of the river, destroyed the Confederate fleet, and captured the city of New Orleans. By a series of desperate actions, including battles at Shiloh, or Pittsburg Landing, and Murfreesboro, Union troops in the West drove their battle line down to the northern borders of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia. West of the Mississippi River the battle line had moved down almost to the Arkansas River before the close of 1862.

IV. EMANCIPATION

A Bold Blow at Southern Power. In spite of the Western successes and the belief that the Army of the Potomac would at least be able to hold the Confederate Army of Virginia, the North at the end of twelve months' fighting was discouraged. It was clear that a long war lay ahead. Besides, the Union states were full of Southern sympathizers, *Copperheads*, as they were called, who urged peace at any price. In many parts of the North the war was looked upon as a failure or at best a struggle without advantage on either side.

In the summer of 1862 it was evident to President Lincoln that something would have to be done to arouse the faith of the North and to deliver a more telling blow at Southern strength. Then it was that he decided that slavery must go. One great source of Southern power was the devotion of the slaves who tilled the soil, kept order at home, and supplied the armies in the field. To strike at slavery was to strike at the very heart of Southern military strength. It was more than that. To abolish it meant that the war for Union would now have the hearty support of the abolitionists, for it would be also a war against slavery.

Lincoln Decides on Emancipation. It required courage and faith to take the step. Abolitionists had long urged it upon Lincoln; military commanders in need of laborers and soldiers had demanded it; but he had held back. Not until he felt sure that it was necessary to the preservation of the Union did he yield to their demands. In the summer of 1862 he "vowed to God" that if General McClellan won a victory over the Army of Virginia, he would issue a proclamation of emancipation — an announcement of freedom of the slaves. Although McClellan, as we have seen, did not really win a great victory, the battle of Antietam was regarded as a distinct gain for the North. At least it stopped Lee's invasion of the North for the time being.

On September 22, 1862, therefore, Lincoln announced that, if the Confederate States did not come back into the Union before January 1, 1863, he would proclaim the slaves within those states forever free. The Confederacy treated this as an idle threat. But on January 1, 1863, Lincoln, as commander in chief of the army and navy, issued the Proclamation of Emancipation, freeing all the slaves within the territory then held by the Confederate army.

Emancipation and Abolition. Since the Emancipation Proclamation is often misunderstood, attention should be called to two special points. (1) The Proclamation did not *abolish* slavery; it merely emancipated, or freed, the slaves in that part of the country which was waging war against the government of the United States. Slavery continued to exist after the Proclamation in those slave states which had not seceded; namely, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, and also in Tennessee and those parts of Louisiana and Virginia occupied by the Union army. (2) Emancipation was an act of war, done under the President's "war power." It was not certain that it could be enforced after the war was over, because Lincoln had no civil authority over slavery. As commander in chief of the army of the United States, he could do almost anything that would help the Northern cause. Naturally this great power would come to an end when the war was over. Some claimed, therefore, that emancipation could last only during the period of actual warfare. To seal it for all time, there was adopted in 1865 the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery throughout the United States.

The Effect of Emancipation Abroad. Emancipation changed the course of the war. The Northern cause had not been popular among the ruling classes of Europe. It is estimated that " four fifths of the British House of Lords and most members of the House of Commons " were in sympathy with the South and eager to see the Union broken up as a " republican failure." Only a few great English leaders, such as John Bright, believed in Lincoln and the North.

With the English common people it was different. Although driven almost to starvation by the closing of the cotton mills, they felt that the North was right and should triumph. After emancipation they were even more firmly fixed in this view. It was mainly their antislavery sympathy which made it impossible for the British government to interfere in favor of the Confederacy. More than once the French emperor, Napoleon III, suggested aiding the South, but the British authorities kept putting him off. He realized that he could do nothing alone; when British help was not forthcoming, he gave up trying to aid the South.

Lincoln. Never had a man greater burdens to carry or more trying problems to solve than Lincoln. He had behind him a divided country. Thousands of Northern people in open sympathy with the South did everything they could to prevent the raising of men and money. Others, while strong in allegiance to the Union, were horrified by the misery of war and ready to welcome peace at any price. So strong was the opposition that the Democrats in 1864, with General McClellan as their candidate for President, were able to poll in the Union states alone 1,800,000 votes although Lincoln was reëlected by a safe majority.

Borglum's Famous Statue of Abraham Lincoln in Front of the Court House, Newark, N. J.

Republican politicians gave Lincoln endless trouble in their efforts to get "jobs" in the government for their friends. Democrats accused him of prolonging the war in order to help the munition makers and contractors who made profits out of supplies. Friends of army officers daily pressed him for promotions and favors. Mothers and fathers whose sons were sentenced to be shot for desertion or neglect of duty were constantly petitioning him for pardons. With simplicity of heart, infinite patience, and good nature, he endured it all, trying always to do the right as it was given him to see it.

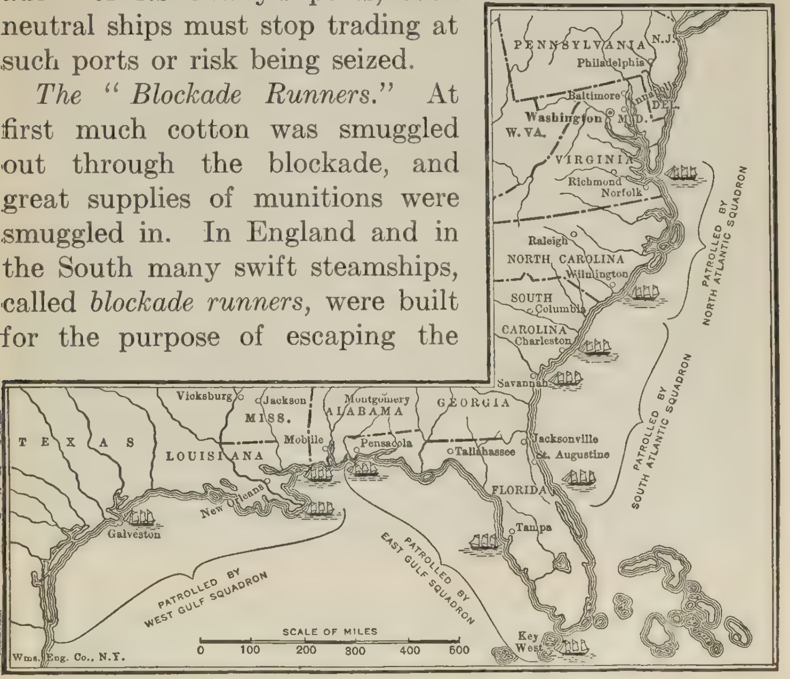
V. The War on Water

The Control of the Sea the Key to Union Success. The chief dependence of the South before the war was, as we have seen, on its cotton. In 1860 Southern plantations produced 4,700,000 bales of cotton, a very large portion of which was sold in England. If the seas could have been kept open and the millions of bales exchanged for munitions and other supplies, the power of the South would have been more than doubled. It is certain that the South, if it had obtained an abundance of guns, food, and money, would have made the war far more hopeless for the North, perhaps so hopeless that the outcome might have been different.

Weakness of the Navy at the Outset of the War. It was in cutting off the sources of Southern supplies that the navy of the United States did its most important work, but it achieved results very slowly. If it had been stronger at the beginning, it might have shortened the war by many months. It is estimated that there were only about thirteen vessels — eight steamships, and five sailing ships — ready for service in American waters when war began.

The Blockade. With this mere handful of vessels President Lincoln began to cut off trade between Europe and the South. Early in 1861 he declared the coast blockaded from Virginia all the way to Texas. He ordered warships to patrol this long stretch of shore, particularly near seaports, for the purpose of stopping and capturing all ships that attempted to go in or out of Southern harbors. It made no difference whether they were Confederate ships or ships belonging to a foreign country. It is agreed among nations that if a country at war can establish an "effective blockade" of its enemy's ports, even neutral ships must stop trading at such ports or risk being seized.

The "Blockade Runners." At first much cotton was smuggled out through the blockade, and great supplies of munitions were smuggled in. In England and in the South many swift steamships, called *blockade runners,* were built for the purpose of escaping the United States warships stationed off the coasts. On dark nights or when storms were raging, these "runners," heavily laden with cotton or supplies, would dash out of or into the closed ports, slipping by the warships of the blockading fleet. As the Union navy increased in size, the net drawn around the Southern seacoast grew tighter and tighter, until at last the blockade runners took such desperate chances that the business ceased to be profitable.


PENNSYLVANIA
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Jackson
Montgomery
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MISS.
ALABAMA
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
Mobile
Pensacola
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
FLORIDA
New Orleans
Galveston
Tampa
PATROLLED BY EAST GULF SQUADRON
PATROLLED BY WEST GULF SQUADRON
Key West
SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
400
500
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE NAVAL BLOCKADE OF THE SOUTH

Success of the Blockade. It is estimated that during the blockade more than 15,000 ships were captured. In the closing year of the war the South was able to deliver only a few thousand bales of cotton in foreign markets. War supplies from abroad were practically cut off. A Southern leader said that the South was not defeated but "choked to death."

The work of the blockaders at sea did not excite much attention in the country. There were no opportunities to make great naval heroes out of those watchers, but they kept at their posts day and night, winter and summer, in stormy and pleasant weather. Upon the constant watchfulness of the sailors, as well as the valor of the soldiers, the success of the North depended.

Attacks on Northern Commerce. Although blockaded, the South was able to keep a few warships and privateers at sea, attacking Northern commerce. At the outbreak of the war American merchant vessels were trading with every port in the world; and as the war went on, this trade increased. Seeing its own commerce destroyed, the South sought to capture and burn Northern ships wherever they could be found.

The Alabama. Some of these sea rovers were built in English ports with the help or toleration of the English government. This was contrary to the rules of war agreed to among nations. One of these, the *Alabama*, was built at Liverpool and for two years cruised the ocean, destroying two or three merchant vessels every month. At last in June, 1864, she was sent to the bottom of the English Channel by the United States warship *Kearsarge*. England, as we shall see, had to pay heavily for the losses inflicted on American ships by the raiders fitted out in her ports.[1]

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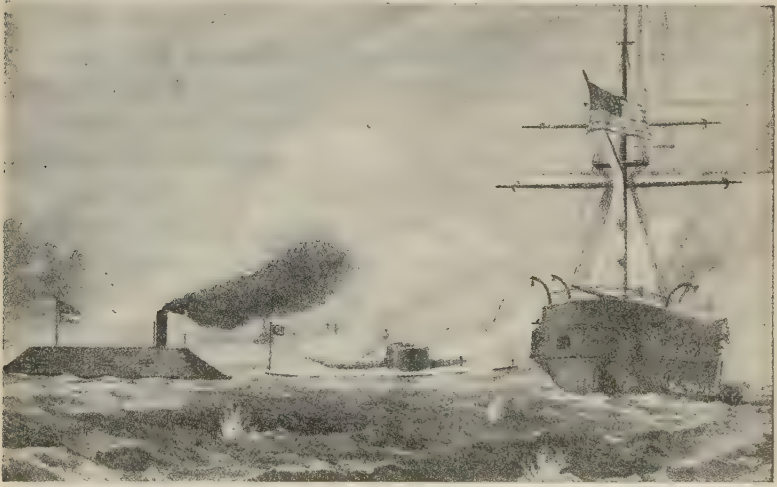
[1] In 1861 a Union vessel overhauled the British ship *Trent* and seized two commissioners of the Confederate government, Mason and Slidell, who were

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. In addition to blockading the coast and capturing ships that attacked Northern commerce, the navy of the United States had to meet a new kind of foe. The Confederates in Portsmouth, Virginia, made a captured naval vessel over into an ironclad ram known as the *Merrimac*, which within a few hours sank the wooden warship *Cumberland* and caused the surrender of the sister ship *Congress*.



THE *MONITOR* AND THE *MERRIMAC*

From an old print

The North had learned of the building of the *Merrimac*, and had commissioned Captain John Ericsson to design and build an ironclad. His vessel, the *Monitor*, had a small iron hull, and on top of the deck was built a round iron turret carrying two large and powerful guns. The turret could be

---

bound for England. This high-handed action, although like British conduct before the War of 1812, was the subject of a vigorous protest on the part of Great Britain. The government at Washington promptly acknowledged that it was in the wrong and permitted the two commissioners to proceed to England. Thus the "Trent Affair" was settled.

revolved by machinery and the guns could be fired in any direction. The Southerners called the boat "a Yankee cheese box on a raft." She was taken down to Hampton Roads, 1862, and arrived there the evening after the destruction of the *Cumberland* and the *Congress*.

The next morning, March 9, 1862, the two ironclads fought a desperate battle without a victory for either side. Blinded temporarily by a shell which struck his watch tower, the commander of the *Monitor* withdrew his ship from the fight; the *Merrimac*, badly battered, steamed back to Norfolk. Both sides regarded the outcome as a victory. At all events the career of the *Merrimac* as a commerce destroyer was soon at an end, for the ship was burned when the Confederates withdrew from Norfolk. Additional monitors were built for the Northern navy and were successful. All the navies in the world were at that time made up of wooden warships. The *Merrimac* proved that no wooden vessel could stand against an ironclad.

Gunboats on Western Rivers. Other important services rendered to the Union by the navy included the destruction of Fort Henry on the Tennessee by Commodore Foote; the capture of New Orleans by Admiral Farragut; the coöperation of Admiral Farragut and Admiral Porter in the opening of the Mississippi River; and the seizure of several forts and posts along the coast (pp. 427–428, 430).

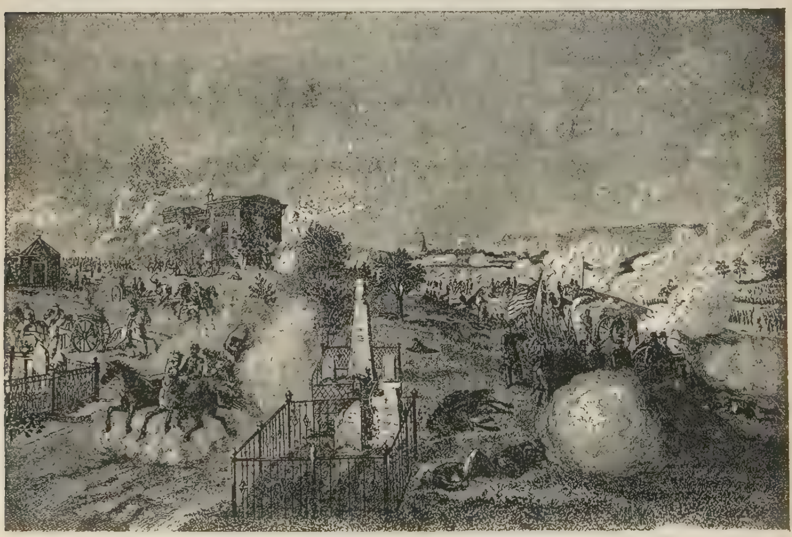
VI. The Campaigns of 1863

New Union Defeats in the East. *Chancellorsville.* In May, 1863, General Hooker was attacked at Chancellorsville and badly beaten by General Lee. There was bitterness, however, in the Confederate cup of joy, for Stonewall Jackson was wounded in the battle and died shortly afterward. The North was sick at heart, when, in spite of the strict military censorship, the news of the defeat became known. Lincoln was on the verge of despair.

Lee Invades the North. Then came what the North had most feared — invasion. After the victory at Chancellorsville the Confederate government with high confidence determined to win the war by a bold stroke. It sent Lee at the head of a powerful army through the Shenandoah Valley and across the Potomac, into Pennsylvania. By the end of June, Lee's advance guard was only four miles from Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, well to the rear of Baltimore and Washington. In Philadelphia business was paralyzed, and hurried preparations were made for the defense of the city. All the North trembled with anxiety. Regiment after regiment of Union soldiers was hurried to Pennsylvania to check Lee's advance. Lincoln relieved General Hooker, who had lost Chancellorsville, and placed in command General Meade, who had served with courage and distinction in earlier campaigns.

The Battle of Gettysburg. On July 1 the opposing armies stood face to face near the little village of Gettysburg. Lee had 70,000 men and Meade 90,000. For three long days they fought. On the first and second days the battle seemed to favor the Southern side.

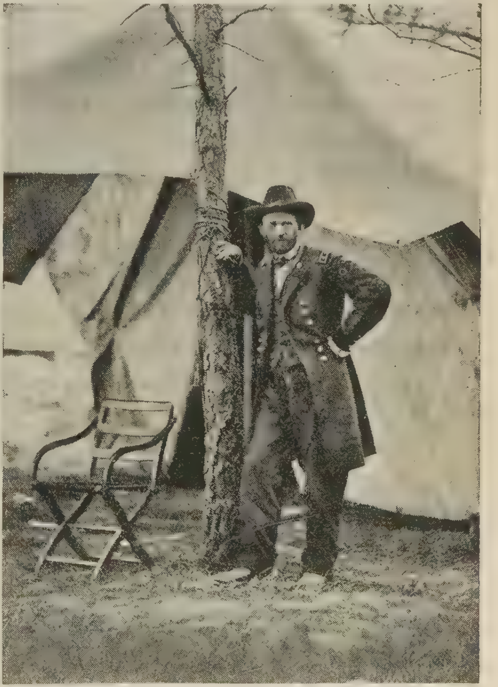
Pickett's Famous Charge. Convinced that victory was within his grasp, Lee on the afternoon of the third day ordered a grand advance. Pickett's troops, fifteen thousand strong, chosen for the work, descended the slopes of Seminary Ridge, and in clear view of the Union troops swung to the attack across the mile-wide valley. Far in front on Cemetery Ridge the Union soldiers lay quietly awaiting the coming troops, while the cannon behind them poured a sweeping hail of shell into Pickett's men. But on they came. Union infantry started firing as the enemy came within range of their rifles. Still they came, closing up their thinning ranks, until with one mighty rush the men in front gained the stone wall at the top of the ridge. For a brief instant the Confederate flag was planted there by the Southern troops, but they could not hold the ground that they had gained. Under the steady Union fire, they broke. Large numbers were killed, many surrendered, and those that were left fled to their own lines. Pickett's Charge has been called the "high tide of the Confederacy." Lee's army never again took the offensive, but used its failing strength to protect Richmond.


From an old print

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

The Victory. The day was done. Nearly forty thousand men lay dead or wounded. Nothing was left for Lee but retreat; and had Meade been able to press the Southern forces to the utmost, he might have ended the war. But his own army was worn out, and he delayed. Lincoln was sorely disappointed, and yet he was grateful to Meade for the work he had done. The North turned again to the unfinished task, knowing now that by firm action the South could be defeated and the war ended.

Vicksburg Surrendered. *The Mississippi Open to the Sea.* While the North was rejoicing over the victory at Gettysburg, news came of another Union triumph, the fall of Vicksburg on the Mississippi. On July 4 the Confederate commander at that post, General Pemberton, was forced to surrender to General Grant after a siege of forty-three days. The suffering in the besieged city had been horrible. For weeks the inhabitants had lived in cellars and caves. Their food supply had steadily diminished until they were driven to the necessity of eating the flesh of horses and mules.



From a photograph

GENERAL GRANT AT VICKSBURG

A few days after the surrender of Vicksburg, Port Hudson yielded to the Union forces. By the coöperation of the federal army and the gunboats the Confederacy had been split in two. On July 16 a steamer from St. Louis landed a cargo at New Orleans and, as Lincoln phrased it, " the Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea." The

Union army had now succeeded in three of their major plans of war (p. 423).

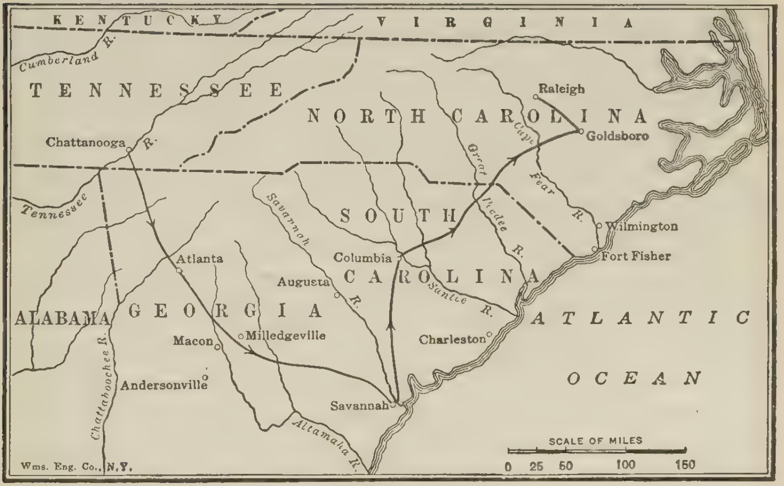
Chattanooga and Chickamauga. After Gettysburg and Vicksburg the federal government urged General Rosecrans to begin a drive on the Confederates in southern Tennessee. He finally captured Chattanooga. Then on September 19, 1863, he was attacked by strong Southern forces under General Bragg. The following day "the great battle of the West," the terrible and bloody Chickamauga, was fought. Rosecrans was defeated, and part of his army driven back to Chattanooga in a rout. Nothing but the desperate courage of General Thomas and his men prevented a complete disaster to the Union arms. General Grant was then placed in complete charge in that section.

In battles that followed at Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga, the Confederate forces were driven out of Tennessee. By the end of 1863 the battle line had been forced down into Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia.

VII. The Campaigns of 1864 and 1865; the End of the War

Grant Placed in Command of All Union Armies. Only two large Confederate armies were now left, one under General Lee defending Richmond and the other in the northern part of Georgia under General Joseph E. Johnston. Early in the spring of the following year (1864), General Grant was called from the West and made lieutenant general of all the armies of the United States. He was ordered to capture Richmond and destroy Lee's Army of Virginia. In the West General Sherman was sent to attack General Johnston.

Sherman's Campaign. *Atlanta and the March to the Sea.* Starting from Chattanooga, General Sherman set out on an expedition to the sea. The Confederate general slowly retreated with a view to wearing Sherman's army down and attacking it later when the odds against him were not so great. President Davis, annoyed at Johnston for his delays, removed him and placed General Hood in charge with orders to attack Sherman. This was a fatal error, for Sherman beat off General Hood's heroic assaults at Atlanta and captured the city. Two months later with 60,000 men he started on the famous march "from Atlanta to the sea," destroying bridges and railroads and property along a belt


KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Cumberland R.
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Goldsboro
Chattanooga
R.
Cape Fear R.
Great Pedee R.
Tennessee
SOUTH CAROLINA
Savannah
Wilmington
Fort Fisher
Atlanta
Columbia
Augusta
R.
Santee R.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Macon
Milledgeville
Charleston
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Chattahoochee R.
Andersonville
Savannah
Altamaha R.
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Sherman's March

sixty miles wide. On Christmas Eve, 1864, President Lincoln received a telegram from General Sherman presenting him as a "Christmas gift the city of Savannah." Some of the Union soldiers on the march to the sea needlessly sacked and destroyed homes and wrecked public and private buildings, thus creating a very bitter feeling in the hearts of the Southern people.

By this march the Confederacy was divided a second time. Gradually from the North and from the South Union armies were closing in on Lee at Richmond.

Grant in Virginia. The Wilderness and Cold Harbor. While Sherman was in Georgia, General Grant was campaigning in Virginia. Although Lee's Army of Virginia was only about half the size of the Union force, Grant had no easy task. He was fighting in the enemy's country. Lee's troops were familiar with every highway and byway and were strongly intrenched at important points.

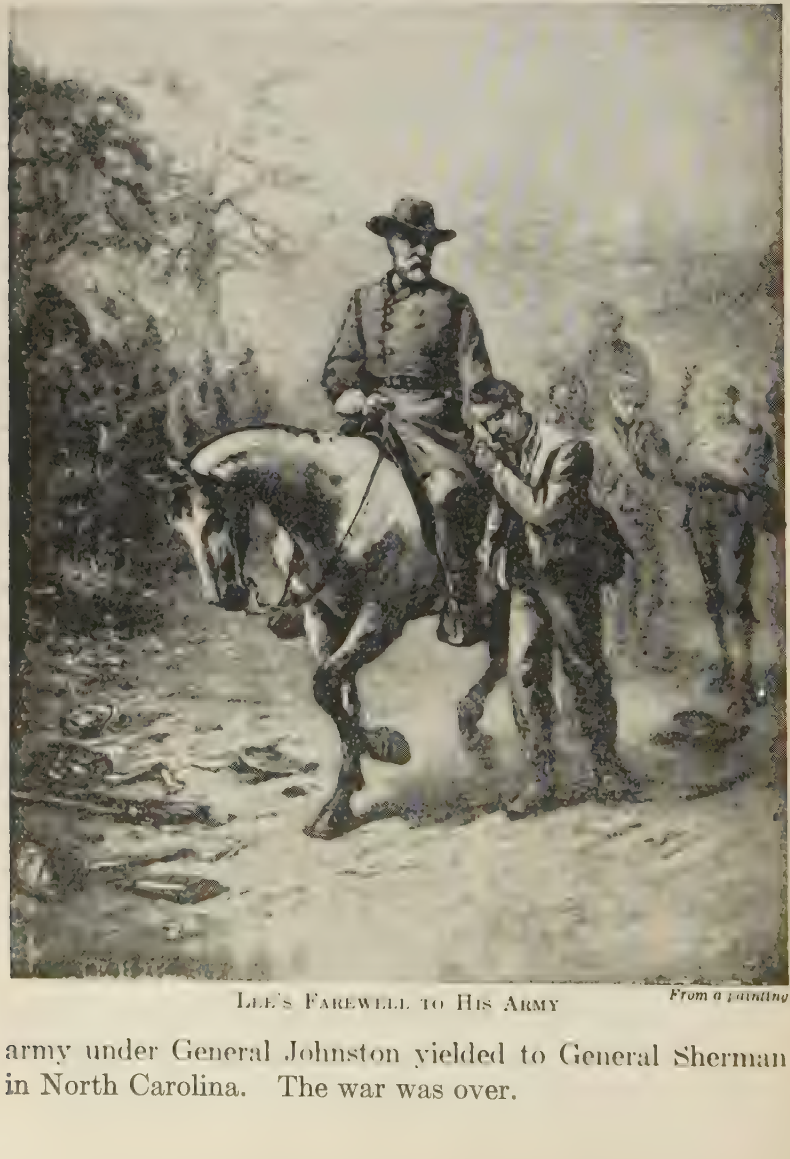
Knowing full well the dangers before him, Grant in May, 1864, crossed the Rapidan River and began to advance through forests thickset with underbrush. Here he was severely attacked by the Southern army. For four days the terrible Battle of the Wilderness raged. The Union losses were frightful, and Grant was forced to try another plan. By a skillful march he pushed on to Spotsylvania Court House and then down to Cold Harbor, which was a part of the defenses of the city of Richmond. Here the fighting continued without any marked gains for the Northern army. In the month's struggle from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, Lee lost 19,000 men, and Grant nearly three times as many.

Nevertheless Grant believed that victory would come with the wearing down of the Southern army. He had twice as many men as the Confederates, he had unlimited supplies behind him, and he knew that he could win in time, even if at a great cost. General Lee's losses were evidently heavy; and he could ill afford them, because the Confederate government was absolutely unable to furnish more troops. The blockade was growing tighter every day. The end seemed to be only a matter of time.

Early's Raid Checked by Sheridan. Remembering that he had beaten off the Army of the Potomac two years before by threatening Washington, Lee ordered General Early with a large force to march rapidly through the Shenandoah Valley and attack the capital. General Grant had troops to spare. Instead of giving up his drive on Lee's main army, he sent a body of troops under General Sheridan to meet Early. Sheridan defeated Early at the Battle of Winchester and swooped down the valley, destroying houses, barns, and crops right and left.

The news of General Early's defeat at Winchester on October 18, 1864, was received with great satisfaction by General Grant. He knew now that the Confederacy had struck its last dangerous blow. General Sherman was holding Savannah and cutting off all of the Southwest, so no supplies could reach Lee from that direction. The Army of Virginia could not avoid surrender. At this time the leaders of the Confederacy tried to make terms with President Lincoln. In February, 1865, they sent three agents to meet Lincoln and Seward, his Secretary of State, on board a ship in Hampton Roads, and discuss the possibility of peace. The meeting was in vain. Lincoln called for the disbanding of the Southern armies, the return of the seceding states to the Union, and the abolition of slavery. Rather than make such terms, the Confederate government decided to go on with the war.

Lee Surrenders at Appomattox. The North then prepared for the final blow, and General Grant began to close in on the Southern troops around Richmond. After four months of desperate fighting, Lee, on April 3, 1865, decided that he could no longer defend the capital and withdrew in a southwesterly direction. On April 9 General Grant overtook him at Appomattox Court House and forced him to surrender. In his hour of triumph Grant was generous to his brave foes. He did not require Lee to give up his sword, and he permitted the officers and men to keep their horses, because, as he said, they would need them in their farm work. After the Confederate officers and men had given their word not to take up arms against the United States again, they were given a goodly supply of food and allowed to go home. A few days later the other important Southern army under General Johnston yielded to General Sherman in North Carolina. The war was over.



LEE'S FAREWELL TO HIS ARMY

From a painting

The Assassination of Lincoln. It may well be imagined with what joy the news of Lee's surrender was received throughout the entire North. The long war was at an end; the Union was saved. Instead of two nations side by side, there was just one government. With a deep feeling of thankfulness that the war with its hardships, its waste, and its cruelties was over, the great President turned now to the task of reuniting the nation; but he was not to carry out his plans. On the evening of April 14, 1865, Lincoln, while sitting in his box at Ford's Theatre in Washington, was shot by John Wilkes Booth, an actor, who was half-crazed by the defeat of the South. The President, mortally wounded, was carried across the street to a private house, where amid his sorrowing family and official friends he died in the early hours of the next morning.

Swiftly the news of the tragedy spread across the continent. The joy of the nation at the thought of peace was turned into the deepest grief. It seemed too much to bear. The North had lost its trusted leader; and the South, a friend who bore no malice or bitterness in his heart, and whose kindly helpfulness was sadly needed in the great tasks that lay ahead.

VIII. THE COST OF THE WAR; WOMEN AND THE WAR

Money and Property. Just what the war cost in men and money cannot be reckoned exactly. The national debt in the summer of 1865 was nearly three billion dollars, most of which had been incurred for war purposes. To this must be added the expenditures of the national government out of national taxes, the money spent by Northern states, cities, and towns, the interest on the debt, and pensions for soldiers. It has been estimated that the war expenditures of the government for all these purposes between July 1, 1861, and June 30, 1879, amounted to more than six billion dollars.

In addition we must include the millions that have been paid and are still being paid in pensions.

The debt of the Confederate government, on the other hand, was never paid. Huge expenditures totaling hundreds of millions were made by the South, and property of still greater value was destroyed by invading armies. It would be a safe guess that the total cost of the Civil War in money spent, property destroyed, and wages of men lost was well over twenty-five billion dollars, a sum equal to more than eight times the money value of all the slaves in the United States.

Human Life. In human life the cost of the war is still more difficult to estimate. During the conflict about 2,000,000 men joined the Northern armies for varying lengths of service — three months, six months, a year, or more. The number in actual service reached its highest point in April, 1865, when it stood at slightly more than one million. Of this great host more than 360,000 lost their lives — 110,000 perished on the battlefield, and about 250,000 died of wounds or diseases. The records of the Confederate armies were not well kept. It is impossible to state even with fair accuracy their losses, but if they were equal to those of the Northern armies the Civil War cost outright in human life about 700,000 men. This leaves out of account the crippled and disabled and those whose lives were shortened many years by the hardships of the camp and battlefield.

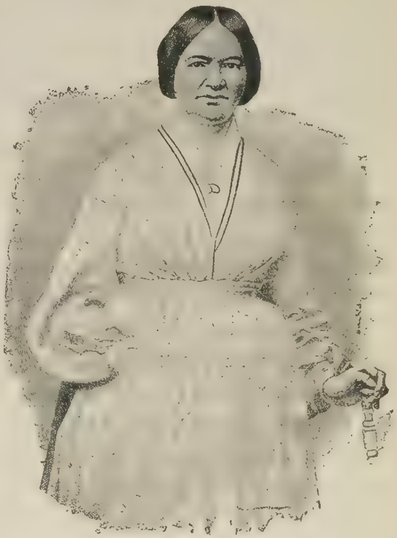
Women and the War. In recording the heroic deeds of men on the field of battle, the services of the women of America must not be forgotten. All through the farming regions of the Northwest and to some extent in other sections women took up the lines and plow handles where the men dropped them and for four years labored in the fields.

A few days after Sumter was fired upon, the women of New York met at Cooper Union under the leadership of Miss

Louisa Lee Schuyler and formed a relief society. From this developed the marvelous United States Sanitary Commission, which collected food and supplies for the soldiers, looked after the health of camps, and aided in the care of the sick and wounded. Through sanitary fairs held from the Atlantic to the Pacific, women raised nearly $3,000,000 for relief.

Speaking of their work, Lincoln said:

> I have never studied the art of paying compliments to women; but I must say that, if all that has been said by orators and poets since the creation of the world were applied to the women of America, it would not do them justice for their conduct during this war.


A Civil War Nurse

Thousands of women on both sides went to the front as nurses, enduring the horrors and hardships of camp life and battlefield. They were among the staffs of scouts and spies, in prisons, on the transport ships, wherever suffering and human needs were to be found. At home, women knitted socks and gloves for the soldiers, rolled bandages, and prepared comforts and necessities for camp and hospital. In nearly every community there were soldiers' aid societies which held weekly and even daily meetings to raise supplies for the men at the front.

In the South the burdens borne by the women were especially heavy. The actual fighting was in their section, and they saw all about them fields laid waste, homes burnt, supplies destroyed, hostile soldiers, and starvation and misery. Southern writings are justly filled with tributes to women for their bravery and their work in these trying times.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *secession, inauguration, inaugural address, force of arms, border states, volunteer system, conscription, draft, gunboats, reënforce, reënforcements, Copperheads, allegiance, blockade runners, invade, invasion, a rout, assassination, scouts, spies.*

I. What is meant by a "civil" war? At what earlier periods in the country's history had certain of the states threatened to "secede"? (See pp. 217, 239, 279.) Locate the states that had seceded before Lincoln's inauguration. What "slave" states had not at that time joined the Confederacy? Why were some of the influential men of the North opposed to the use of force in bringing the seceded states back into the Union? Can you think of any reasons why President Buchanan should have decided to take no strong measures to prevent the secession of South Carolina? Remember that South Carolina seceded in December, 1860, while Buchanan was still President. In what important ways did the Confederate States of America differ from the original Union formed in 1789?

II. Compare the relative advantages and disadvantages of the North and the South in 1861 for carrying on a successful war. What and where were the "border states"? Why did the North make an especially determined effort to keep these in the Union? With what results? Study carefully on a map the location of these border states; note how they formed a "buffer" between the free states and the seceded states. Why should the North have been particularly anxious lest Maryland should go with the South? What especial disadvantage would the North have suffered if Missouri had seceded?

III. Locate Manassas Junction in Virginia near which the Battle of Bull Run was fought. Note the direction of the railroads that joined at Manassas. Why should the Confederate army have chosen this as the point at which to make a stand against Northern invasion? McClellan was severely criticized in the North for delaying so long in moving his army toward Richmond. Why were the Northerners especially annoyed at this delay? Can you think of any reasons that may have caused McClellan to delay in spite of criticism? What was Lee's object in attempting to invade the North in 1862? What was the result of this attempt? From a study of the map, tell why the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson was so important to the Union cause. What would be the advantage to the Union army of controlling the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers? Why was the contest for Missouri and Arkansas important? Why was New Orleans an especially important city for the Union forces to occupy?

IV. What was Lincoln's purpose in emancipating the slaves in the seceded states? Why was this not the same as the abolition of slavery? What were some of the great difficulties that Lincoln had to meet in guiding the Nation through the war?

V. What was the object of the Union in blockading the Southern ports? What was the purpose of the Confederacy in fitting out ships like the *Alabama?* Locate Hampton Roads. Why was it particularly important to the North to control the entrance to Chesapeake Bay? Why was the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* important?

VI. What was Lee's object in his second invasion of the North (1863)? His most advanced outposts reached the banks of the Susquehanna opposite Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; locate on the map. Who was appointed to check Lee's invasion? Locate Gettysburg on the map. Why is Gettysburg called the "high-tide of the Confederacy"? Why is the Battle of Gettysburg listed among the "decisive" battles of the world's history? Locate Vicksburg and tell why its capture was so important to the Union cause.

VII. Describe Grant's plan of campaign for 1864. Trace on the map (p. 426) the course of Grant's campaign against Lee in Virginia. Note the general direction of these movements and the points where the successive battles (Wilderness, Spotsylvania Court House, and Cold Harbor) were fought. What did Lee hope to accomplish by Early's raid? Why did his plans fail? Locate the point where Lee surrendered.

VIII. Name the important results of the war. Comparing the results with the cost of the war in money, in human life, and in the suffering caused, would you say that the good accomplished was worth the sacrifice? Give reasons for your answer. Describe the services rendered by women during the war.

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Select one of the following topics for study and report:

The Battle of Bull Run: See Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 287–291; Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 225–230.

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*: See Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 357–358; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 185–195.

The Gettysburg Campaign: See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, ch. v; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 323–327; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 227–236; Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 372–378.

Lee's Surrender at Appomattox: See Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 329–333; Gilman's *Robert E. Lee*, ch. xix; Coombs's *Ulysses S. Grant*, ch. xix; Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 509–515.

2. Select one or more of the following leaders of the Civil War period for study and report:

Ulysses S. Grant: See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 217–228; Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 179–183 (account of Grant as a cadet at West Point); Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 239–248 (account of the Vicksburg campaign); Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 264–269 (Grant at Fort Donelson); Coombs's *Ulysses S. Grant*.

Robert E. Lee: See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 229–237; Gilman's *Robert E. Lee*.

Stonewall Jackson: See Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 266–269; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 213–223.

David G. Farragut: See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 238–248; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from*

American History, pp. 303-322; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 313–315; Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 362–366.

3. Tell the story of Clara Barton as illustrating the services rendered by women as Civil War nurses.

See Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 252–255; Hart's *Romance of the Civil War*, pp. 416–418.

4. Give as many reasons as you can to explain why Lincoln is looked upon as one of the great figures of history.

See Nicolay's *Abraham Lincoln*, ch. xxviii; Roosevelt and Lodge's *Hero Tales from American History*, pp. 324–335; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 333–335; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 206–216; Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 109–111.

5. Make a "time line" twelve inches in length. Let one inch represent one month. Mark on it in the proper places the events that happened between Nov. 1, 1860 and Nov. 1, 1861.

CHAPTER XXIII

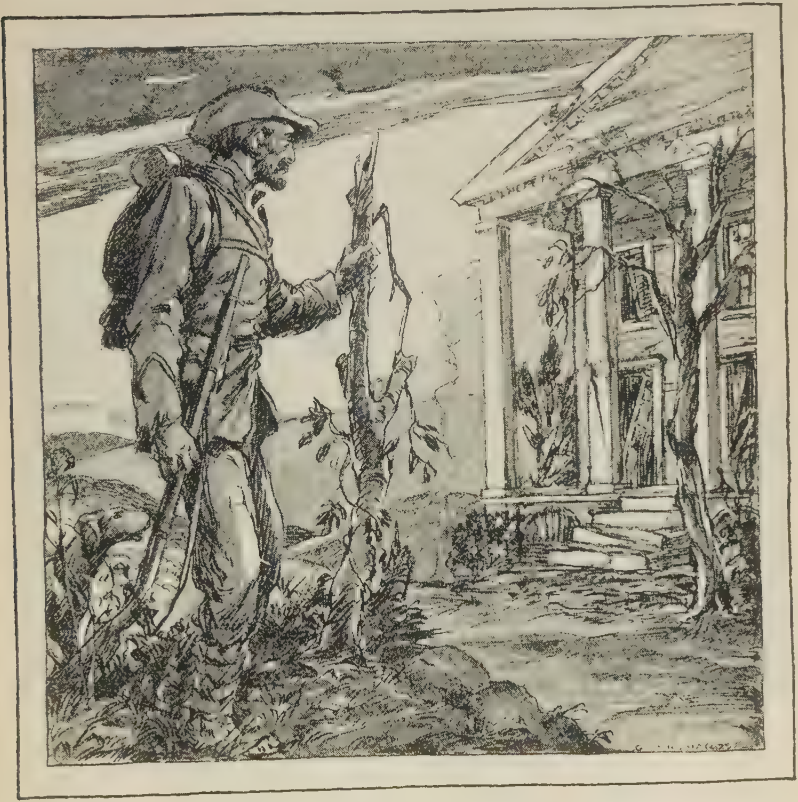
RECONSTRUCTION. THE RISE OF THE NEW SOUTH

I. Problems of Reconstruction

When the Northern soldiers returned to their homes at the close of the war they found little difficulty in settling down to a life of peace. The farms were prosperous; the factories were busy; there was work for all. Except in Pennsylvania where Lee's armies had overrun a small section of the country, the North had suffered little from actual destruction by the war.

The returning soldiers of the South, however, found things at home quite the opposite. Business of all kinds was at a standstill. There was very little money that had any value, for the Confederate paper money and other "promises to pay" were now worthless. Throughout large sections fields had been laid waste, railroads torn up, and bridges destroyed. Wherever the armies had been, many buildings — churches, homes, barns, shops, stores, and factories — were in ruins. Poverty and misery were everywhere. And to cap it all there were the former slaves, now free, but quite at a loss to know what freedom meant — most of them unable to provide for themselves.

So great was the suffering in many places that the federal government had to send in food and distribute it to the people, black and white alike. The great majority of the white Southerners, however, faced their new tasks with courage and determination. Though they felt keenly the bitterness of defeat and even suffered from actual want, they set about bravely to build a New South on the ruins of the old.



THE RETURN OF THE CONFEDERATE SOLDIER

The Federal Government's Efforts to Reconstruct the Southern States. The task of the Southerners was made far more difficult than it might have been by the methods of Congress in organizing anew, or "reconstructing," the governments of the states in the former Confederacy. If Lincoln had lived, matters would probably have turned out differently; but Lincoln did not live, and no one else seemed able to take up the work that he had laid down. On the other hand, the men who had the most power in Congress took a view about reconstruction quite different from the one that he had held. The views may be contrasted as follows:

Photo by Cook

THE CONFEDERATE CAPITOL AT RICHMOND

1. Lincoln had taken a generous view.[1] He would never admit that the Confederate states had actually been out of the Union; they had merely tried to leave and had failed. He thought, therefore, that they should take their old places as quickly and peaceably as possible.

When, early in the war, the Union armies got control of Confederate states such as Tennessee (p. 428), Lincoln made his plans. He said that just as soon as one tenth of the voters in each state would take an oath of loyalty to the Union, they should be permitted to form a state government for themselves. In other words, each state, as soon as it gave up the effort to secede, as soon as it no longer threatened the life of the Union, was to elect its own legislature and government officers and carry on its affairs as if nothing had happened. Revenge had no part in Lincoln's plans for reconstruction.

2. After Lincoln's death, however, the Republican leaders in Congress decided that the seceded states had been out of the Union and could not come back until they were duly admitted again by Congress, which alone has the power to admit states. They held further that the federal government had both the right and the duty to "reconstruct" each of the Southern state governments in the way that it saw fit.

In December, 1865, representatives and senators, chosen by the Southern states according to plans of President Johnson, the successor of Lincoln, went to Washington. The Republican leaders, however, refused to let them take their places in Congress. It was clear that the federal government, which was supposed to represent the whole country, was really to represent only the victorious Northern states — at least until those states should see fit to restore the states of the South to their rights.

The Freedmen's Bureau and the Fourteenth Amendment. Two important steps were taken that did much to keep the federal government in direct control of the Southern states. The freed slaves — or "freedmen" as they came to be called — were especial objects of the government's care and attention. Large numbers of them had to be provided with food and other necessities of life. To look after them, Congress passed a law organizing the Freedmen's Bureau, a division of the federal government with offices throughout the former slave states. Thus federal agents were stationed all over the South.

The Fourteenth Amendment. A second important measure was a new amendment to the Constitution — the Fourteenth Amendment, which was adopted by Congress in 1866 and ratified (approved) by three fourths of the states in time to be officially announced or "proclaimed" as part of the Constitution in 1868. The Thirteenth Amendment (p. 432) had put an end to slavery but it had said nothing about the citizenship of the former slaves. The question arose as to whether they were citizens with the rights and privileges of other citizens. As slaves they had not been citizens. Did the act of freeing them from slavery give them American citizenship? The Fourteenth Amendment was intended to settle this and some additional questions that had grown out of the war. Among other things it provided:

1. That all persons born or naturalized[1] in the United States were citizens of the nation and of the state in which they lived. This made it plain that the freedmen were citizens of the United States and were to have the rights of citizens in their respective states.

2. That no state could make a law that "abridged" (that is, limited or lessened) the rights of any citizen of the United States and that no state could deny to any person within its borders the "equal protection" of the laws.

3. That a state which deprived any adult male citizens of the vote in certain elections (unless such a person were a criminal) would have the number of its representatives in

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[1] A person born in another country but residing in the United States may become an American citizen by meeting certain conditions — among other things, taking an oath of allegiance or loyalty to the American government. This process is called "naturalization" and such persons are called "naturalized" citizens as contrasted with "native-born" citizens.

Congress reduced. This was intended to compel the states to give negro men the right to vote.

4. That no person who had once taken the oath of loyalty to the United States as a federal or state officer and who had afterward aided in war against the United States should be permitted to hold any office in the state or federal governments until Congress, by a two-thirds vote of each house, should remove this restriction. Many of the Confederate leaders had been officers under the federal government or under state governments before the war and had taken the oath of loyalty. All of these were now forbidden to hold any important office even in their own state governments until Congress gave them permission to do so.

5. That no state which had attempted to secede should pay back any money that it had borrowed or pay any debt that it had made in resisting the federal government. Thus, the Southerners who had lent money to the Confederacy or to any one of the Confederate states to carry on the war could not get any part of their money back from taxes raised within these states.

Military Rule in the South. All this meant one very important thing: namely, that the federal government would control the South. The Southern leaders themselves — men fitted by ability and experience to direct the difficult work of rebuilding the South — were in effect forbidden to lift their hands. The vote was given to the freed slaves who, in some sections, far outnumbered the whites. Only a handful of these freedmen could read or write. They were, as a rule, ignorant of government and of everything connected with it.

Congress, of course, had to enforce these severe laws if they were to be observed at all by the Southern people. Each of the seceded states except Tennessee was divided into military districts, and each district was ruled by an army officer with a body of soldiers at his back. Elections were held with the voting places heavily guarded by soldiers to see that the laws were obeyed. The negroes and a few whites who were not forbidden by the laws to vote elected the state legislatures and other state officers. Thus the Southern states were " reconstructed " and all were brought back into the Union by 1870.

The Impeachment of President Johnson. Grant Elected President. Congress did not carry through these severe measures without strong opposition. Andrew Johnson, as Vice-President, had succeeded to office on the death of Lincoln. He was a Southern man from Tennessee. Bitterly opposed to the slave owners, he had been one of the leaders of the federal cause in his state, and had been chosen for the vice presidency largely because he was a prominent Southern Unionist. He had been a poor boy and had won success largely by his pluck and ability. He had no reason to love the rich slaveholders who had governed the South. And yet he knew the South, and he knew the negro. He believed that the laws passed by Congress were giving power to the negro too soon, especially as so many white men were not permitted to vote. Accordingly he vetoed nearly every bill that Congress passed dealing with Southern problems. Furthermore he sharply criticized Congress in his public speeches.

A bitter quarrel thus grew up between the President and Congress. The Republican leaders had an overwhelming majority in both houses and they had no difficulty in getting the two-thirds vote of each house needed to pass a bill over the President's veto. Among other bills, they passed a " Tenure of Office " act which forbade the President to remove any officer of the government without the consent of the Senate. Johnson replied by removing his Secretary of War. The House of Representatives then decided to " impeach" the President — that is, to bring him to trial for "high crimes and misdemeanors" as provided in the Constitution.[1] The trial took place before the Senate, with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court as presiding officer.[2] After two months of angry quarreling, the President was acquitted by the narrow margin of one vote. If he had been found guilty, he would have been removed from office; as it was, he continued his duties until his term expired in 1869.

The Republican leaders now determined to have a President thoroughly in accord with their views. In the Republican Convention of 1868, Ulysses S. Grant, whose deeds during the war had made him a great national hero, was nominated and in the November elections he was easily elected.

II. THE CARPETBAGGERS; THE RACE PROBLEM

The Fifteenth Amendment. The Republican leaders soon found that the Fourteenth Amendment did not work as they had planned it should. In spite of everything that could be done, Southern white men kept negroes from voting whenever they could. Congress accordingly proposed a Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which expressly provided that neither the states nor the United States could take the vote away from any citizen on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This Amendment was duly ratified by the states, the legislatures of the Southern states really being at this time, of course, under the control of federal agents and officers.

The Disastrous Rule of the Carpetbaggers. It was one thing to give negroes the right to vote; it was quite another thing, however, to build up farming and industry on the ruins that had been left by the war. This would take not only hard, self-sacrificing work, but wise and thoughtful planning. The many laws passed by Congress not only failed to provide these necessary things; as we have seen, they even kept from power and influence many Southerners who were well fitted to meet and solve these difficult problems.

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[1] See Constitution, Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 5; Article II, Section 4.

[2] See Article I, Section 2, Paragraph 6.

Furthermore, these laws, by keeping the educated people of the South out of office, encouraged many Northerners to take federal positions in the Southern states for the sake of what they could make out of them for their own profit. The name *carpetbaggers* came to be given to these men because they were said to have taken with them when they went South nothing but their carpetbags — a kind of valise, often made of carpet-like material and much used by travelers in those days. Whatever they may have had in these carpetbags when they went South, there was no doubt in the minds of the Southerners as to what they took back when they returned to their Northern homes. Poor as the South was, these rascals did not hesitate to use their power further to impoverish it.

It is true that many honest and devoted people from the North went South to give real help to those in distress, but they could not undo the evil work of others. It was often from most unworthy leaders that the negroes were given their first lessons in politics. Men who could not read or write were made state officers and even elected to the legislatures where they voted away huge sums of money for all kinds of useless purposes. Many of them simply enriched themselves while swindling the people. The "Carpetbag Rule of the South" is one of the blackest chapters in American history.

Efforts of the White Southerners to Regain Control. *Secret Societies Spread Terror.* The white men, shut out of the government on all sides, began to take the law into their own hands. Secret societies were formed for the purpose of checking the political power of the freedmen and the waste and injustice of carpetbag rule. The members of some of these societies dressed themselves in masks and long robes and rode about at night, warning carpetbaggers and their negro friends not to take part in the affairs of government. Often a threat was enough. Sometimes, however, the threats were followed by acts of violence. A coat of tar and feathers might be given to one who resisted; if this failed, more severe punishment might be used.

Reports soon reached the North that negroes and government agents were being cruelly treated by the Southern whites. Congress at once passed "force" laws even more severe than those that had gone before. But it was in vain. The secret societies could not be stamped out. They spread such terror that thousands of negroes would not for their lives go near the voting places at election time. The whites were again in control.

Laws Limiting the Right to Vote. The white leaders now determined to limit the right to vote in such a way that the negro would not be able to vote even if he were willing to do so — but in such a way, too, that the Fifteenth Amendment would not be broken. Different states did this in different ways, but the effect was the same. In spite of the acts of Congress and in spite of the Fifteenth Amendment, the negro lost his political power. Laws were passed, for example, forbidding anyone to vote who did not own a certain amount of property. Few negroes had any property at all, and so lost the vote. But there were white men as well who had no property — so it was provided that one who had no property could vote if he could read a section of the state constitution or understand it when it was read to him. Practically all negroes were illiterate; so also were many whites. The first condition would exclude the negroes; the second might admit some, at least, of the illiterate whites because it was the whites who decided whether a candidate for the vote could really " understand " what was read to him.[1]

In as much as these laws applied theoretically to whites and negroes, they did not deny the vote on account " of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," but rather on other grounds which no constitutional provision forbade. Indeed at about the same time, Northern states like Massachusetts and Connecticut passed laws requiring that a man must prove himself able to read before being given the vote. They did this mainly to keep uneducated immigrants from voting. In the South, on the other hand, the laws worked in such a way as to cut down especially the number of negro voters. As a result the rule of the white men was restored. By both North and South the letter of the Fifteenth Amendment was respected, and the laws limiting the vote were upheld by the Supreme Court with the exception of the "grandfather clause."

III. The Development of Farming and Manufacturing

Breaking up the Large Plantations. Besides regaining control over their state and local affairs, the Southern whites took up the problem of rebuilding business and industry. Their cotton, rice, and tobacco were in demand and would again bring them wealth if they could find some way to raise big crops. They had little money to buy seed, fertilizers, tools, and farm animals, however, and with slavery abolished there was a difficult labor problem to solve. Many of the planters, therefore, were forced to break up their large estates into smaller farms. Some of these were rented on shares to the free negro farmers. Others were sold to negroes or the poorer whites for small cash payments with long-term mortgages. Still others were kept by the planters themselves and tilled by negro laborers who now, of course, had to be paid wages in one form or another.

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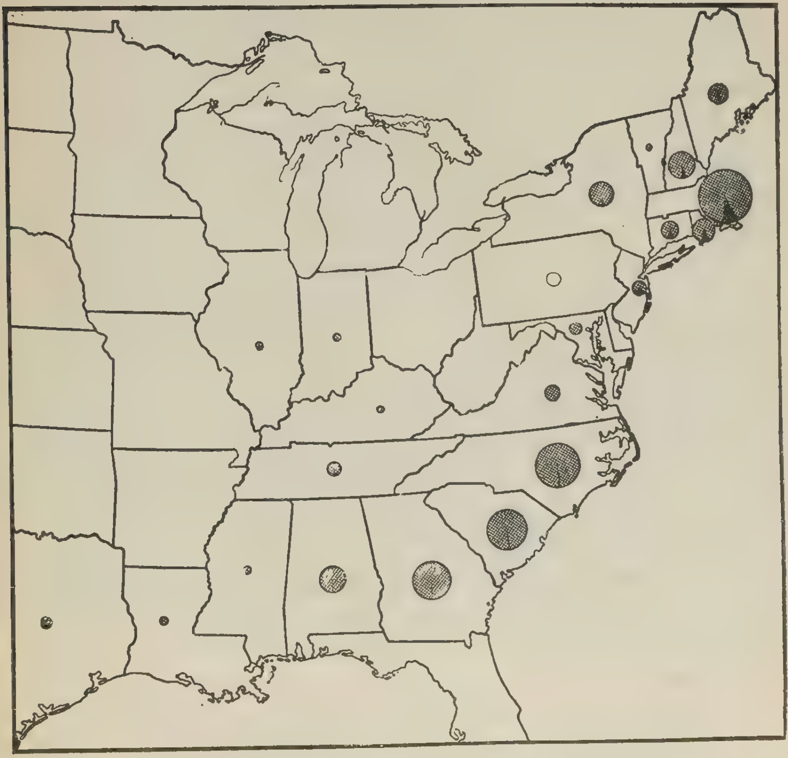
[1] The most famous of these laws was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States because it contained what was called the "grandfather clause." This law limited the vote to those with property or those who could read, but in order to allow whites who were both poor and illiterate to vote it was provided that such a person could vote if he had voted before 1867 or if he were the son or grandson of a man who had voted before 1867.



THE PRINCIPAL COTTON-MANUFACTURING STATES

The Revival of the Cotton Trade. There were many difficulties in bringing about these changes, but in spite of them all the South soon began to ship its products in large quantities to the markets of the Northern states and to Europe. By 1879 the output of cotton was about 5,000,000 bales, or more than the output of 1860 just before the Civil War.

The Industrial Revolution in the South. *Cotton Manufacturing.* The upbuilding of cotton planting was by no means the only interest of the South. More and more attention was given to manufacturing. Before the war the leaders of the South were chiefly large-scale farmers who took little interest in industry. There were few skilled machinists, and it was thought impossible to train slaves for work in factories.

After the war, however, many Southerners turned to other things than planting. Former slaveholders and their sons went into business either by themselves or with the help of Northern capitalists. They saw raw cotton on every hand, and they began to build cotton mills, especially in the hilly regions where water power and a supply of white labor were to be found. In the forty years between 1860 and 1900, the number of cotton-spinning mills in the South multiplied more than twelvefold, and the number of employees in the cotton mills increased more than tenfold. In 1905 there were nearly 100,000 wage earners in the cotton mills of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. By 1920, forty per cent of the cotton manufacturing of the country was done in the Southern states.

The Iron and Steel Industries. Southern business activity was not confined to cotton manufacturing. The South was rich in timber for shipbuilding, in pine forests producing tar and turpentine, in clays for tile and pottery, in marble quarries, in phosphate beds for fertilizers, and in coal and iron. Before 1860 the South bought nearly all her coal from Northern mines; by the end of the century she was shipping coal abroad. In 1880 Alabama stood tenth among the states producing pig iron; in 1890 it stood third. By 1910 the Southern states alone put out more coal and iron than all the Union had in 1870. Nashville, Chattanooga, Atlanta, Memphis, and Birmingham were then rivaling busy Northern cities in their industries and their shops. Birmingham was a great coal and iron center — the Pittsburgh of the South.

The Development of Transportation. The building of railways kept pace with the growth of Southern industries.

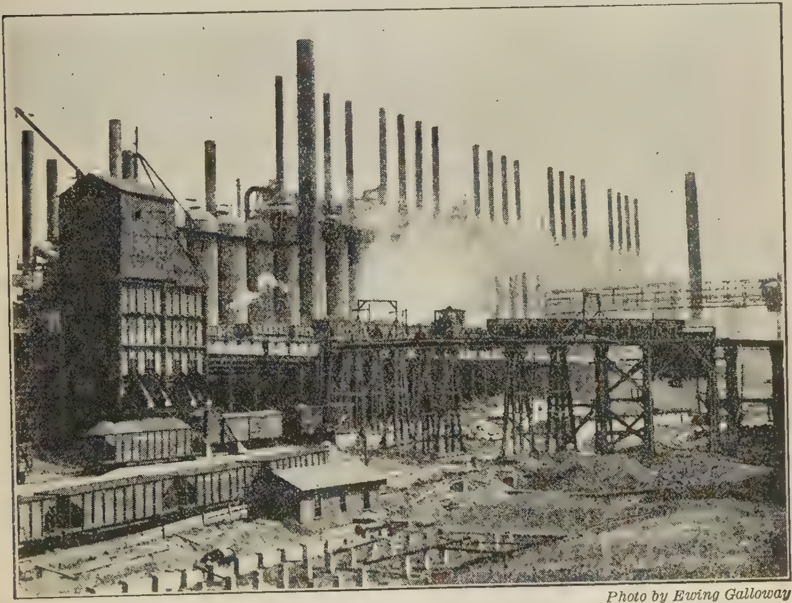


Photo by Ewing Galloway

BLAST FURNACES AT BIRMINGHAM

The railways, which had been run down as well as badly damaged during the war, were made over, partly with the help of the federal government. Throughout the South the total number of miles of railroad rose from 11,000 in 1870 to 63,000 in 1910. The railways also helped to develop the industries. They created a demand for iron and wood products. They advertised the South and opened easy ways for freight and passenger traffic to the seaboard and the North.

Changes in the Life of the People. *Industrial Wage Workers.* The growth of industry made many changes in Southern life. It led to the growth of cities, to the employment of children in factories, and to the formation of trade-unions among working people. So the South soon had all the problems of the North.

The Planters Reduced in Power. Perhaps the fact that now the planter was less powerful was the most striking of the many changes. There had long been in the South thousands of white farmers who owned no slaves and who did not favor the slave system. But for the most part they had accepted the leadership of the planters.

When slavery was abolished and former masters fell into poverty, these farmers began to rise to power in politics. They had fought gallantly in the war and they could no longer be denied a share in public affairs. In the struggle to break negro control in the days of reconstruction, all the white people, rich and poor, had united; after it was over, the poorer people had a much larger voice in politics. The power of the planter was further cut down by the rise of manufacturers and business men who could not be ignored. Thus the political strength of the "planting aristocracy" was greatly reduced.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *reconstruction, freedmen, naturalize, naturalization, abridge rights, oath of allegiance, impeachment, high crimes and misdemeanors, carpetbaggers, planting aristocracy.*

I. How had Lincoln planned to "reconstruct" the Southern states? Contrast his plans with those actually carried out by Congress. Read the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments. (See Appendix.) Why were the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments needed after the Thirteenth Amendment had been adopted? What were the important differences between President Johnson's view of reconstruction and that of the leaders of his party in Congress? What is meant by "impeachment"? Describe the method that is followed in impeaching an officer of the government (see the Constitution, Article I, Section 2 and Article II, Section 4).

II. Describe the rule of the carpetbaggers. In what ways did the Southerners oppose this rule? Why were the secret societies organized? What did they do? In what ways did the South succeed in keeping the negroes from voting? How did some of the Northern states also limit the vote, and why?

III. How has the South changed its farming methods? In what ways will farming in the South probably change in the future? In what industries does the South now rival the North?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Find the important facts about the life of Andrew Johnson. What were the strong and weak points in his character? In what ways was his life like Lincoln's and Andrew Jackson's? How did he differ from each of these men?

See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, ch. ix.

2. Charles Sumner was a prominent Northern leader in Congress during the war and the days of reconstruction. Find out something about him.

See Brooks's *Stories of the Old Bay State*, pp. 217–223; Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 34–38.

3. The Southern people to-day usually vote the Democratic ticket. They are spoken of as the "Solid South." What does this term mean? In what ways did the policy of the North in its attempts at reconstruction lead to a solid South? Page's *Red Rock* gives the Southern view of reconstruction.

4. Find all that you can about the life and work of Booker T. Washington. Find what other negroes have gained distinction because of their services in improving the condition of their people. Have you ever read any of the poetry of the negro poets, Paul Laurence Dunbar and Countee Cullen? See Jackson's *A Boys'*

Life of Booker T. Washington. Read some in Dubois' *Souls of Black Folk.*

5. Compare the effects of the Industrial Revolution in the South after the War with the effects of that in the North much earlier. (See Chapter XVII.)

6. Compare in trade and industry two Southern cities like New Orleans and Birmingham, Alabama, with any two Northern cities you care to choose.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE SLAVERY PROBLEM, THE CIVIL WAR, RECONSTRUCTION, AND THE NEW SOUTH (CHAPTERS XXI, XXII, XXIII)

I. Slavery becomes a national problem
  A. Constitutional provisions regarding slavery
  B. Abolition of slaves in the Northern states
  C. The "balance of power" between the slave states and the free states

II. Events leading to the Civil War
  A. The Missouri Compromise
  B. The abolition movement and its leaders
  C. The development of cotton raising in the South, a result of the Industrial Revolution in England and New England
  D. The Compromise of 1850
    1. California admitted as a free state
    2. The Fugitive Slave Law; the "underground railroad"
  E. The Kansas-Nebraska Act repeals the Missouri Compromise
    1. The Republican party organized
    2. Warfare in Kansas
  F. The Dred Scott Decision
  G. The Lincoln-Douglas debates
  H. John Brown's raid

III. The political situation on the eve of the Civil War
  A. The tariff and homestead issues
  B. The rise of Lincoln
  C. The division in the Democratic party
  D. The political campaign of 1860: Lincoln elected

IV. The Civil War
  A. The secession of seven Southern states and the organization of the Confederate States of America
  B. Divided opinion in the North
  C. Lincoln's first inaugural
  D. Fort Sumter surrendered
    1. The North aroused
    2. Four additional states join the Confederacy
  E. Preparations for war; relative advantages of the North and the South
  F. The campaigns of 1861 and 1862
    1. Early Union defeats in the East
    2. Union successes in the West
  G. The Emancipation Proclamation
  H. The War on the water
  I. The campaigns of 1863
    1. New defeats in the East
    2. The Battle of Gettysburg
    3. Vicksburg surrendered
    4. The Battles of Chattanooga and Chickamauga
  J. The campaigns of 1864 and 1865
    1. Grant in command of all Union armies
    2. Sherman's march
    3. Grant in Virginia; the Wilderness; Appomattox
  K. The assassination of Lincoln
  L. The cost of the War
  M. Women and the War

V. Reconstruction in the South
  A. Problems of reconstruction
  B. The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution

- *C.* Military rule in the South and its consequences
- *D.* The struggle between President Johnson and Congress; the impeachment, trial, and acquittal of Johnson
- *E.* The campaign of 1869; Grant elected
- *F.* The Fifteenth Amendment
- *G.* The rule of the carpetbaggers

VI. The rise of the New South
- *A.* The situation at the close of the Civil War
- *B.* The development of farming
- *C.* The Industrial Revolution in the South

Important names:

Presidents: Taylor and Fillmore (1849–1853), Pierce (1853–1857), Buchanan (1857–1861), Lincoln (1861–1865), Lincoln and Johnson (1865–1869), Grant (1869–1877)

Other Political Leaders: Davis, Douglas, Garrison, Frémont, Seward, Alexander H. Stephens, Greeley

Military and Naval Leaders: Grant, Lee, Sherman, McClellan, Stonewall Jackson, Sheridan, Johnston, Farragut, Meade, Hooker, Thomas, Early

Important dates: 1820; 1850; 1854; April 14, 1861; January 1, 1863; July 1–3, 1863; April 9, 1865

PART SIX

Fifty Years of Progress

TIME CHART — Chapters XXIV to XXX

ADMINISTRATION	GROWTH OF WEST	INDUSTRY AND SCIENCE	IMMIGRATION, CAPITAL AND LABOR	PARTIES AND POLITICAL ISSUES	FOREIGN AFFAIRS	EDUCATION
		Discovery of anaesthetics (1846) The webb press (1853)	Employers Association, Boston (1825)			
Buchanan 1857–1861	Admission of Oregon (1859) Pony Express (1860)	Discovery of petroleum (1859)				Boston Medical School for Women (1858)
Lincoln 1861–1865	Charter of Union Pacific (1862) Homestead Law (1862) Admission of Nevada (1864)		Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (1863) Immigration law (1864)			The first Morrill Act (1862)
Lincoln and Johnson 1865–1869	Admission of Nebraska (1867)				French troops withdrawn from Mexico (1865)	Vassar College (1865) Women to Univ. of Wis. (1867)
Grant 1869–1877	Union and Central Pacific Railroads completed (1869) Admission of Colorado (1876)	Lake Superior iron and copper deposits (1870) Inventions of telephone and phonograph (1876)	Knights of Labor (1869) Naturalization refused the Chinese (1870) National labor-union conventions (1870–1871) Industrial panic (1873) Strike of 1877	Labor Reformers Party (1872) Demonetization of silver (1873)	Arbitration of Alabama Affair (1871)	The Chautauqua (1874) Centennial Exposition (1876)
Hayes 1877–1881		Brush's arc light (1878) Edison's incandescent light (1879)	Rockefeller's oil trust (1879)	Redemption of Greenbacks (1879)	Treaty with Samoa (1878)	First manual training high school (1880)
Garfield and Arthur 1881–1885		American Associated Press (1882)	American Federation of Labor (1881) Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)	Civil Service Act (1883)		
Cleveland 1885–1889		Electric trolley (1887) Automobile (1887)	Chicago Strike (1886) Strike of 1888	Interstate Commerce Act (1887)		Agricultural stations (1885)
Harrison 1889–1893	Oklahoma opened (1889) Admission of N. and S. Dak., Wash., Mont. (1889) Idaho (1890) Forest Reserve Act (1891)	Airplane flights (1889)	Panic of 1892–1893	Sherman Antitrust Act (1890) Socialist Labor and the Populist Parties (1892)	Joint Protectorate over Samoa (1889)	

Cleveland 1893–1897			Chicago strike (1894)		Cuban revolt (1895)	
McKinley 1897–1901	Annexation of Hawaii (1898)	Type-setting machines (1900)	American Civic Federation (1900) United States Steel Corporation (1901)	Dingley Tariff (1897)	War with Spain (1898) Filipino Revolt (1899) Boxer Rebellion (1900)	
McKinley and Roosevelt 1901–1905		Gorgas conquers yellow fever in Panama (1904–1906)	Anthracite Strike (1902)		Arbitration with Canada (1903)	
Roosevelt 1905–1909	Admission of Oklahoma (1907)	Wright Brothers flights (1905)	"Gentlemen's agreement" with Japan (1907) Business depression (1907)		Filipinos given partial self-government (1907)	
Taft 1909–1913	Admission of Arizona and New Mexico (1912) Territorial government for Alaska (1912)			Tariff of 1909 Income Tax (1909) (proposed amendment)		
Wilson 1913–1921	Public Lands Commission (1914)	Panama Canal (1914) Farm Loan Board (1916) Water Power Commission (1920)	Federal Trade Commission (1914) Clayton Antitrust Law (1914) Financial depression (1920)	Federal Reserve Banks (1913) Seventeenth Amendment (1913) New tariff commission (1916)	More home rule for Filipinos (1916) More home rule for Porto Rico (1917)	Smith-Hughes Act (1917)
Harding and Coolidge 1921–1925		Atlantic flight of Alcock and Brown (1920) Round-world flight of Army Air Service (1924)	Further restriction of immigration (1921) Coal strikes (1922) Federal Labor Board (1923) Further restriction of immigration (1924)	Fordney-McComber Tariff (1922)		
Coolidge 1925–1929		Byrd's flight to North Pole (1926) Flight of Amundsen and others across North Pole (1926) Trans-Atlantic flights of Lindbergh, Chamberlain, Byrd, and others (1927)	Coal strike (1926)			

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GROWTH OF THE FAR WEST

I. Beyond the Mississippi

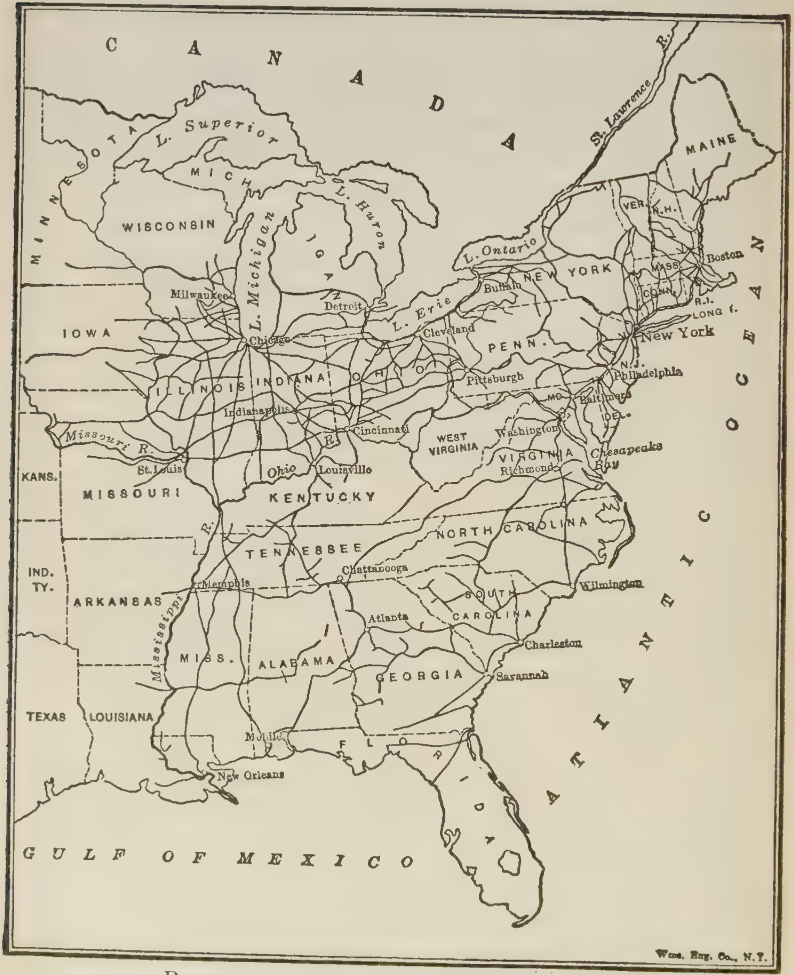
In 1860 the Far West beyond the Mississippi Valley was little known to the people on the Atlantic coast. No railway line connected the two oceans. In their westward march the railway builders had stopped at St. Joseph, Missouri. Two thousand miles of trail and mountain road lay between that straggling town and San Francisco. Since the days of the first Oregon settlement (p. 299) and the later "gold rush" to California (p. 305), this route had been traveled by many thousand people, but to the north and south of the great overland trails the country was very largely an unsettled wilderness.

The Geography of the Region. The vast territory that lay between the Mississippi Valley and the Pacific states was almost equal in area to all the older Eastern states combined. Much of it, however, was unlike the rich prairie of the Iowa country. A very large part was made up of treeless plains and high plateaus, where little rain fell except in the winter and spring and where during most of the year the grass was dry and brown. Then there were millions of acres of almost barren desert on which hardly anything but sagebrush and cactus grew. Beyond the great plains lay the Rocky Mountains and beyond the Rockies other broad, dry plateaus. Then towered the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains. These mountain ranges were rich in gold, silver, copper, lead, and coal.

Beyond the Sierra and the Cascades was the fertile Pacific slope. Much of it was well watered by streams, while the remainder could be tilled as soon as irrigation plants were built. In the valleys of the Columbia, Willamette, Sacramento, and San Joaquin rivers were millions of acres as fertile for wheat growing as any of the black prairies in Illinois or Missouri.

Before this vast region could be well settled, however, two things were necessary. The first was a means of rapid communication with the East. The second was the grant of land in small farms, free or at a low price, to actual settlers. Both of them had long been talked about. Both of them soon came to pass.

The "Pony Express" and the Railroad to the Pacific. In 1860 two energetic men decided to find a quick way of reaching California, and they started the famous "pony express." They bought six hundred bronchos — the small, tough horses of the Western plains — and hired seventy-five lightweight riders. They laid out a line of travel. They arranged that each man should ride a hundred miles in the plains or forty miles in the mountains and then be relieved by another. The horses were changed at more frequent intervals. Thus a continuous chain was made to the coast. The lowest postage rate was five dollars. At noon on April 3, 1860, the first pony express rider dashed out of St. Joseph, Missouri, amid music and cheers, carrying with him a letter from President Buchanan to the governor of California. Ten days later an express rider, tired and dusty, galloped into Sacramento on his broncho with the dispatch. In December, 1860, President Buchanan's message to Congress was published in Sacramento less than nine days after its delivery in Washington! This express service continued until the first telegraph line was completed to the coast in 1861.


CANADA
L. Superior
MINNESOTA
MICH.
WISCONSIN
L. Michigan
MICHIGAN
L. Huron
St. Lawrence R.
MAINE
VER.
N.H.
L. Ontario
NEW YORK
Boston
MASS.
CONN.
R.I.
LONG I.
New York
Buffalo
L. Erie
Detroit
Milwaukee
Chicago
IOWA
Cleveland
PENN.
N.J.
Philadelphia
Pittsburgh
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
Indianapolis
MD.
Baltimore
DEL.
Missouri R.
St. Louis
Cincinnati
WEST VIRGINIA
Washington
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Chesapeake Bay
KANS.
MISSOURI
Ohio R.
Louisville
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
Chattanooga
IND. TY.
Memphis
ARKANSAS
Wilmington
Atlanta
SOUTH CAROLINA
Mississippi R.
MISS.
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
Charleston
Savannah
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
Mobile
FLORIDA
New Orleans
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
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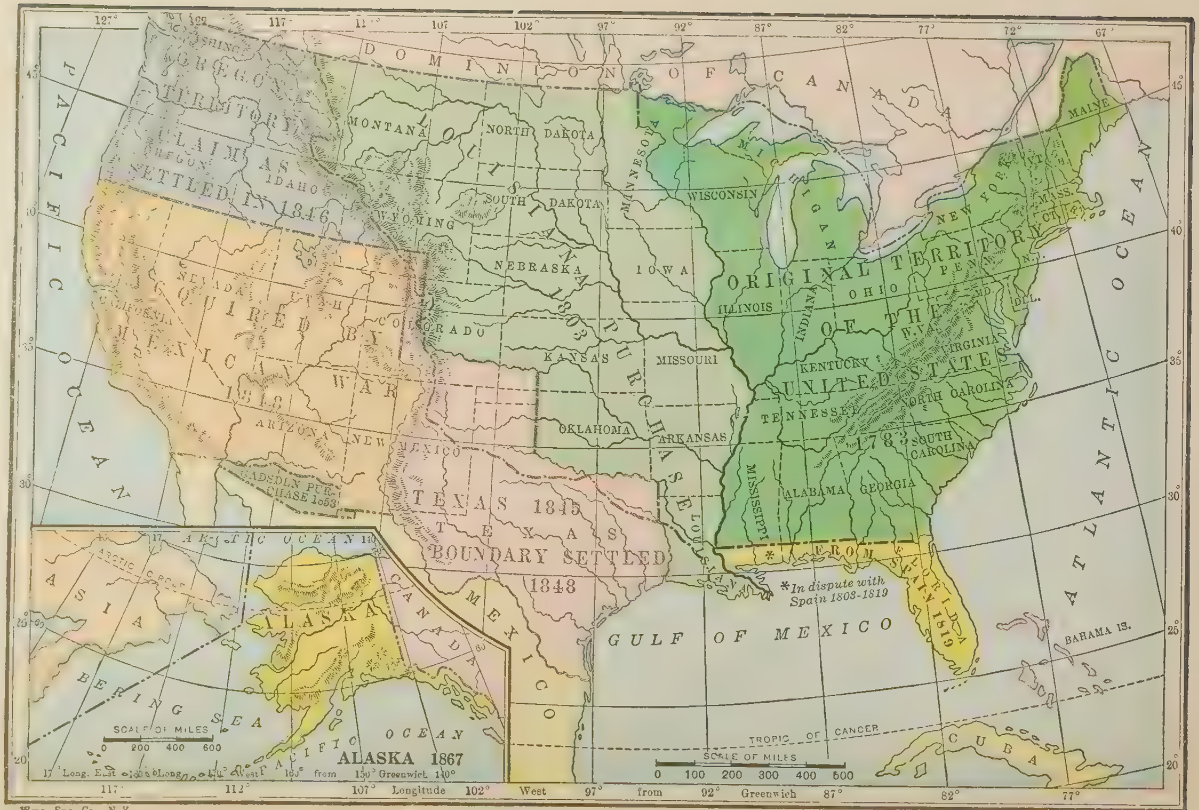
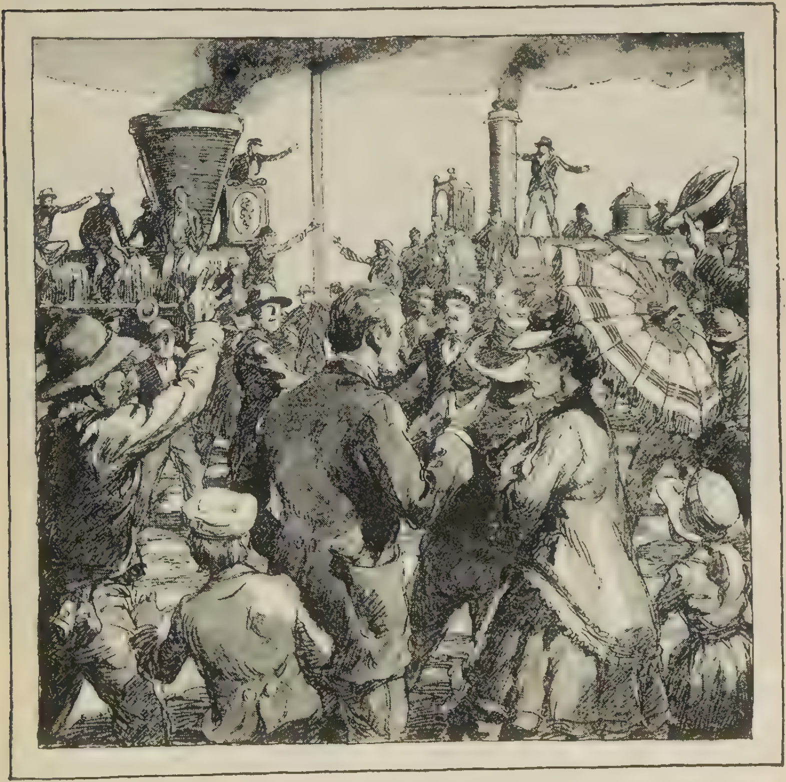
Railroads of the United States in 1860

The real triumph came with the opening of the first railroad to the Pacific Coast. In 1862 Congress chartered the Union Pacific Company; it gave the company the right to


DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
MEXICO
OREGON TERRITORY
CLAIM AS SETTLED IN 1846
ACQUIRED BY MEXICAN WAR 1848
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
TEXAS 1845
TEXAS BOUNDARY SETTLED 1848
LOUISIANA PURCHASE 1803
ORIGINAL TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES 1783
FLORIDA FROM SPAIN 1819
*In dispute with Spain 1803-1819
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
ARIZONA
MONTANA
WYOMING
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
W.VA.
MD.
DEL.
PENN.
N.J.
NEW YORK
CT.
R.I.
MASS.
VT.
N.H.
MAINE
BAHAMA IS.
CUBA
TROPIC OF CANCER
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude West from Greenwich
127° 122° 117° 112° 107° 102° 97° 92° 87° 82° 77° 72° 67°
45° 40° 35° 30° 25° 20°
ALASKA 1867
ALASKA
ASIA
CANADA
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
Long. East 180° Long. West from Greenwich

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES lay tracks through the public lands and made it a large loan of money and a gift of land. The line was built by two construction companies. One, the Union Pacific, worked westward from Omaha, Nebraska; the other, called the Central Pacific, worked eastward from Sacramento, California. The two companies met near Ogden, Utah, in 1869, and with a great ceremony made it known that the East and the West were bound together by "a band of steel that would never be broken."



THE COMPLETION OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD BY THE MEETING OF THE UNION PACIFIC AND CENTRAL PACIFIC NEAR OGDEN, UTAH

The Homestead Law of 1862. In order to help settle the West, the federal government provided an easy way for the poorest of home seekers to acquire land. In 1862 Congress passed the Homestead Law which had long been demanded. Under it any citizen, man or woman, over twenty-one, or any foreigner who had declared his intention of becoming an American citizen could take up 160 acres of the public lands. No charge, except a few dollars for land-office fees, was made for the land. The homesteader became the owner of this land after living on it five years. Special favors were shown to Northern soldiers and sailors of the Civil War.

While the home seekers were hunting far and wide for fertile lands upon which to settle, prospectors, with pick and shovel in hand, were searching for precious metals. In the early sixties they found valuable deposits of gold and silver in Nevada, Idaho, and Montana, and in a little while rich veins of copper were unearthed, especially in Montana. Silver was discovered in Colorado, and thousands of miners invaded that territory.

II. New Western States and Territories

Nevada. In 1861 Nevada was separated from Utah and made a new territory. It was settled largely by miners and Mormons. Although it had only about forty thousand inhabitants, it was, three years later, admitted to the Union as a state. President Lincoln needed this state to make the three fourths required to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery.

Nebraska. Nebraska was next admitted as a state. This region had been organized into a territory by the famous Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise and did much to bring on the Civil War (p. 404). Kansas had become a state in 1861, and the remainder of the region became Nebraska Territory. In 1867, Nebraska was reduced in size and brought into the Union with its 67,000 inhabitants.

Colorado. A few years after Nebraska became a state, Colorado asked for admission to the Union. It had been made a territory in 1861 when the population consisted of only a few thousand miners drawn to the region by the discovery of gold and silver at Cripple Creek and Leadville.

Courtesy State Historical Society of Colorado

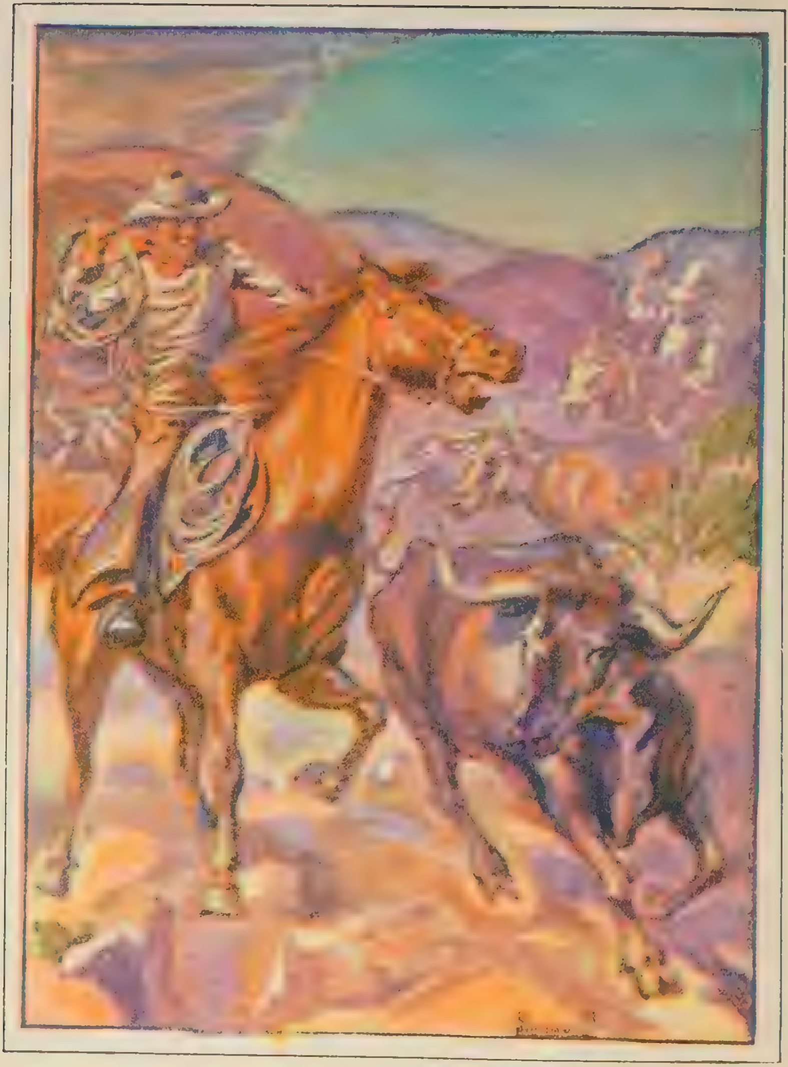
THE SITE OF THE FIRST IMPORTANT GOLD DISCOVERY IN COLORADO

Even then, its capital, Denver, named after the governor of Kansas, whence came many settlers, was only three years old and nothing more than a collection of cabins. During the next few years, however, the mining population grew rapidly and the valleys and plateaus attracted settlers and home makers. By 1875 a population of more than a hundred thousand was claimed. In 1876 Congress made Colorado a member of the American Union, the "Centennial State," because it came in one hundred years after the Declaration of Independence.

Western Territories in 1876. When the nation celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its independence, it still had an immense area of unoccupied land in the West. Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Dakota, and Indian Territory were governed as territories. Their total population in 1870 was under half a million — less than that of Connecticut. New Mexico with 91,000 inhabitants and Utah with 86,000, with some show of reason, might have claimed a place among the states, because at that time Oregon, admitted in 1859, had only 90,000 people.

Miners and Cattlemen. This vast and thinly settled region of territories was then in the second stage of its growth (p. 308). The first comers — the trappers, the hunters, and the explorers — had nearly finished their work. Now the miners were busy with pick and shovel; the ranchmen and cowboys with their herds of cattle were roaming over the great grazing plains, waging war on cattle thieves and land companies. Farmers were hunting for homesteads wherever fertile fields could be found. Railway builders were also crossing the ranges of the cattle kings.

The Dakotas. In the North settlement had been checked by the Sioux Indians, who lived on a great reservation in Dakota; but the discovery of gold in the Black Hills marked the doom of the red man's claims. Miners and capitalists demanded that the way be made clear for them. The land-hungry were calling for more farms. Indeed, before Congress could act, pioneers were already swarming over the regions around the Indian lands. Farmers from the other Northern states, as well as Norwegian, German, and Canadian immigrants, were planting their homesteads on the fertile Dakota fields.



THE COWBOYS' LIFE ON A CATTLE RANCH IN THE EARLY DAYS

The Homesteaders in Dakota. Under the Homestead Law of 1862 (p. 480), any thrifty person with a little money could establish himself and his family on a farm of his own where he could make a living. Women had the same rights as men to take up lands. A railway advertisement of 1877 inviting settlers to Dakota warned newcomers to arrive "by the first of May, if possible, in order to have time to select their land, build a house, and be ready to commence breaking the prairie about the first of June." Many a settler who left the Eastern coast early in the spring had a roof over his head and a fair crop harvested before snow fell.

A Dakota Farm

"Bonanza" Farmers. The opening of the Dakota country was not, however, wholly the work of small farmers and cattlemen. Often Eastern capitalists bought ten, twenty, or fifty thousand acres, furnished the stock and tools, and rented

the lands to tenants. Thus there sprang up in those fertile regions the large "bonanza" farms. Some of the big farmers located in Red River Valley in Dakota, built their own barges, and floated their grain to Fargo, the chief shipping point on the Northern Pacific Railroad.

By 1885 the farming and mining population of Dakota had become so large that the question of admission to the Union was raised. The Dakota Legislature, in that year, asked Congress to divide the territory into two parts and make each one a state. After four years of pleading Congress yielded and granted statehood to North Dakota and South Dakota.

Washington and Montana. The claims of Washington, far over on the Western coast, were also being urged. The people of that territory declared that they almost equaled in number the population of Oregon. They pointed to their rich farm lands and their vast forests. Keen-sighted business men foresaw the swift rise of trade on the Pacific. Indeed, prosperous ports, Seattle and Tacoma, were already friendly rivals of Portland and San Francisco to the south. The "Inland Empire" between the Cascade Mountains and the Rockies took pride in its chief city, Spokane. Between Washington and the Dakotas lay the plains and mountain regions of Montana. They too were rapidly filling up — with miners in search of gold, silver, coal, and copper, and with sheep raisers and cattlemen whose flocks and herds roamed the vast grazing lands.

After the fashion of enthusiastic pioneers, the people of these territories early began to boast of their "huge" populations and their "abounding" wealth and to demand admission to the Union. They wished to be equal in the rights of self-government with the inhabitants of the older states. On February 22, 1889, at the same time as the two Dakotas, Washington and Montana became states.

Idaho and Wyoming. Looking with jealous eyes upon their successful neighbors, the two territories of Idaho and Wyoming redoubled their own efforts in the battle for statehood. With the rest of the new Northwest they were making rapid strides forward. In July, 1890, they were admitted to the Union, Wyoming bringing among her voters the women, to whom suffrage had been granted in 1869.

Mormon Temple and Tabernacle at Salt Lake City

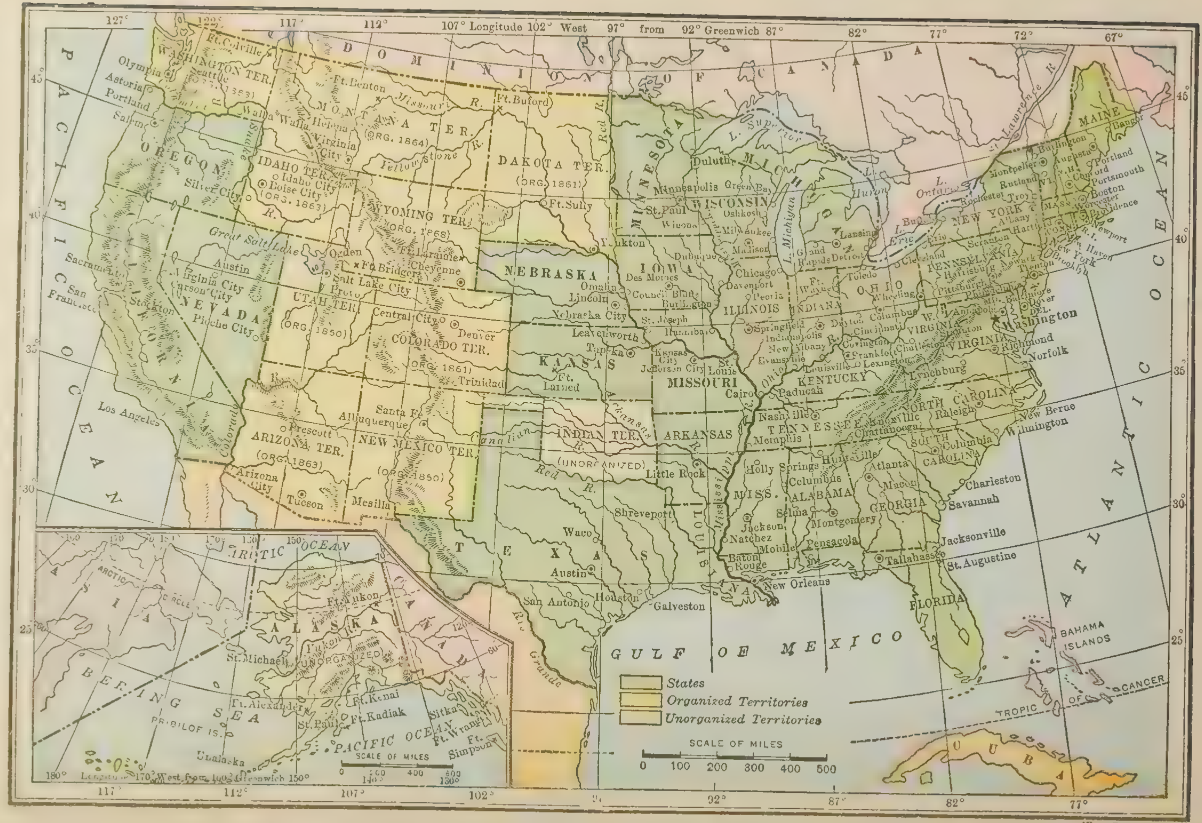
Utah. While this train of new states filed into the Union, Utah was left behind. It had a large population and was rich in farms, mines, and industries. It had one custom, however, that was not approved in the rest of the country: It still allowed polygamy, although the federal government had forbidden it by law in 1862. Not until Congress threatened to seize the property of the Mormon Church in 1887 did the Mormons decide to abide by the law. Nine years later, after many long disputes, Utah won its statehood.

Indian Territory Opened for Settlement. While the case of Utah was still being debated in Washington, the cry went up that Indian Territory should be opened to white people for settlement. The region had been set apart in 1834 as an Indian reservation. The Indians, however, made little use of the rich soil on which they lived. When the free land in the other sections was about gone, white pioneers began to move into Indian Territory without the consent of the federal government or the Indians. At length the government grew weary of driving them off the forbidden ground. It bought out the Indians and arranged to open the region for settlement as Oklahoma Territory at noon on April 22, 1889.

Oklahoma. Thousands of people camped as near as possible to the border line, awaiting the hour of the opening and ready to rush in pell-mell and stake out the best claims. When a bugle blast gave the signal at last, an army of families in wagons and of men and women on horseback and on foot burst into the Territory.

The first night, cities of tents were raised at Guthrie and at Oklahoma City, and in ten days frame buildings appeared. These towns grew with amazing rapidity. In a single year they had schools, churches, several newspapers, and well-built business houses. Other towns in the territory grew with the same speed, though many of them proved to be "boom towns" which quickly fell into decay. In 1907 Oklahoma had a population of over half a million and was admitted as the forty-sixth state. It included Oklahoma Territory and the remainder of the old Indian Territory.

Arizona, New Mexico, and Alaska. In 1912 Arizona and New Mexico were granted statehood, making forty-eight states in all.



107° Longitude 102° West 97° from 92° Greenwich 87°
127° 122° 117° 112° 82° 77° 72° 67°
45 40 35 30 25
DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
WASHINGTON TER.
(ORG. 1853)
Olympia
Seattle
Ft. Colville
Astoria
Portland
Salem
OREGON
Silver City
Walla Walla
Snake R.
MONTANA TER.
(ORG. 1864)
Ft. Benton
Helena
Virginia City
Missouri R.
Yellowstone R.
IDAHO TER.
Idaho City
Boise City
(ORG. 1863)
DAKOTA TER.
(ORG. 1861)
Ft. Buford
Ft. Sully
Yankton
Red R.
WYOMING TER.
(ORG. 1868)
Ft. Laramie
Cheyenne
Ft. Bridger
Ogden
Great Salt Lake
Salt Lake City
Provo
UTAH TER.
(ORG. 1850)
NEVADA
Austin
Virginia City
Carson City
Pioche City
CALIFORNIA
Sacramento
San Francisco
Stockton
Los Angeles
Colorado R.
COLORADO TER.
(ORG. 1861)
Central City
Denver
Trinidad
ARIZONA TER.
(ORG. 1863)
Prescott
Arizona City
Tucson
NEW MEXICO TER.
(ORG. 1850)
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Mesilla
NEBRASKA
Omaha
Lincoln
Nebraska City
KANSAS
Leavenworth
Topeka
Ft. Larned
Arkansas R.
Canadian R.
INDIAN TER.
(UNORGANIZED)
Red R.
TEXAS
Waco
Austin
San Antonio
Houston
Galveston
Rio Grande
MINNESOTA
Minneapolis
St. Paul
Duluth
Winona
L. Superior
IOWA
Des Moines
Council Bluffs
Burlington
Dubuque
WISCONSIN
Green Bay
Oshkosh
Milwaukee
Madison
MISSOURI
St. Joseph
Kansas City
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Hannibal
ARKANSAS
Little Rock
LOUISIANA
Shreveport
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Mississippi R.
ILLINOIS
Chicago
Davenport
Peoria
Springfield
Cairo
L. Michigan
MICHIGAN
Lansing
Grand Rapids
Detroit
L. Huron
INDIANA
Ft. Wayne
Indianapolis
New Albany
Evansville
OHIO
Toledo
Cleveland
Dayton
Columbus
Cincinnati
Wheeling
Ohio R.
KENTUCKY
Covington
Frankfort
Lexington
Louisville
Paducah
TENNESSEE
Nashville
Memphis
Knoxville
Chattanooga
MISS.
Holly Springs
Jackson
Natchez
Columbus
ALABAMA
Huntsville
Selma
Montgomery
Mobile
Pensacola
GEORGIA
Atlanta
Macon
Savannah
FLORIDA
Tallahassee
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
SOUTH CAROLINA
Columbia
Charleston
NORTH CAROLINA
Raleigh
Wilmington
New Berne
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Lynchburg
Norfolk
W. VIRGINIA
Charleston
Staunton
Washington
Annapolis
Baltimore
DEL.
Dover
PENNSYLVANIA
Pittsburg
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Scranton
Erie
L. Erie
NEW YORK
Buffalo
Rochester
Albany
Troy
New York
Brooklyn
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
N. J.
Newark
Trenton
CONN.
Hartford
New Haven
R. I.
Newport
Providence
MASS.
Boston
Worcester
VT.
Montpelier
Rutland
Burlington
N. H.
Concord
Portsmouth
MAINE
Augusta
Portland
Bangor
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
TROPIC OF CANCER
States
Organized Territories
Unorganized Territories
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ASIA
ALASKA
(UNORGANIZED)
CANADA
Ft. Yukon
Yukon R.
St. Michael
Ft. Alexander
Ft. Kenai
Ft. Kadiak
St. Paul
Sitka
Ft. Wrangel
Ft. Simpson
PRIBILOF IS.
Unalaska
BERING SEA
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
180° 170° 160° 150° 140° 130° 120°
Longitude West from Greenwich
117° 112° 107° 102° 97° 92° 87° 82° 77°

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE UNITED STATES IN 1870

In the same year Congress provided a territorial legislature for Alaska, which had been purchased from Russia in 1867 for $7,200,000. It contained more than 590,000 square miles, that is, an area more than twice the size of Texas. At first it was called a "worthless iceberg." However, the purchase removed a foreign neighbor — Russia — which was considered an important political stroke. Moreover, important gold, silver, copper, and coal deposits were later found and developed by railroads extending for short distances inland from the coast, and later the fisheries became very valuable. Our people then realized that the "iceberg" was one of the valuable possessions of the nation. Its development was begun in earnest in 1915, when the federal government began the construction of a railroad nearly five hundred miles long from Seward on the Pacific coast to the remote mining regions of the interior. This railroad was completed in 1923 and was inspected by President Harding on his tour of the West, just a few days before his sudden death in San Francisco.

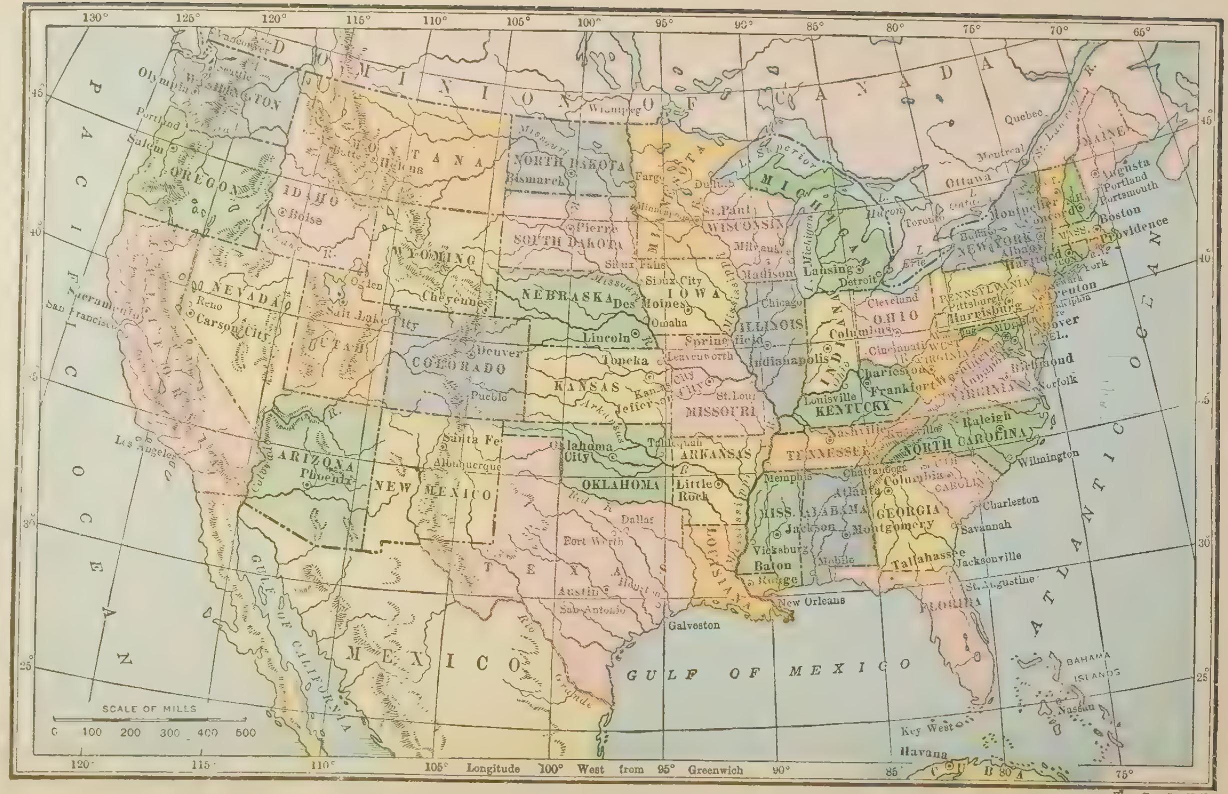
III. THE PROBLEM OF THE PUBLIC LANDS

The Public Lands. Before the end of the nineteenth century, the free land of America was practically gone. Under the great Homestead Law of 1862, millions of acres had been granted to settlers. Under timber and stone acts, land not suited for farms was sold in huge lots to lumber and mining companies at low rates. Tens of millions of acres were given to railway companies to help them build railroads into the West long before there was enough freight and passenger business to make the lines paying investments. Finally huge grants of lands were made to the states for support of schools and colleges (p. 191). In this way the public land passed out of the hands of the government until little was left except wild forests and arid deserts. By this liberal policy the Great West was rapidly opened up.

Some Evils in the Land System. Nevertheless a number of evils grew out of granting land in this way. The purpose of the Homestead Act had been to fill the West with free home-owning farmers. This purpose was, in a large measure, realized. At the same time land speculators and companies secured millions of acres intended for actual settlers and turned them into estates tilled by renters or day laborers. They did this by hiring men to take up land under the Homestead Law and then getting it from them as soon as possible. At the opening of the twentieth century it was estimated that fifty-four companies and private persons owned more than twenty-five million acres of Western lands — an area greater than that of seven small Eastern states.

A careful study of the land problem was made by a Public Lands Commission appointed by President Roosevelt. Among other things it was found that the effect of the land laws, far too often, had been to bring about ownership of land by a few rather than to increase greatly the number of small farms by actual settlement. Furthermore it reported that many tracts of land had been secured by fraud. In 1914, the Industrial Relations Commission, appointed by President Wilson, brought out the following important facts:

1. There were in the United States many vast estates tilled by day laborers at very low wages.
2. Where estates were let in plots to small farmers, the renters often had to pay very high rents.
3. Many owners of great estates lived in the East or in Europe and took little interest in their property beyond obtaining large profits from it. Moreover, it was discovered that the renting system was spreading rapidly in the older sections of the country. An ever larger number of renters were taking the place of home owners.


DOMINION OF CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
GULF OF CALIFORNIA
MEXICO
CUBA
BAHAMA ISLANDS
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
WYOMING
NEBRASKA
IOWA
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Pierre
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Duluth
St. Paul
Minneapolis
Milwaukee
Madison
Lansing
Detroit
Chicago
Sioux Falls
Sioux City
Des Moines
Omaha
Lincoln
Cheyenne
Ogden
Salt Lake City
Reno
Carson City
Sacramento
San Francisco
Los Angeles
Denver
Pueblo
Topeka
Leavenworth
Kansas City
Jefferson City
St. Louis
Springfield
Indianapolis
Columbus
Cleveland
Cincinnati
Louisville
Frankfort
Charleston
Pittsburgh
Harrisburg
Philadelphia
Trenton
Dover
Washington
Baltimore
Richmond
Norfolk
Annapolis
Buffalo
Albany
Hartford
Newark
New York
Providence
Boston
Concord
Montpelier
Portsmouth
Portland
Augusta
Toronto
Ottawa
Montreal
Quebec
Winnipeg
Santa Fe
Albuquerque
Phoenix
Oklahoma City
Tahlequah
Little Rock
Nashville
Knoxville
Raleigh
Wilmington
Memphis
Chattanooga
Atlanta
Columbia
Charleston
Savannah
Jacksonville
St. Augustine
Tallahassee
Montgomery
Mobile
Jackson
Vicksburg
Baton Rouge
New Orleans
Dallas
Fort Worth
Austin
San Antonio
Houston
Galveston
Key West
Havana
Nassau
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence R.
Missouri
Mississippi
Arkansas
Red R.
Rio Grande
Colorado R.
Snake R.
130°
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SCALE OF MILES
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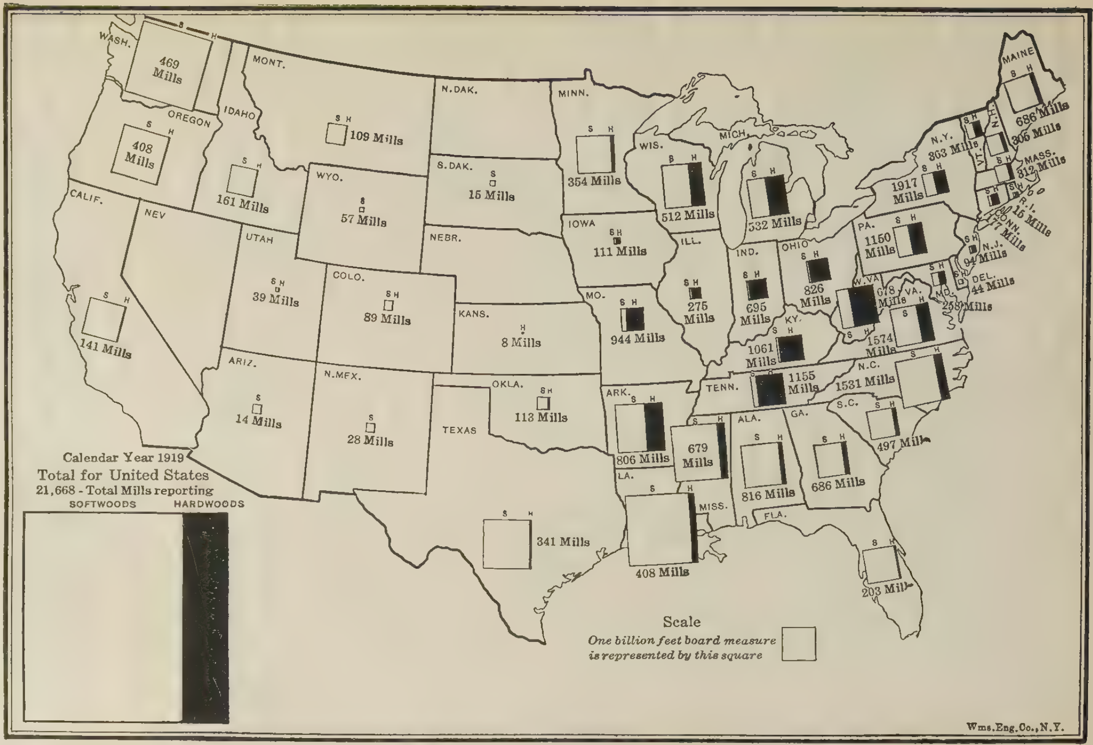
Longitude
West
from
Greenwich

THE FORTY-EIGHT STATES OF THE UNION

Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.


WASH.
469 Mills
OREGON
408 Mills
CALIF.
141 Mills
NEV
IDAHO
161 Mills
MONT.
109 Mills
WYO.
57 Mills
UTAH
39 Mills
COLO.
89 Mills
ARIZ.
14 Mills
N.MEX.
28 Mills
N.DAK.
S.DAK.
15 Mills
NEBR.
KANS.
8 Mills
OKLA.
113 Mills
TEXAS
341 Mills
MINN.
354 Mills
IOWA
111 Mills
MO.
944 Mills
ARK.
806 Mills
LA.
408 Mills
WIS.
512 Mills
MICH.
532 Mills
ILL.
275 Mills
IND.
695 Mills
OHIO
826 Mills
KY.
1061 Mills
TENN.
1155 Mills
MISS.
679 Mills
ALA.
816 Mills
GA.
686 Mills
FLA.
203 Mills
S.C.
497 Mills
N.C.
1531 Mills
VA.
1574 Mills
W.VA.
678 Mills
MD.
258 Mills
DEL.
44 Mills
N.J.
94 Mills
PA.
1150 Mills
N.Y.
1917 Mills
VT.
363 Mills
N.H.
306 Mills
MAINE
686 Mills
MASS.
312 Mills
R.I.
15 Mills
CONN.
77 Mills
S
H
Calendar Year 1919
Total for United States
21,668 - Total Mills reporting
SOFTWOODS
HARDWOODS
Scale
One billion feet board measure is represented by this square
Wms.Eng.Co., N.Y.

Lumber Mills and Relative Production of Hard and Soft Wood in Each State

4. Farmers in the West sometimes had to pay ten or twelve per cent interest on borrowed money, while business men could get it at a much lower rate.

Other evils were likewise discovered. It was found that great lumber companies had acquired enormous forests, cut the timber at their pleasure, and tried to fix high prices for their output. The reckless cutting of timber had stripped many districts. Rains were washing gullies and ravines and sweeping away countless tons of fertile soil into the rivers and the sea. Forest fires were common, and huge losses resulted annually from carelessness.

Remedies for the Evils. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, the people began to take notice of these evils. In 1891 Congress passed a Forest Reserve Act giving the President power to stop the sale of forest lands. Under this law President Harrison began the practice of holding as public reserves vast areas of forest land. Other Presidents followed his example until a great forest domain was reserved. Long afterward President Roosevelt began his famous " conservation policy " (p. 618). Dry lands were irrigated. The valuable minerals under the surface of the public lands were no longer sold but held by the national government. A federal Farm Loan Board was created, in 1916, to lend money to farmers at a low rate of interest. In 1920, a federal Water Power Commission was established to survey federal water-power sites and to arrange to have power plants built on them.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *pony express, homestead, homesteaders, Homestead Law, centennial, Centennial State, bonanza farms, the Inland Empire, the renting system, the conservation of natural resources, arid.*

I. Mark on an outline map the region of the Far West that was practically unsettled at the time of the Civil War. How large was this region as compared with the settled part of the country? How was communication maintained with the Pacific coast before the days of the railroad and telegraph? What were the important provisions of the Homestead Law? Why was the government so generous in giving land to settlers?

II. How did it happen that Nevada was admitted as a state so long before many of the territories to the east of it? What led to the early settlements in Colorado? Why is Colorado called the "Centennial State"? What people had first settled Utah? Why was the admission of Utah as a state so long delayed? What led the settlers at first to avoid the Dakotas? When were the Dakotas finally admitted? At what time did Washington and Montana become states? How long before this had Oregon been admitted? (Compare in the Time Charts.) Why was the present state of Oklahoma formerly known as Indian Territory? How did it come to be settled by white people and admitted as a state? What are the two youngest states of the Union and when did they become states? How did this country come into possession of Alaska? What was thought of this region at the time? Why has this opinion changed?

III. In what way did land companies succeed in getting possession of great farms? What were the evils of this "land monopoly"? What is meant by a "tenant" farmer? Why has the number of such farmers increased during recent years? What are the dangers of having so much land farmed by those who do not own it? Why should a country be particularly careful not to waste its forests? What are some of the plans which have been adopted to cure evils in the land system?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Imagine yourself taking a trip by stagecoach from St. Joseph to San Francisco at the time of the Civil War. Describe how you would travel and what you would be likely to see.

See Hitchcock's *The Louisiana Purchase,* ch. xv; Mark Twain's *Roughing It,* chs. i–viii.

2. In what different ways did the geography of the Rocky

Mountain country (the surface, rainfall, rivers, etc.) influence the settlement of this region?

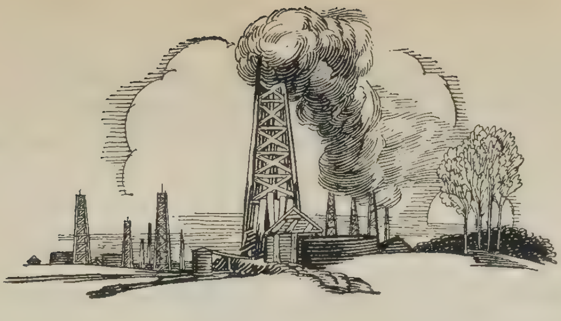
See your geographies; also Brigham's *Geographic Conditions of American History*, chs. viii and ix and Paxson's *The Last American Frontier*, chs. ii, iii, iv, and v.

3. Look up stories of life on the homesteads and ranches of the West, such as Hamlin Garland's *A Son of the Middle Border* in The Modern Readers' Series, Macmillan; Hart's, *In Our Times*, pp. 33–37, pp. 179–184.

4. List the states that have entered the Union since the Civil War. In the next column list dates of admission; in another column list population on admission; in a fourth column list population according to latest census; in the last column reasons for settlement.

Which state has increased the most in population? Why?

5. When and how did your state come into the Union? Use a state history to find out.



CHAPTER XXV

THE AGE OF INDUSTRY AND SCIENCE

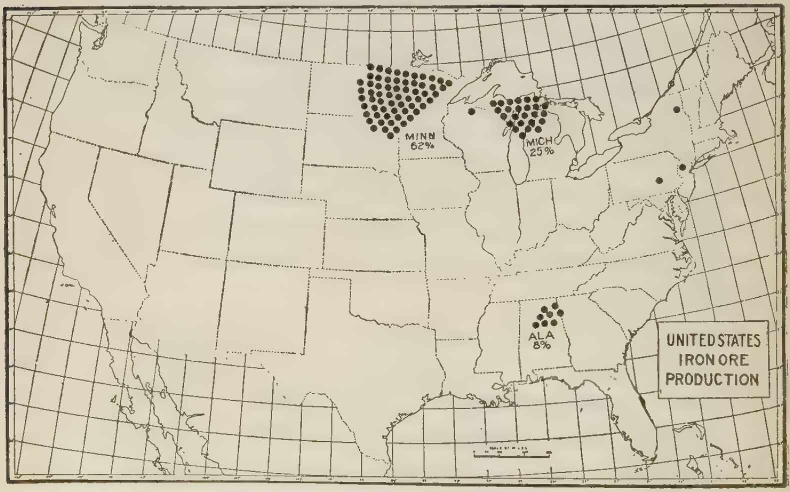
When there was no more free land to give to settlers, America ceased to be a nation of pioneers. The people of the East and immigrants from Europe could no longer go into the West and find homesteads awaiting them. Therefore enterprise turned more and more to manufacturing, mining, and railroading. While farming was still a most important occupation, America became more and more an industrial nation.

The Civil War had given great encouragement to industries of all kinds. The federal government had bought for its armies immense supplies of iron, steel, wagons, cotton, hardware, railway materials, and munitions, as well as produce from the farms. Factories were built, mines opened, and railways constructed to meet this huge demand. Within a few years the value of the American farms was far surpassed by the value of other kinds of property: railways, mines, mills, and city buildings.

It is impossible in a small book like this to describe the strides taken in American industry and commerce since 1860. There are, however, several *basic industries*, so called because they are the foundation of many other undertakings. Among them are the iron, steel, copper, coal, oil, and textile industries. The country was rich in the raw materials they demanded, and transportation by rivers, canals, and railroads had been highly developed. Power too was abundant. Their growth, therefore, was most important and should be studied, even if only briefly.

I. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING AND MINING

The Age of Iron and Steel. A little thought will show how dependent the nation really is upon iron. Without it no railway lines could bind the East and the West, the North and the South. Turned into steel, it makes the framework for skyscrapers in the cities and materials for bridges, factory buildings, engines, machines, and agricultural implements. Without iron and steel the United States would be simply a farming country, with crude methods of farming at that and with only stagecoaches and wagons for carrying passengers and goods.



IRON ORE MINED IN THE UNITED STATES
(Each dot represents one per cent.)

Former Dependence on Europe. There were, as we have seen (p. 124), iron foundries in America in colonial times, and the industry grew steadily through the early years of the nineteenth century. It advanced rapidly with the demand for rails, engines, guns, and other war materials during the years from 1861 to 1865. Still the foundries in America could not supply the demand. As before, a large share of the business went to England, especially orders for locomotives and rails. Indeed for more than twenty years American railway companies continued to buy thousands of tons of steel rails abroad in spite of the tariff.

New Discoveries and Rapid Development. About 1870 the iron deposits of the Lake Superior region were discovered, and ore was shipped in huge quantities to the mills at Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Buffalo. The South also entered the industry, for rich deposits of iron were unearthed in Tennessee and Alabama. To make the ore into pig iron and steel, enormous iron mills were also erected in those regions.

The iron mills of Pennsylvania steadily increased their production. By 1895 not only had the United States almost ceased to buy rails abroad, but thousands of tons were being sent out to supply the markets of the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century the total output of American steel was greater than that of Germany and Great Britain combined, while the annual export of steel from the United States was larger than that of the world's workshop, Great Britain.

The Development of Other Mineral Industries. *Oil.* The development of other mineral resources kept up with that of iron and steel. Petroleum was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859, and during the Civil War large quantities of it were used by the government. The oil regions of Pennsylvania were soon dotted with derricks and wells. By 1872 petroleum stood fourth in rank among American exports. Refineries were early established to turn the crude oil into kerosene, gasoline, machine oil, and other products. From the East the oil industry spread into the South and West — Illinois, Texas, Oklahoma, California, Wyoming, and Arkansas — where the many rich oil fields were found.

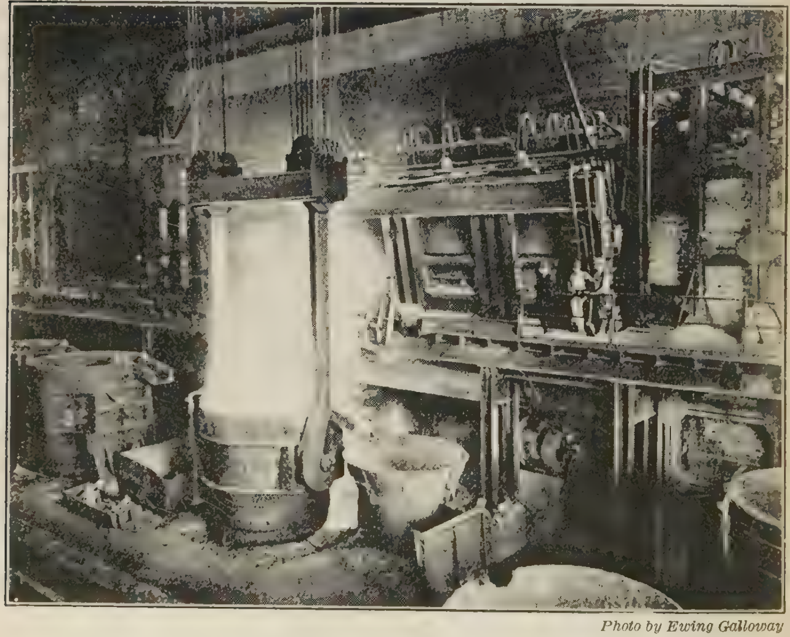
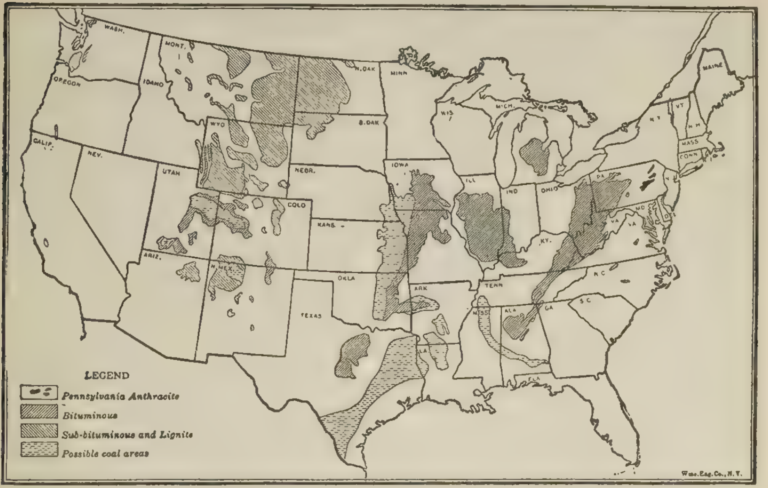


Photo by Ewing Galloway

POURING STEEL FROM OPEN FURNACE INTO LADLE

Coal. By 1890 the annual production of anthracite and soft coal and iron ore exceeded the wildest dreams of miners of the older days. New fields were opened in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Alabama, Colorado and, a few years later, in Michigan. Regions that had recently been farming lands were changed like magic into manufacturing and mining districts.

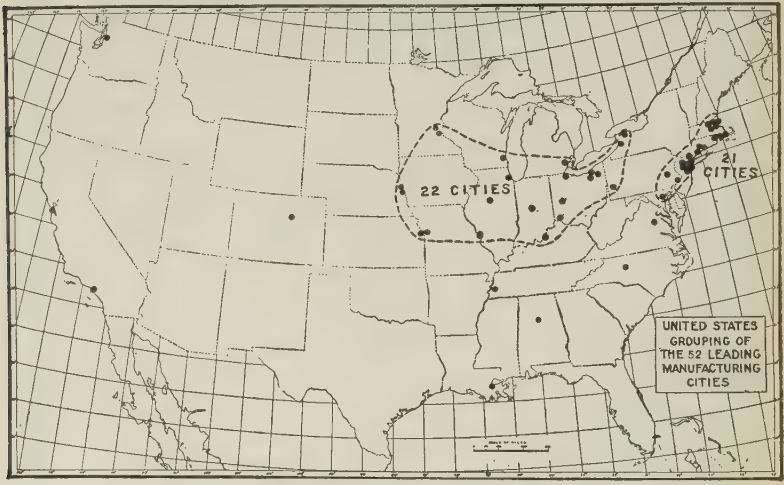
Copper. About the time that the Lake Superior iron region was opened up, copper deposits were discovered in the same district. The mines of northern Michigan produced in 1875 more than sixteen thousand tons of copper — almost the entire output of the country. This supply was vastly increased a few years later by the discovery of new deposits in the mountain ranges of Montana, Utah, Arizona, Colorado, and Alaska.


WASH.
MONT.
OREGON
IDAHO
N.DAK
MINN
WYO
S.DAK
CALIF.
NEV.
UTAH
NEBR.
IOWA
COLO
KANS.
WIS
MICH.
ILL
IND
OHIO
PA
N.Y.
VT
N.H.
MAINE
MASS
CONN
MD
VA
KY.
ARIZ.
N.MEX.
OKLA
ARK
TENN
N.C
S.C
GA
ALA
MISS
TEXAS
LA
FLA
LEGEND
Pennsylvania Anthracite
Bituminous
Sub-bituminous and Lignite
Possible coal areas
Wms.Eng.Co.,N.Y.

Coal Areas in the United States

The Development of the Textile Industries. The same story of progress may be told of cotton and woolen goods. New England manufacturers steadily increased the numbers of their spindles and looms, particularly at the great centers — Manchester in New Hampshire; Lawrence, Lowell, and Fall River in Massachusetts; Providence, Pawtucket, and Woonsocket in Rhode Island. By the close of the century the United States was making about ninety per cent of all the cotton cloth which it used and was exporting huge quantities. Long before the close of the century Southern mills, mainly in North and South Carolina, began to rival the New England factories by turning out millions of pounds of cotton yarn annually. As for carpets, someone has estimated that the yearly output of American looms would stretch twice around the globe. Philadelphia became the leading carpet-manufacturing center.

The Extent of Industrial Progress. Space will not permit us to record the growth of business in every line, but we may sum up the results in this way: In 1909 the value of the output of American industries was more than eleven times its value in 1860; in 1919 its value was more than three times that in 1909. In 1904 nine separate industries each produced more than half a billion dollars' worth of goods annually. Five years later, in 1909, there were thirty-five such industries. The list included iron and steel, textiles, lumber, and food products. From 1914 to 1919 greater gains still were indicated in many manufacturing lines. For


22 CITIES
21 CITIES
UNITED STATES GROUPING OF THE 52 LEADING MANUFACTURING CITIES

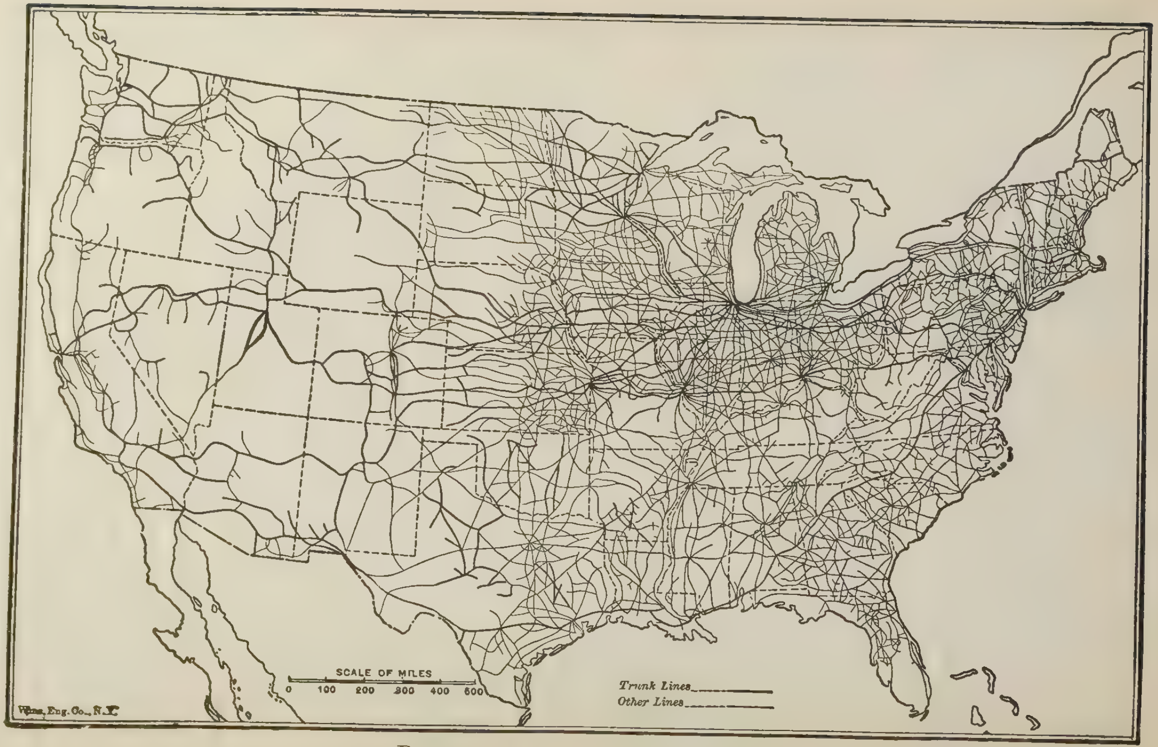
Leading Manufacturing Centers in the United States example, the production value of automobiles in 1919 was almost five times that of 1914. Seven years later, in 1926, there were produced in the United States more than 4,000,000 motor cars and motor trucks, valued (at wholesale prices) at more than $3,000,000,000. The value of the annual output of mines and factories became far greater than that of the farms.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

The Development of Railways. This wonderful growth in business in all parts of the country would have been impossible without the rapid building of railways and canals and the growth of coast, lake, and river shipping. Here too a few figures must be made to tell the story. In 1860 there were only 30,000 miles of railway in the United States; in 1920 there were 264,000 miles. The early railway builders had constructed short lines between the cities in the East. Then they reached out into the Middle West. After 1865 they dreamed of long lines reaching across the continent and soon realized their dreams. As we have seen (p. 479), the Union Pacific was opened in 1869. Within fifteen years there were three other lines from the Middle West to our Pacific coast. Now one may travel between the Middle West and the Pacific coast by many different routes.

In fact the whole country was seized by the railway-building fever. Long and short lines were laid out in every direction. People everywhere invested money in railways, hoping to get rich in a hurry. Farmers and merchants along new lines bought the stocks and bonds. Cities, townships, counties, and states granted lands or voted money to companies in order to secure connections with one another and with the outside world.

Government Aid for Railway Companies. The federal government, as well as state and local governments, paid a


SCALE OF MILES
0
100
200
300
400
500
Trunk Lines
Other Lines
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

Railroads in the United States

large part of the cost of early railways. Congress either gave money or guaranteed[1] bonds for railway companies to the amount of tens of millions of dollars. Besides this it gave them enormous areas of land (pp. 479, 487). Up to 1872 the federal government had granted in aid of railways 155,000,000 acres of land, an area estimated as "almost equal to the New England states, New York, and Pennsylvania combined; nineteen different states had voted sums amounting to $200,000,000 for the same purpose; and cities, towns, and individuals had subscribed several hundred million dollars to help railway construction."

By 1890 the government had granted 337,740,000 acres of public lands to companies and to states for wagon roads, canals, river improvements, and railways. This area was equal to one sixth of the total area of the United States and three times that of France.

The Use of Electricity. In the nineties electric trolley cars almost entirely took the place of the older horse cars in the streets of American cities. In the last part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth century electric lines were built in great numbers, connecting near-by large cities with one another and giving the outlying towns in metropolitan districts more frequent and convenient passenger service than the steam railroads could afford. Early in the twentieth century electricity began to be used extensively as motive power on sections of steam lines where coal was hard to get or coal smoke had become a nuisance. For example, the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway was "electrified" for several hundred miles in the mountainous sections of Montana, Idaho, and Washington, using power derived from the numerous waterfalls in the mountain region. All passenger lines entering New York

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[1] That is, agreed to pay the money borrowed by the railroad companies in case they did not earn enough to pay their own debts.

City were electrified in that city and for varying distances outside its limits. Because of its convenience and cleanliness this motive power promises to become increasingly important on our trunk-line railroads. On the other hand, many trolley lines between cities have been given up and their business taken over by automobile coaches. Autotrucks have also seriously affected the freight business of the steam railroads.

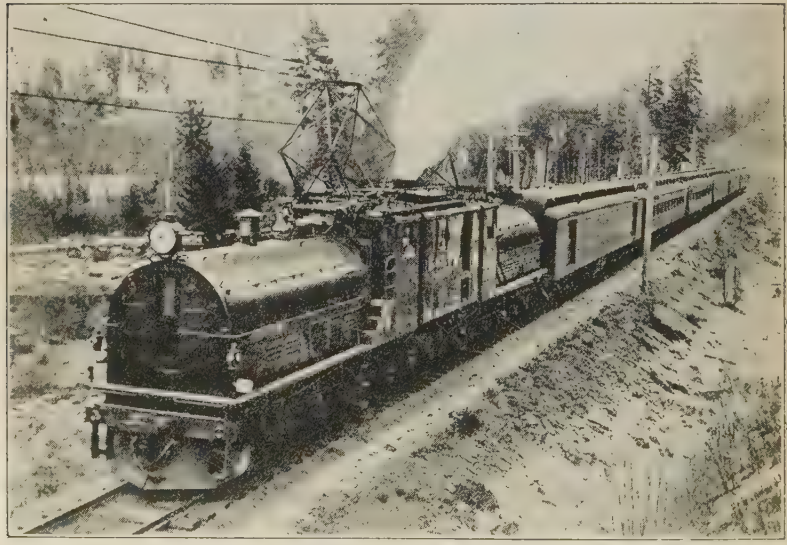
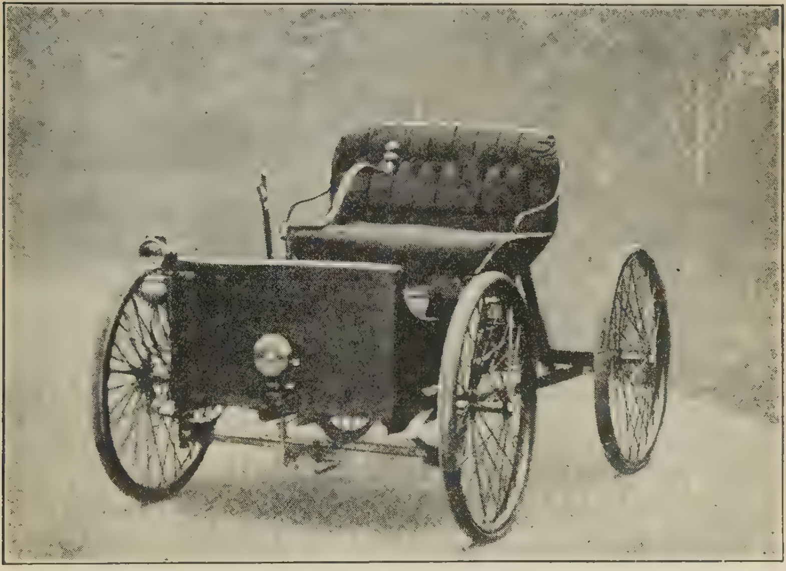


Photo by Ewing Galloway

ELECTRIC LOCOMOTIVE ON THE SEATTLE-OTHELLO DIVISION OF THE CHICAGO, MILWAUKEE, ST. PAUL, AND PACIFIC RAILROAD

The Influence of the Railways. Though the railways were costly indeed, they made possible great progress in every section. They connected the farming regions of the Western plains with the seaports of the East. They enabled the farmers to rush their produce to European markets and, in return, to receive the manufactured goods of the Old World and the East. They carried settlers to the West and kept up the supply of pioneers until almost every acre of land fit for cultivation had been taken. They made it possible for the prospectors and miners to send their metals to the most distant markets. Moreover by joining all sections of America they helped to bind us all into a united nation.

The Automobile and the Airplane. For more than a century and a quarter experiments have been carried on with various forms of self-propelled vehicles, both in this country and in Europe. The motive power of the earlier "horseless carriages," as they were called, was at first steam and later electricity. Steam and electric vehicles are still made, but the automobile did not come into general use until many important improvements in the gasoline engine made it possible to use with great success and economy a light, clean, and powerful fuel.



THE FIRST FORD CAR

As in the case of many other inventions (p. 509), no one man can be regarded as the inventor of the automobile, which, in a fairly modern form, began to be used extensively about the beginning of the present century. By 1903, cars were being manufactured in large numbers. In this work, Michigan, and especially Detroit, led the nation and, indeed, the world.

At the close of the year 1926, more than twenty-two million cars were in use in the United States, out of twenty-seven million in the entire world. In many ways this one invention has revolutionized American life. It has encouraged state and local governments to spend many millions of dollars on a network of hard-surfaced highways. It has made people and communities, once strangers to one another, close neighbors. It has made it possible for country children to attend consolidated rural schools that have all the advantages of city schools. It has brought the conveniences and the pleasures of city life to the farmer's very door.

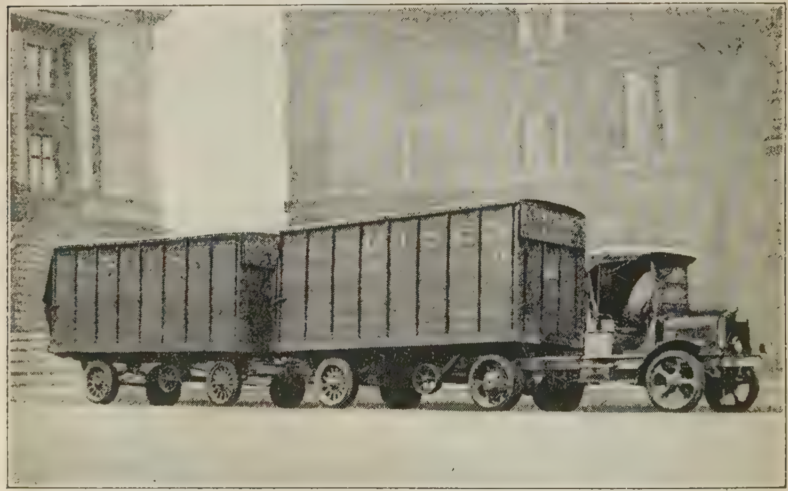


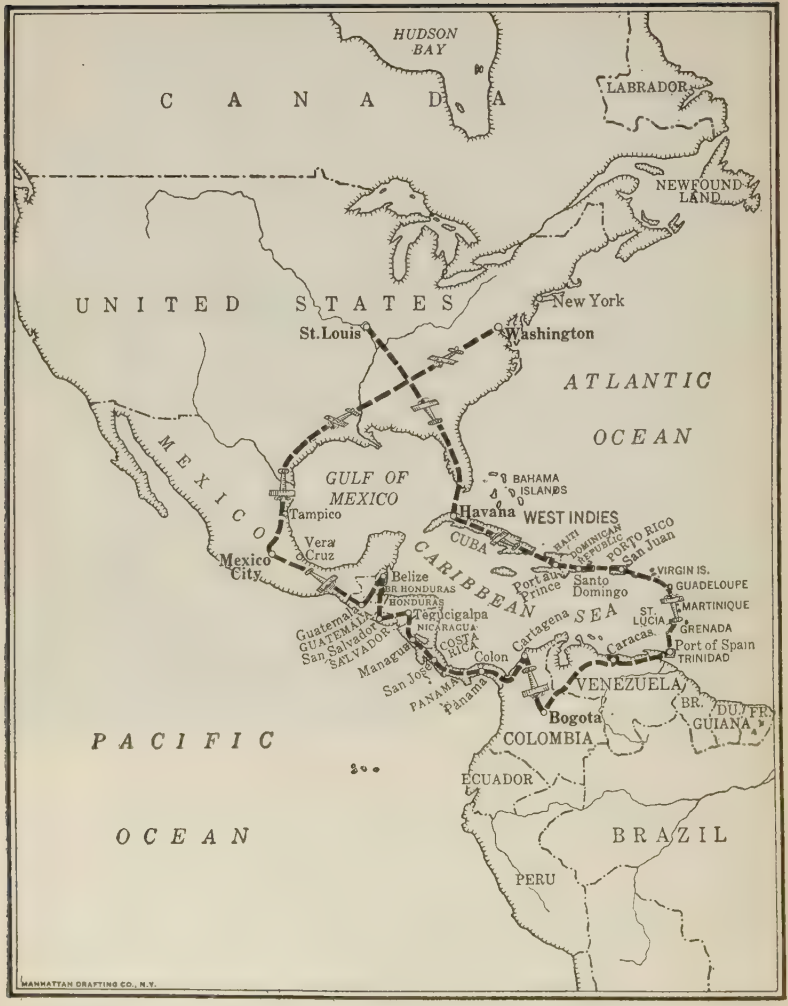
Photo by Ewing Galloway

A FIVE-TON MOTOR TRUCK

The airplane also was the invention of many men. A pioneer inventor in this field was an American, Samuel P. Langley. Successful flights were made by Wilbur Wright and his brother, Orville, in 1905, but the airplane was not really perfected until the World War, when its possibilities as an instrument of warfare caused the nations to contend with one another in improving it. Since the war, it has been used successfully in rapid transportation of mail, and regular passenger air service has been established between some of the larger cities. In 1920, two Englishmen, Alcock and Brown, flew across the Atlantic from Newfoundland to Ireland. In 1924, fliers of the American Army Air Service, made a successful flight around the world. This journey was made in a series of "hops," each several hundred miles in length. In 1926, Lieutenant Commander Byrd, of the United States Navy, won the admiration of the world by flying from the island of Spitzbergen to the North Pole and return. In May, 1927, Charles A. Lindbergh flew from New York to Paris in a non-stop flight. Within a few weeks C. D. Chamberlain flew with a passenger, C. A. Levine, from New York to Germany. Lindbergh later rendered his country an important service by visiting in an airplane the capitals of Mexico, the Central American and some South American countries, and Cuba.

Photo by Wide World Studio

COLONEL LINDBERGH


HUDSON BAY
CANADA
LABRADOR
NEWFOUNDLAND
UNITED STATES
New York
St. Louis
Washington
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
Tampico
Vera Cruz
Mexico City
BAHAMA ISLANDS
Havana
WEST INDIES
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
PORTO RICO
San Juan
VIRGIN IS.
GUADELOUPE
MARTINIQUE
ST. LUCIA
GRENADA
Port of Spain
TRINIDAD
CARIBBEAN SEA
Port au Prince
Santo Domingo
Belize
BR HONDURAS
HONDURAS
Tegucigalpa
NICARAGUA
COSTA RICA
Guatemala
GUATEMALA
San Salvador
SALVADOR
Managua
San José
PANAMA
Panama
Colon
Cartagena
Caracas
VENEZUELA
Bogota
COLOMBIA
BR. GUIANA
DU. FR.
ECUADOR
PERU
BRAZIL
PACIFIC OCEAN
MANHATTAN DRAFTING CO., N.Y.

THE CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN FLIGHTS OF COLONEL LINDBERGH IN 1928

The Merchant Marine. While aiding railway lines, the government did not overlook shipping along the American seacoasts and the Great Lakes. In fact it shut foreign vessels out of that business altogether. Between 1860 and the end of the century this lake and coastwise shipping multiplied threefold. Ships on the Great Lakes were gradually increased in size until they equaled ocean liners.

On the ocean, however, the government did not give any special aid to American shipowners. There the tonnage of American ships engaged in foreign trade rapidly declined. At the end of the century it was less than half the figure of 1860. Nine tenths of the goods brought into and sent from the United States were then transported in ships that flew foreign flags.

© Fotograms, N. Y.

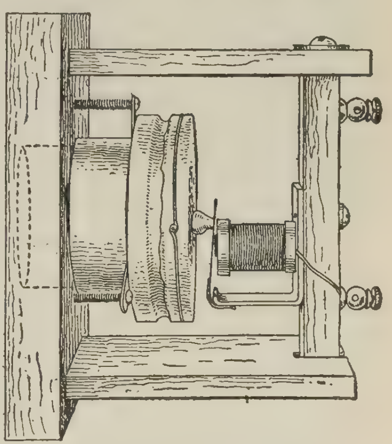
THE *LEVIATHAN* BESIDE A REPLICA, OR COPY, OF THE *CLERMONT*

Owing to this state of affairs there were constant demands that Congress grant money, or ship subsidies, to men who would undertake to operate American ships in foreign trade. The seaboard cities warmly supported the idea. So did friends of the navy, who wanted to have a large merchant marine where sailors could be trained. On the other hand the South and the West were generally against ship subsidies; they held that we should ship goods in the cheapest way, and that meant using foreign ships. It was not until President Wilson's administration that Congress voted money and gave aid in the building up of a high-seas merchant marine. The World War had made this necessary. The building of a large government-owned fleet during that war left the country, when the war came to an end, the problem of its maintenance and disposal. President Harding in 1922 urged that the vessels be turned over to private owners and a government subsidy be provided to help these private owners in competition in the foreign shipping; but Congress failed to pass the proposed law. In 1927, the federal government through the United States Shipping Board still controlled more than eight hundred steamships. The next year Congress granted aid to shipbuilding.

Changes Due to Development in Industry and Transportation. The changes in American life which we have mentioned in Chapter XVII became ever more striking and widespread. Instead of a handful of inventors, soon there were great numbers of them; instead of a few merchant princes, financiers, and captains of industry, there were thousands; instead of a few thousand miners and mill workers, there were millions. In the industries, mines, and building trades and on the railroads there was employment for a great multitude of European peasants who could not find land or work at home. Even in the Far West there was heard the roar of mills and furnaces. In the valleys and on the mountain sides of Colorado, Montana, Utah, and Nevada, there began to gleam the fires of the furnaces and smelters. Where in Lincoln's day ran the pony express and the stagecoach, there now rushed swift trains bearing passengers and freight.

III. MEN OF INDUSTRY: INVENTORS, BUSINESS MEN, AND ARTISANS

The Great Service Rendered by Inventors. Among the millions of individuals who developed our industries we may put first the inventors, who are to be numbered by the tens of thousands. It seems hardly just to name any of them, for not one of the many inventions made in the past sixty years — the typewriter, self-binding reaper, telephone, phonograph, electric light, trolley car, wireless telegraph and telephone, automobile, and airplane, to mention only a few — is entirely the work of a single inventor. A need is felt. A score or more inventors, sometimes unknown to each other and living in different parts of the country or of the world, attempt to meet it. They gather ideas from the work of other inventors and from writings of students. They experiment and make little gains here and there. One adds to the work of another, until at length a marvelous machine is produced.


BELL'S FIRST TELEPHONE

The Slow Improvement of Useful Inventions. We recall the name of Alexander Graham Bell when we think of the invention of the telephone; we know that, in fact, he brought it into human service after many other men had labored long in the field of electricity. After Bell put the telephone into practical use, hundreds of other inventors added to it, improving it in many ways. At length the continent was spanned with telephone wires; in 1915, the mayor of New York was able to talk with the mayor of San Francisco. In 1921, President Harding, in Washington, conversed with the president of Cuba, in Havana, while both listened to the voice of a wireless telephone operator at Catalina Island in the Pacific Ocean. A few years later radio communication was opened across the Atlantic. Who, then, is responsible for the telephone and the younger instrument the radio, both of which are so important in our lives to-day? Not only Bell, not only Marconi, the "father of wireless" — great as were the contributions of these two great men.

We speak of the invention of the arc light by Charles H. Brush, of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1878. Undoubtedly he deserved great credit. Nevertheless his work rested upon older attempts at electric lighting and was itself only the beginning of many improvements. We associate the incandescent electric lamp, the phonograph, and the electric street car with Thomas A. Edison, the "Wizard of Menlo Park"; yet fairness to others requires us to say that Edison learned from the successes and failures of hundreds of inventors. He added ideas of his own. We think of the Wright brothers in connection with the airplane, but many other inventors helped, and some of the most important pioneer work was done by the American inventor, Langley. The aluminum industry and the gas engine had to be brought to a high state of perfection before flying machines could be of practical use. It was not until the electrical industry was well advanced that it was possible to think of sending messages through vast spaces without the aid of wires.

By the activities of hundreds of scientists and inventors a new field of human endeavor was created. Scientific books and periodicals were published, and scientific instruction was given in the schools and colleges. The spirit of discovery and invention entered the very life of the nation.

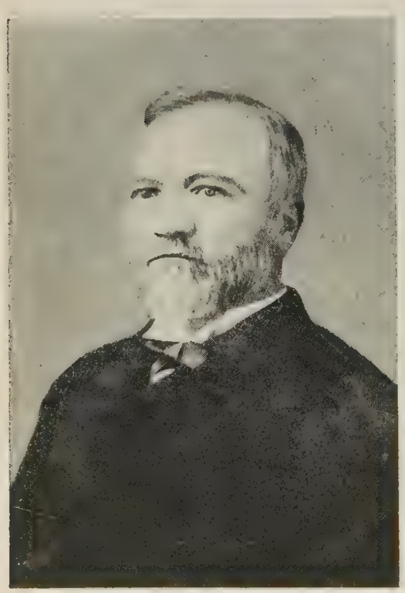
American eagerness to try the new inventions has made our country unique. In no other land is there so wide a use of electrical appliances and labor-saving devices.

Thomas A. Edison. One of the most interesting and important facts about inventors is that so many of them came from the common walks of life, up through poverty and hard battles with failure and misfortune. Of this great army Thomas A. Edison may perhaps be placed at the head. He was born in 1847 at Milan, Ohio. He did not go through school and college but received most of his education from his mother. His parents were poor, and when he reached the age of twelve he became a newsboy on the railroad between Detroit and Port Huron, Michigan. His mind was always full of wonder, and he kept his eyes open watching everything that went on about him. Before he reached the age of twenty-one, he had made two or three important inventions. In 1869 he moved to the East. There he labored day and night on the many inventions and improvements which are connected with his name, such as those

THOMAS EDISON

already mentioned as well as the mimeograph, the storage battery, and the moving picture.

The Work of the Business Men. Before an invention can be widely used, a business must be organized to manufacture it in large quantities. So we must rank with the inventors the huge army of business men, merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists — "captains of industry," as they are sometimes called. These men formed companies, raised the money, and brought together the labor and supplies needed for industry on a vast scale. Like the inventors, they began with little things and simple problems and went on to larger and more difficult tasks. Consider, for example, the first railway builders. They thought that the construction of fifty or a hundred miles of railway was a great achievement. In time, however, came the Vanderbilts, the Goulds, and the Harrimans, who combined and built railway lines stretching more than halfway across the continent. Again, there were the manufacturers. There was Andrew Carnegie, a Scotchman who came to America in his youth and did so much to build up the great steel industry. There is Henry Ford, who began with small plans and built up great industries not only including huge plants where motor cars, trucks, and airplanes are turned out in almost unbelievable numbers, but including also



Andrew Carnegie

mines, smelters, lumber mills, railways, and steamship lines. The Standard Oil Company, founded by John D. Rockefeller, is a kingdom in itself. It has wells, refineries, pipe lines, steamships, stores, and branch offices in the United States and every other part of the world. In Siam, India, China, Africa, and in the out-of-the-way places of the earth, the signs of that great company may be seen. The founder of the Bell Telephone Company (now the American Telephone and Telegraph Company) had a vision of " a telephone linking every cottage, village, and city in the country." As a result of this vision and the labors of the managers and employees, nearly every home in the United States is within reach of the telephone. In 1926, the number of telephones in the homes, hotels, stores, and factories of the United States was almost 17,000,000, or an average of one for every seven people.

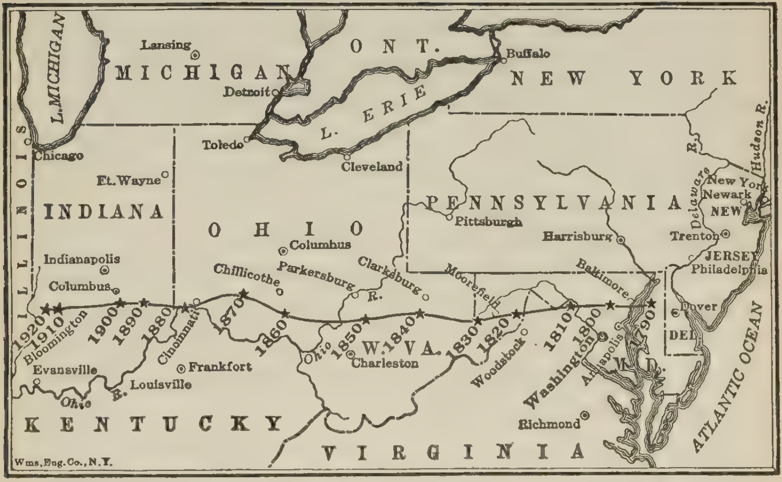
The Service of the Laborers. Of no less importance were the laborers, men and women, skilled and unskilled, ranging from the sturdy wielder of shovel and pickax to the carefully trained artisan and mechanic. The industries described above could never have grown from their small beginnings had it not been for the millions of immigrant laborers — Irish, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Italians, Bohemians, Czechs, Jews, Greeks, Slovaks, and many others. Without this vast labor supply, the work of the inventors and the ability of the capitalists could have accomplished nothing. The laborers mined the ores, dug the coal, laid the rails, kept watch at the humming machinery, operated the great furnaces, wrought the iron work, and lifted up the towering skyscrapers. They not only did the work, they populated the industrial cities. They were the " plain citizens " upon whose work and character depended the very life of the nation.

IV. THE RESULTS OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

The Development of the Export Trade. Through the labor, inventiveness, and enterprise of its people the United States was enabled to take a place among the first industrial nations of the world. The products of mill and mine as well as those of the farm went into all corners of the earth. Business men searched for new markets in which to sell their goods and invest their money. They delivered shiploads of manufactured products at European ports where their fathers had been only buyers. They unloaded steel at Liverpool at a price that frightened the English manufacturers, who, in former days, had found only customers and not rivals in America. No part of the earth escaped the watchful eyes of our exporters. Thus the United States, in the search for markets and profitable investments, became a *World Power.*

The Frontier Disappears. Once, Cotton had been called " King " ; now Industry is " King." For him there is no frontier or backwoods. There must be no precious metals or ores or waterfalls or mysterious places hidden to his gaze. His agents search in the highways and byways, in the mountain passes, in the deserts and canyons, in the forests, by the seaside — everywhere — for nature's materials to transform and for nature's resources to develop. Under his rule, railways, like a vast network of veins and arteries, run in every direction. The government comes to his aid and by its rural free-delivery system carries mail and gathers it up along seldom trod pathways as well as in the prosperous farming regions. The governments, federal and state, spend millions of dollars building highways and opening remote regions where a generation ago the settlers seldom saw a stranger. Instead of roads ten or twenty miles long taking fees or " tolls " from everyone who traveled over them, there are stretches of hard-surfaced highways hundreds of miles long open without charge to all.

Business and Industry Gain on Farming. The United States was not to be what Jefferson had hoped — in the main, a nation of independent, home-owning farmers. The number of wageworkers as compared with the farmers was to be larger and larger from decade to decade. At the outbreak of the Civil War the great majority of voters were farmers and planters; shortly after the opening of the twentieth century business men and wageworkers outnumbered the workers on the land.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INDIANA
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Columbus
PENNSYLVANIA
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New York
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Charleston
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Woodstock
1810
1800
Washington
Annapolis
1790
MD.
Evansville
Frankfort
Louisville
Ohio R.
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
Richmond
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF THE CENTER OF POPULATION

The Growth of the Cities. The growth of industry also meant a steady increase in the number of people living in cities and towns. In 1860 only about one sixth of the American people dwelt in towns of over 10,000. By the end of the century the proportion had grown to one third. The Census of 1920 recorded that more than one half of the people lived in towns of 2500 and over.

Industrial Development Brings Many Problems. The crowding of the people in the large cities became very serious, partly because so many of them were poor immigrants who spoke no English. Unable to look after themselves, many of them fell into the hands of "patrons," or "gang bosses," their own countrymen, who farmed them out as laborers and took part of their wages. The people of each race, moreover, tended to keep together in their own part of a city, almost as much out of touch with American life as though they were in the Old World. Unskilled laborers received low wages and were frequently out of employment; they were forced to live cheaply in crowded tenements, and often became the victims of poverty and disease. Industrial workers, forced to move from place to place in search of employment, were unable to buy homes of their own.

Woman and Child Labor. The problems of the wageworkers were all the more serious because the number of women and children employed in industries steadily increased.

By 1870 about fourteen per cent of the women over sixteen years of age were employed in gainful pursuits; by 1900 the number had increased to more than twenty per cent. In the latter year about one third of the women of Philadelphia, for example, were wage earners, and about one eighth of them were working in factories. At the same time, 18,000 out of 42,000 women at Fall River, Massachusetts, were wageworkers, about 15,000 of them in factories.

With the steady increase in factory production, child labor became more and more a national problem. Children who work in industry instead of attending school lose, in the end, more than they seem to gain, for they are seriously handicapped in later years by their lack of training. Nevertheless in 1920 about two million children under fifteen years of age were in some form of wage-earning work. Thoughtful people soon saw that young children should be kept in school and out of the factories both for their own sakes and for the welfare of the communities in which they lived. Thoughtful people also saw that women would have to be protected from the double burden of factory work and home duties if their health and usefulness to their communities were not to suffer.

Many states have made it unlawful to employ children of less than a certain age — generally fourteen years. Since, however, there are marked differences among the laws of the various states on this subject, Congress has tried to bring about uniformity of working conditions by regulating the labor of children throughout the country. The most important attempts of Congress in this direction, however, have been declared unconstitutional. For example, a law providing for higher taxation of industries employing children than of industries that do not was declared void by the Supreme Court in 1922 (p. 645). An amendment to the Constitution which would have permitted Congress to pass laws regulating child labor was proposed by Congress in 1924. Up to the close of 1927 it had been ratified by only four states, and rejected by forty-one. Its revival, therefore, is not probable.

Industrial Panics. *The Panic of 1873.* Americans rushed with such haste into constructing railroads, opening mines, and building factories that they overdid things. Every few years there was a big " smash " in business. In 1873 there came a great panic which was largely due to the starting of more factories, mills, mines, and oil refineries than were needed. Moreover, so much money was invested in railroads that it was impossible to make large enough profits to pay interest on it. Many railroad companies were forced into bankruptcy — that is, the money that they earned did not pay the cost of keeping them in operation and the interest on the money that they had borrowed. Some of them tried to reduce costs by paying lower wages to their employees. This in turn brought on the first great strikes in America, such as the strike of 1877 on the Pennsylvania Railroad.

The Panic of 1892–93. Another panic occurred in the early nineties. Business was again paralyzed. Thousands of workmen were out of employment, tramping the streets hunting for jobs. Strikes broke out all over the country against cuts in wages. It was then that a band of the unemployed, led by " General " Coxey, marched to Washington to demand relief from the government. They asked that Congress issue $500,000,000 in " greenbacks " — paper " promises to pay " with no gold or silver to redeem the promise. This " money " was to be spent in building post-offices and other public buildings which would give work to men out of employment. Nothing came of this proposal, but " cheaper money " was a battle cry in the next presidential election.

Such periods of business depression brought hardships, particularly among the working people. The unemployed often had to beg for bread; homes were broken up because fathers or mothers had to go away from them to find work; men and women, once honorable and honored, were sometimes forced to become beggars and thieves because they were in such desperate circumstances.

Since the great panics of 1873 and 1892–93, there have been less serious, but still distressing, periods of business and industrial depression, such as those of 1907 and 1920. At such times there are many business failures and considerable unemployment and resulting poverty.

In picturing the triumph of our industry, therefore, we must not leave out of our account the problems which it raised in America. We marvel at the ingenuity of the inventors; we wonder at the immense undertakings of the business men; and we admire the skill and endurance of the industrial workers. It is fitting that we do this; but we must remember also that the new industrial life in America brought grave problems for the citizens of America to solve.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *basic industries, industrial progress, metropolitan districts, merchant princes, captains of industry, child labor.*

I. In what ways did the Civil War help manufacturing in the North? What kinds of manufactured goods are increased in demand by war? What kinds of goods are likely to be in less demand? State some of the reasons explaining why Pennsylvania became a great center for the iron and steel industries. Iron ore is abundant around Lake Superior, but there are few furnaces and steel mills in that region. Why? Where is the ore from the Lake Superior region turned into iron and steel products? (Consult your geographies.) Locate on an outline map of the United States the principal regions producing: (*a*) iron ore; (*b*) copper; (*c*) petroleum; (*d*) hard coal; and (*e*) soft coal. Name the chief textile industries. Locate the principal centers of each of these.

II. Why would the industrial development have been impossible without the development of railroads and canals? When was the first transcontinental railroad opened? What is meant by a "subsidy"? Why did the federal government grant subsidies for the building of railroads? Why were not ocean steamship lines also granted subsidies? In what kind of trade was our merchant marine chiefly engaged in the late nineteenth century? What effect has the automobile had on American life? In your opinion, what are the influences of the airplane likely to be when travel by air has been made safe and cheap?

III. Whose name is connected with the invention and development of the telephone? What other great inventions have been made or developed by Americans? Tell the story of Thomas A. Edison. Why were the business men important in the development of industry? Who were some of the great "captains of industry"? What part did the artisans and laborers play in the triumph of industry?

IV. What is a decade? Name the important results of the great development of industry since the Civil War. Why is export trade important to a nation? What is meant by the "disappearance of the frontier"? How did industrial development influence the growth of cities? What were some of the evils that came with the growth of industry? What is meant by an "industrial panic"? What were the great panic years?

Review. Make a list of the developments following the Civil War that made the United States a World Power.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Think over and talk about the ways in which the growth of one industry helps other industries: how the railroads, for example, help agriculture and at the same time create a large demand for steel products; how the growth of the farms helps manufacturing of all sorts; and how the growth of railroads and manufacturing helps mining.

2. Tell the story of the telephone.

See Mowry's *American Inventions and Inventors*, pp. 286–291.

3. Find out all that you can about the development of lighting from the days of the tallow candle to the invention of the incandescent electric light.

See Mowry's *American Inventions and Inventors*, pp. 67–89.

4. Look up the life of Edison in Wheeler's *Thomas Edison.* Read in Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 129–139.

5. Look up the important dates and names in the history of aviation to find out the steps in its development and what certain men contributed. When was the first successful flight made by the Wright brothers? How were aircraft of various kinds used in the World War? How have they been used since the war? When and where was the Atlantic first crossed in a hydroplane? In an airplane? In a dirigible balloon?

See Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 151–154, pp. 202–207.

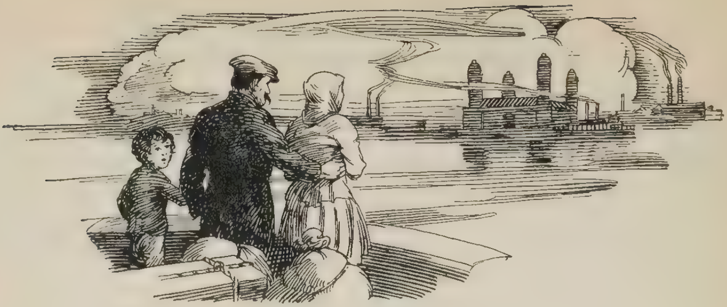
6. Look up similarly and make a list of the steps in the development of other important inventions and industries, giving some of the principal dates and names in connection with them,

such as the various uses of electricity, the rubber industry, the automobile.

7. For a good picture of the effect of the panic of 1873 upon a New England community, read William Allen White's *A Certain Rich Man* (The Modern Readers' Series, Macmillan).

8. Make a "time line" of Edison's life. Below the line show important events in his life, and above the line important events in United States history.

9. Get a large piece of paper for the bulletin board. Head it, "Things Lincoln Did Not Know About." On the paper paste pictures of things we have to-day that show the heading to be true.



CHAPTER XXVI

IMMIGRATION

I. The Early Sources of Immigration

The Population of the Early Republic. At the time of the Revolution, more than three fourths of the white population were of English and Scotch descent. Here and there throughout the country were scattered settlers from other nations: Germans in Pennsylvania, Swedes in Delaware Dutch in New York, Irish and Welsh in the middle colonies, and a few French Huguenots at various points. It was almost fifty years before other nationalities, such as the Irish and the Germans, began to take an important rank among the immigrants. What would have been the result if the United States had shut out all other foreigners, and reserved the land for the descendants of citizens residing here at the time of the Revolution? In that case the total population at the opening of the twentieth century, it is estimated, would have been about thirty-five millions instead of nearly one hundred millions.

Immigration Encouraged. In 1861 there came a lull in immigration. Even those who wished to escape from poverty and oppression in Europe did not care to go to a country engaged in a civil war. With a million men on the battlefields, there was, however, a strong demand for more laborers in the factories and on the farms. So the government made special efforts to encourage able-bodied foreigners to come to our shores. In the Homestead Law of 1862 Congress provided that immigrants should be allowed to take up free farms just as soon as they declared their intention of becoming American citizens. Free land thus drew aliens directly into the West. It also had another effect. It attracted Americans from the factories of the East and left places to be filled by foreign workers. In an effort to increase the labor supply Congress in 1864 passed an immigration law. It created the office of Commissioner of Immigration to look after incoming aliens. It made it lawful for contractors to gather up laborers in Europe, pay their passage to America, and bind them out to work until they had paid back the cost of their transportation. Those who came under this arrangement were in some ways like the bond servants brought into the colonies in the eighteenth century (pp. 85–86). Though this law was soon repealed, the practice of labor contracting was kept up for many years.

Immigration after the Civil War. *The Scandinavians.* For twenty years after the war, the Germans and the Irish made up most of the foreign immigration ; but many settlers came also from the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The Scandinavians took advantage of the offer of free land in the West and, by the thousands, settled in Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and the Dakotas. They developed prosperous farms, built schools and churches, and founded colleges. No immigrants to our shores have proved to be more worthy of their new privileges and responsibilities than the newcomers from Northern Europe.

The Chinese. In this period the Chinese began to land in large numbers on the Western coast. Indeed, as early as 1852, twenty-five thousand of them were already in California. The first to come were mainly domestic servants, laundrymen, and day laborers. When railroad building began in the Far West, contractors cast about for a labor supply and found it in China. Then Chinese immigration increased rapidly.

At first the Chinese were cordially welcomed, but after a few years the feeling toward them changed. When American workingmen began to go in large numbers to the Pacific coast, ill will toward Chinese laborers arose and steadily increased. They were willing to accept low wages and in this way took work away from native Americans or forced them to work for lower wages in order to hold their places. The Chinese were willing to live in cheap houses and amid poor surroundings. Competition by workers who were willing to live in this way, or accept a lower "standard of living," was resented by American laborers.

Photo by Ewing Galloway

THE ARRIVAL OF IMMIGRANTS

II. CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION AFTER 1890

The Invasion from Southern and Eastern Europe. *New Peoples.* A second period in the history of immigration opened about 1890. The new period was marked, in the first place, by a decided change in the nationality of the immigrants. The number coming from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany fell off rapidly, and the proportion from Scandinavian countries did not increase. New races appeared in great numbers. By 1896 more immigrants were coming from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia than from the north and west of Europe. Between 1901 and 1920, sixty-five per cent of all the immigrants arriving in the United States were from the south and east of Europe. Thousands of Jews, driven out of Russia and Rumania by oppression, had no choice but to flee to the United States.

The following table shows the changes by decades. It also gives the percentage of immigrants coming into the United States from the various countries of the Old World.

COUNTRY	YEARS					
	1861–1870	1871–1880	1881–1890	1891–1900	1901–1910	1911–1920
	Per cent	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*	*Per cent*
Austria-Hungary	0.33	2.60	6.70	16.00	24.40	15.60
Germany	35.00	25.50	28.00	14.00	3.90	2.50
Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia	.51	2.00	5.90	18.00	23.30	19.30
Russia and Finland	.02	1.90	4.40	14.00	18.20	16.10
England	24.50	15.60	12.00	6.00	4.40	4.40
Ireland	18.80	15.50	12.00	10.00	3.90	2.50
Other Countries	20.84	36.90	31.00	22.00	21.90	39.60

Later Immigrants Settle in Cities. Together with the shift in the nationality of the immigrants went a great change in the United States itself; namely, the end of free land in the West. For every immigrant who entered the country between 1850 and 1860 there were at least two hundred acres of fertile land awaiting the plow. By 1890 the best farm land was practically all taken and there was almost nothing left but forests, mountains, and deserts.

The newcomers, therefore, had to settle in the cities. The Russian Jews entered the ready-made garment trade in the great centers like New York, Rochester, and Chicago. Hungarians, Italians, Slovaks, and Poles took up heavy tasks like mining and ironworking, which called for more physical strength. Immigrants during this period built the railroads, dug in the mines, manned the coke ovens and blast furnaces, made clothing, and, in fact, furnished the labor for most of the manufacturing in the country.

A CROWDED STREET IN A FOREIGN QUARTER OF NEW YORK CITY

The labor services rendered by these aliens, men and women, were countless and invaluable. Their service to this country has been stated by a modern writer who represents the immigrant as saying:

> I contribute eighty-five per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries.
> I do seven tenths of the bituminous coal mining.
> I do seventy-eight per cent of all the work in the woolen mills.
> I contribute nine tenths of all the labor in the cotton mills.
> I make nineteen twentieths of all the clothing.
> I manufacture more than half the shoes.
> I build four fifths of all the furniture.
> I make half of the collars, cuffs, and shirts.
> I turn out four fifths of all the leather.
> I make half the gloves.
> I refine nearly nineteen twentieths of the sugar.
> I make half of the cigars.

Enormous Increase in Immigration. A third great change in immigration was brought about by the steamship. In the days of the sailing vessel the journey was long, expensive, and dangerous. The emigrants then expected to leave their native land forever. The steamship, however, made it possible to cross the Atlantic very comfortably in six or seven days. There were sailings every few hours. The cost was low, and the ocean trip was a light matter. Great steamship companies began to force immigration. They sent agents into every nook and cranny of Europe with orders to encourage every person who could scrape together a little money to migrate to "the land of milk and honey." American railway companies were equally eager to have people to fill up the regions through which their lines passed. Accordingly they were glad to help in taking the laborers and peasants of Europe to all parts of America.

As a result of all these agencies, the steerage[1] of every incoming steamer was crowded with passengers. In 1907 there arrived in this country 1,285,349 immigrants, mainly from southern and eastern Europe. Thus in a single year the number of immigrants was equal to almost half of the white population of the United States when the War for Independence was fought. In 1910 one third of the white people in America were either foreign-born or of foreign parentage.

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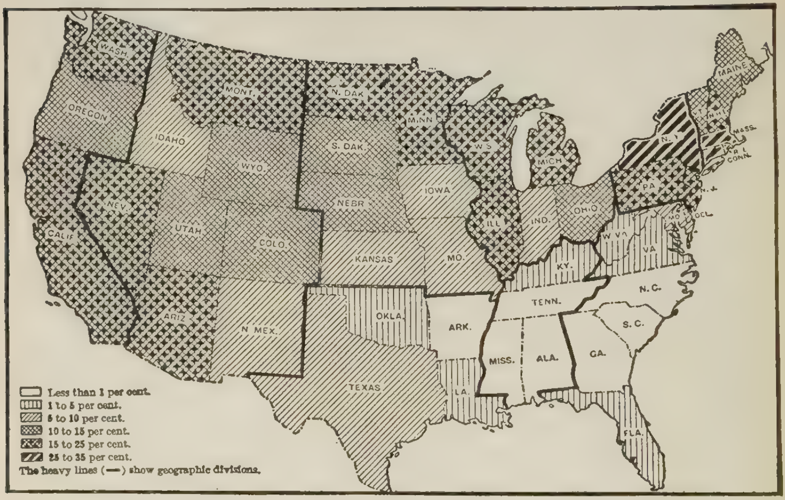
[1] Steamships usually charge different fares for different kinds of accommodations. The cheapest fares are for those who travel in the "steerage" — usually the lower decks in the forward part of the ship.


WASH.
OREGON
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NEBR.
KANSAS
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WIS.
ILL.
MICH.
IND.
OHIO
KY.
TENN.
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GA.
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S. C.
N. C.
VA.
W. VA.
PA.
N. Y.
MAINE
VT.
N. H.
MASS.
R. I.
CONN.
N. J.
MD.
DEL.
Less than 1 per cent.
1 to 5 per cent.
5 to 10 per cent.
10 to 15 per cent.
15 to 25 per cent.
25 to 35 per cent.
The heavy lines (—) show geographic divisions.

Percentage of Foreign-born White People in the Total Population in Each State

Many of the Later Immigrants Not Permanent Settlers. Having brought over their ships crowded with steerage passengers, the steamship companies were eager to find passengers for their vessels on the return voyage. If their ships could be filled both going and coming, their profits would be greatly increased. Moreover, the low rates made it possible for workingmen to come in the busy season and return in the slack season.

This had a marked effect upon American citizenship. Thousands of men now came to the United States with no thought of making their homes here. They left their families behind them and remained loyal in heart to their native lands. Their only interest in this country was to get work for a few months or a few years and then go back after they had saved a little money. Accordingly they were willing to endure slums, long hours, and other conditions bad for their own health and morals and full of danger to the Americans about them. Having no lasting interest in this country or love for it, they did not care whether it was well or poorly governed.

III. Later Efforts to Restrict Immigration

Arguments for and against the Restriction of Immigration. Native Americans early protested against the wide-open door for immigrants. Some of the objections which they advanced were narrow and selfish; others were based on no ill will toward the alien but on the desire to make America a united nation, well governed and prosperous.

At the same time there were those who said: "Let everybody in." Employers wanted a large supply of labor always ready at hand. Many citizens of alien origin, like the Jews, had fled from persecution and were eager to keep the door open for their countrymen yet to come. Then there were many old-fashioned "friends of freedom," who still looked upon America as the land of opportunity for the oppressed peoples of all nations. They declared that it would be giving up our old principles to place a barrier in the way of any immigrant.

A certain amount of protest against unrestricted immigration appeared before the Civil War. For a while little was heard of it, owing to the demands of mill, mine, and railroad owners for labor. In a few years it became marked. Native American workingmen cried out against foreigners who worked for lower wages and took their jobs away from them.

" Do we not have tariff laws to protect American manufacturers against European manufacturers? Then why not protect American labor against low-paid foreign labor?" Such were the questions they asked. Other citizens made a patriotic plea. Particularly did they urge that the number of immigrants should not be too large, because it took time for foreigners to learn our language and to know enough about our country to share wisely in its government.

Laws Restricting Immigration. When the federal government took up the matter in earnest, it began first with the Chinese. By a law of 1870 it took away from them the right to become naturalized American citizens. After making a treaty with China on the subject, Congress passed in 1882 a law prohibiting further immigration of Chinese laborers.

That same year the whole subject of immigration was carefully studied. Thereupon Congress shut out of the country convicts, lunatics, idiots, and persons likely to become paupers. Owners of vessels who brought such persons were ordered to take them back

From time to time new and stricter laws were passed. The importation of laborers under contract was forbidden; that is, the old practice of having immigrants bind themselves to contractors to pay their passage was made unlawful. This made it impossible for large importers of labor to break strikes and reduce wages by collecting large bands of workingmen in Europe and bringing them into the United States. In 1892, persons suffering from loathsome diseases were denied the right of admission. Anarchists were later excluded. In 1907 the so-called " Gentlemen's Agreement " was made with the government of Japan, keeping out Japanese laborers.

Ten years afterward, Congress passed, over President Wilson's veto, a law placing an educational test on immigrants; henceforward no one was to be admitted who could not read. In 1921 Congress took a new and interesting step; it provided that the number of aliens admitted from any country in a single year should be not more than three per cent of the number of people of that nationality resident in the United States as shown by the 1910 Census. In 1924 the restraints on immigration were made still more severe. The new law abolished the arrangement with Japan, excluded laborers entirely, and put Japan on the same footing as China. It also extended the principle laid down in the law of 1921. The number of immigrants who could come annually from each foreign country was fixed by taking two per cent of its native-born citizens living in the United States in 1890. This cut down the number from southern and eastern Europe, because there were not many aliens from those regions in America in 1890. It is to be noted, however, that immigration from Canada, Mexico, South American nations, and some other countries in the New World is not restricted by this percentage or "quota" rule.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *standard of living, steerage, slums, restricted immigration, quota, quota laws.*

I. Review the meanings of *immigrant, alien, naturalization.* What is the difference between an "alien" and a "foreign-born citizen"? How large would the population of the United States have been in 1900 if no immigrants had been admitted to the country after the Revolution? Chiefly from what countries did the immigrants come before the Civil War? In what way did the Homestead Law influence immigrants? What other law was passed that encouraged immigrants to seek homes in this country? From what countries did the immigrants come in largest numbers immediately after the Civil War?

II. What changes in immigration began about 1890? Why did the coming of large numbers of immigrants from southern Europe raise problems that had not faced the country when the immigrants came chiefly from northern Europe? Why did the immigrants after 1890 settle chiefly in the cities and the industrial districts? How and why did the steamship and railway companies encourage immigration? What are the important differences between immigrants who come to make permanent homes and those who come merely to earn money and then return to their native countries?

III. What groups of people protested against unrestricted immigration? For what reasons? Why did other groups wish to continue free immigration? Why were the first restrictions on immigration aimed at the Chinese? What other restrictions were made later? How is the number of immigrants admitted in any one year from European countries now fixed?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Find what kinds of immigrants have come to your locality in recent years, whence they came, and in what types of work they are chiefly engaged.

2. The text states that the law which requires immigrants to meet an educational test (that is, to show that they are able to read at least their own language) was passed by Congress over the veto of President Wilson. Discuss in class the advantages and disadvantages of an educational test for immigrants.

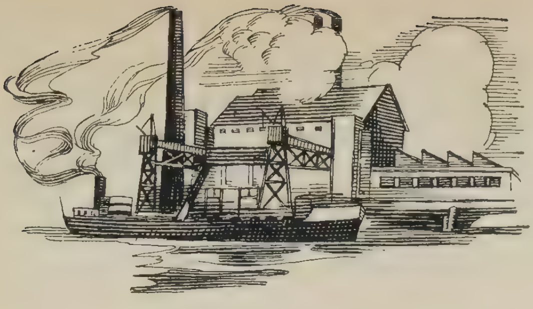
3. How the social, economic, and political effects of unrestricted immigration have resulted in restrictive legislation is told in Munro and Ozanne's *Social Civics*, pp. 26–30.

4. Read "The Problem of Immigration," ch. xiv, in Burch and Patterson's *Problems of American Democracy*, and have a discussion of it in class.

5. Read some chapters in Panunzio's *The Soul of an Immigrant*. You will also be interested in a book written by an immigrant, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*. See Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 68–78.

6. How can a foreigner become a naturalized American citizen?

7. The strictest laws limiting immigration have been passed since 1916. How do you explain this?



CHAPTER XXVII

COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL AND OF LABOR

I. The Formation of Corporations and "Trusts" in Business

Great Industrial Companies. Many years ago an industrious and skillful blacksmith started a small shop in a certain American town and began to make wagons. He made good wagons and the demand for them grew day by day. He had a wonderful market — the American market reaching all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast. The railways carried his wagons to farmers all over the country. As the demand grew, the smith built additions to his shop and employed more men. In the course of time his works covered many acres, and he had many thousand workmen under him manufacturing wagons.

Other business men, seeing him prosper, also began to start wagon shops and to cut the prices of wagons. Before long more wagons were made than could be sold, and all the manufacturers of wagons were in danger of ruin. So they held a meeting and agreed to work together. They formed a great company, or *corporation.* They turned their factories over to this company, and each one of them received a share in the whole. As they needed more and more capital with the growth of business, they sold shares of stock to anyone who cared to buy.

Then other corporations each running a number of wagon factories began to compete with the first corporation. Prices were cut and more wagons were made than could be sold. So the corporations got together and formed a still greater company whose board of directors, or *trustees*, held the stock of the lesser corporations "in trust." Hence these very large corporations which often aim to control all or almost all of the business in a certain field are called "trusts."

John D. Rockefeller

This story is partly imaginary, but it describes the general way in which great business companies, corporations, and trusts have grown up in America. During the past fifty years nearly all the principal industries of America have passed from the ownership of individual persons to the ownership of companies or corporations and in many cases to the control of great trusts.

The Standard Oil Interests. As early as 1879 oil producers in Pennsylvania began to hold meetings and agree among themselves on the price of oil. Three years later, under the leadership of John D. Rockefeller, they formed a great oil "trust." In a short time the men who joined in this corporation made a great deal of money. With their profits they bought shares in railways, coal companies, iron mills, and other concerns. Before many years had passed, they held shares in hundreds of companies, and thus the Standard Oil Company became the center of a great network of industries.

Other trusts. Before the close of the nineteenth century there was hardly an industry of any importance that was not managed by a trust or huge corporation. Most of the companies had large sums of money — capital — invested in their businesses. For example, the Copper Trust, incorporated in New Jersey in 1899, had a capital of $175,000,000 within five years. The United States Steel Corporation, founded in 1901, led them all with its capital of $1,400,000,000.

Railway Combinations. This tendency toward the union of companies and corporations appeared also in the railway business Competing lines were often united under a single company to control freight and passenger rates. Great combinations were formed to purchase trunk lines running from the East to the West or from the North to the South.

By the close of the century there were a few huge railway concerns which controlled nearly all the long lines in the United States.

The "Captains of Industry." Out of the trusts and combinations great fortunes were made. Andrew Carnegie, Rockefeller, the Goulds, and the Vanderbilts, to mention only a few, acquired riches such as had not been dreamed of before in the history of the world. Their huge companies, employing millions of workers, brought them heavy duties and grave problems. From their personal fortunes they endowed schools, founded universities, built hospitals and libraries, and supported charities.

II. Organization of Labor and Capital

The Corporation and Labor. The growth of large companies seriously changed the relation of employers and workmen. In the old days the factory was small and was owned by one man, or at most by a few men who lived near by; there were usually personal and friendly ties between the employer and his employees. Sometimes the master actually worked in the factory side by side with his helpers and knew them by their first names. With the changes recorded above, the factories grew in size. The ownership passed to companies, the members of which often lived in distant cities or even in foreign countries. The plants became managed by superintendents, and the personal relations between the owner and the employees were broken. Some people then began to speak of corporations as " soulless." By that it was meant that they were purely business enterprises, and that the owners could be reached only with great difficulty by employees who had requests to make or grievances to discuss.

Trade-Unions Formed. While employers were forming companies, workingmen were forming unions among themselves to prevent undercutting in wages. They had begun to do this early in the nineteenth century, as we have seen (p. 345). During the Civil War, when wages were high, the trade-unions grew rapidly, because they hoped to uphold the high wage scale after the war was over. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was established in 1863 ; the following year unions appeared among cigar makers, bricklayers, and masons. By 1866 thirty or forty different trades were formed into national unions with branches all over the country. About that time national labor-union conventions were held, and attempts were made to create a strong society taking in all the workers of every trade.

The Knights of Labor. The task of forming the great national union was undertaken by The Noble Order of Knights of Labor, founded in 1869. It began with a group of Philadelphia garment workers who wanted to unite all wage earners in one body, without any distinctions of sex, trade, grade, color, or nationality. Within fifteen years this organization had over 1,000,000 members.

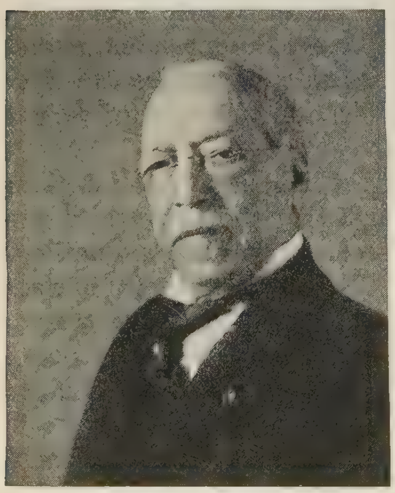
The Knights of Labor demanded: (1) an eight-hour day for all working people; (2) laws guaranteeing them healthful and safe conditions in factories and mines; (3) weekly payment of wages in money; (4) payment of damages by employers to workers injured in industry; (5) the establishment of state and national labor bureaus, and other reforms. The Knights of Labor protested against the practice of state governments in hiring out prisoners to manufacturers because it cut wages in general. They protested also against the practice of bringing in large numbers of European immigrants under contract (pp. 523, 530) in order to reduce American wages. The motto of the organization was: "An injury to one is the concern of all."

The Knights of Labor had great influence on the working people of the country. Although they did not start a new political party, they helped to secure from state and national governments several reforms. The Knights also led in some successful strikes against employers to increase wages; but they failed in a number of them. They then began to quarrel among themselves. Finally their national union went to pieces.

The American Federation of Labor. Meanwhile a second national labor organization, the American Federation of Labor, was growing up. It was started in 1881 with the federation of unions in about one hundred different trades. Five years later it took the name it now bears. The Federation, unlike the Knights of Labor, did not attempt to form into one union all sorts and conditions of working people. It began to organize the men and women of the separate trades or crafts into district "locals." It permitted the members of each trade to deal directly with their employers. The Federation stepped in only when needed. It did not undertake general strikes of all working people in order to help those of a single trade or locality.

By 1923 the American Federation of Labor had about four million members paying dues. It had a large sum of money in its treasury and a headquarters building of its own in Washington. Under the leadership of its president, Samuel Gompers, it won much power over wages and hours of labor in the industries of the country.

The Federation's Influence in Politics. The American Federation of Labor did not form a separate political party. Still it often brought influence to bear upon the existing parties. For instance, in 1908 and 1912 Mr. Gompers asked the Republican and Democratic parties to support certain laws which the unions favored. The former party refused, and the latter made the desired promises. Then he asked the members of the American Federation to vote solidly for the Democratic candidate for President. Mr. Gompers boasted that eighty per cent of the voting members of his Federation did as he requested. At all events, after the election of Mr. Wilson in 1912, the Democratic party passed some of the laws which the Federation of Labor had demanded. Thus, by threatening to use the labor vote for or against one or the other of the political parties, the Federation was able to secure a number of its measures. When the Department of Labor was created in 1913, an officer of the Federation was appointed as the head and was given a seat in the President's cabinet.


SAMUEL GOMPERS

Employers' Organizations. While the trade-unions were increasing in number and power, the employers of labor were looking after their side of affairs. As early as 1825 an employers' association was formed in Boston. In 1872 more than four hundred employers organized a national association to oppose the attempt to establish a ten-hour day. After that time many other employers' associations sprang up. In 1903 there was established the Citizens' Industrial Association of America, a union of several national associations. Somewhat later the National Manufacturers' Association was founded.

The purposes of these associations varied. Some of them were opposed to all trade-unions and the trade-union idea. Others hired agents to speak against laws which they thought unfair to employers. Some fought against special things, such as the demand for an eight-hour day or the refusal of trade-unions to allow nonunion men to work in shops where they were organized.

III. The Great Strikes

Industrial Disputes. *The Strikes of 1877 and 1886.* As employers and employees began to line up against each other, there arose many a costly and tragic struggle. In 1877 a railway strike on the Pennsylvania and other lines resulted in the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property, including the railroad station at Pittsburgh. A few years later a serious conflict broke out at the Carnegie Ironworks at Homestead, Pennsylvania. Nearly a score were killed and more than that number wounded. In 1886 strikes in Chicago ended in the dreadful Haymarket riot, in which several policemen were killed by bombs. In the Far West, particularly in Colorado, Idaho, and Montana, miners and their employers were almost constantly engaged in disputes over hours and wages.

The Strike of 1894. In 1894 there occurred the most alarming railway strike of the period. The employees of the Pullman Car Company at Chicago struck, and the American Railway Union, in order to help them, called a "sympathetic strike." In this dispute some property was destroyed. The leader of the railway men, Eugene V. Debs, was imprisoned because he did not obey a court injunction ordering workingmen not to interfere with the business of the companies. Finally, against the protests of the governor of Illinois, President Cleveland sent federal troops to the scene of trouble on the ground that the mails were being interfered with, and the strike was broken.

GROVER CLEVELAND

The Public and the Government Involved. For a long time it was generally said that such strikes were affairs for employers and employees to settle entirely among themselves. Gradually this view was given up. When railways were tied up and mines closed, the public suffered. When disorders occurred, the lives and property of parties not concerned were in danger. So the idea grew that the public ought to have something to say in such cases.

Then too there were many questions which touched the government, federal and state, directly. How far should the courts go in ordering employees to do this or refrain from doing that during strikes? Under what conditions should the militia or federal troops be called out? What should they do when called out? To what extent should the police interfere with meetings held to help strikers? What should strikers be allowed to do to persuade other workers not to take their jobs? Should labor unions be given the right to shut out nonunion men from any industry and thus maintain a "closed shop"? [1]

The Demand from the Public for a Just Settlement of Labor Disputes. Many proposals were made with a view to solving the problem of strikes and labor disputes. In 1900 there was formed the American Civic Federation to bring together employers, professional people, philanthropists, and representatives of trade-unions. The Civic Federation took the ground that both employers and employees had a right to form unions or associations, but it urged them to settle their disputes by friendly conferences instead of by costly strikes and conflicts.

Roosevelt's Policy. Public interest in labor disputes became very marked during the anthracite coal strike of 1902. The employers refused to listen to the demands of the miners, and as winter came on the country faced a serious shortage of coal. Of the state of affairs, President Roosevelt said:

> The big coal operators had banded together and positively refused to take any steps looking toward an accommodation with their employees. They knew that the suffering among the miners was great; they were confident that if order were kept and nothing further were done by the government, they would win, and they refused to consider that the public had any rights in the matter. . . . No man and no group of men can so exercise their rights as to deprive the nation of the things which are necessary and vital to the common life. A strike which ties up the coal supplies of a whole section is a strike invested with a public interest.

President Roosevelt made ready to send soldiers into the mine districts and run the mines to supply the country with coal. He appointed a commission of seven men to consider the demands of the miners and the claims of the employers. As a result, a settlement of the strike was reached. This affair may be said to mark a turn in the course of labor troubles because the general public at last realized that it had rights and duties in such disputes.

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[1] A shop that is closed to workmen who are not members of a union. If nonunion workmen are hired, the union workmen strike.

Signing the New Agreement

The coal strike of 1922 became history when T. K. Maher, chairman of the Interstate Scale Conference, and John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, signed a treaty of peace.

Later troubles in the coal fields, especially the serious strikes of 1922, 1925–6, and 1927–8, made the demand still stronger for a satisfactory means of settling such disputes.

Arbitration. Some students of labor problems, seeing the terrible waste and losses resulting from strikes, urged arbitration as a solution. Arbitration means the peaceful settlement of a dispute by a group of persons agreed upon by both sides. Often those so chosen agree upon others to work with them. Sometimes an " outsider " or a board of outsiders is chosen by both sides and given power to settle the difficulty. Some people who believe in arbitration insist that both sides should be *compelled* to accept the decision of the board. This is called *compulsory arbitration.* In 1920 the state of Kansas actually passed a law providing for such a plan, which, however, was declared unconstitutional in 1923. In the same year Congress created a Federal Labor Board of nine members to hear disputes between railway companies and their employees; but it was not successful and was later abolished. Generally, however, both employers and employees have opposed compulsory arbitration. Indeed, no solution that suits all parties has yet been found. Throughout the autumn of 1925 and the winter of 1925–6, the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania were shut down as a result of a great strike, with severe suffering both on the part of the miners and of the public.

IV. Socialism

The Rise of the Socialists. In 1872 a party known as Labor Reformers held a convention at Columbus, Ohio, and nominated a candidate for President. Not long afterward the Socialist Labor party was started.

Although the Socialists differed greatly among themselves, there were certain general ideas to be found in their writings: (1) Modern industry, they claimed, makes a division of the people on the one hand into capitalists, who own the mills, mines, and railways, and, on the other hand, a great mass of people dependent solely upon their labor for a livelihood. (2) A continual struggle, they argued, must go on between these two groups, because each will seek a larger share of the annual output of wealth. (3) In this contest, they declared that the owners of capital gain wealth and luxury, and the workers poverty and misery. (4) As a solution, the Socialists proposed that there should be no private owners of the chief business concerns like railways, mines, factories, and electric-light plants. These things, they said, should be owned in common through the government. In that case nearly everyone would become an employee of the government in which he had a share as a voter. Some Socialists relied on education and general discussion to carry out their ideas; others were extremists and threatened to attempt to carry out their plans by violence and revolution against our present government.

Opposition to Socialist Ideas. The Socialists were strongly opposed by other political parties as well as by the American Federation of Labor. Against socialism many arguments were advanced: (1) American people are not sharply divided into capitalists and workers, since the workers often own shares in companies, government bonds, and homes, and nearly half of them are farmers. (2) The interests of the employer and employee are really the same; whatever helps one group will, in the long run, help the other. (3) American working people are the most prosperous in the world. (4) The government is a poor business manager and often takes less interest in the welfare of its employees than do private concerns.

It was also pointed out that it would be very difficult for the government to fix, in a fair and satisfactory manner, the wages of those who labored in the various industries. If all were to share equally — the able and the stupid, the lazy and the hard-working — what encouragement would there be for any person to work with all his skill and energy? On the other hand, if wages were to be unequal, according to what rules should they be fixed?

The Socialistic Parties. There were many Socialists in the country before 1860, particularly among the German immigrants who came over in 1848. It was not until 1892, however, that the Socialist Labor party nominated its first candidate for President. This party never polled as high as a hundred thousand votes. It had been in existence only eight years when a second party, known as the Socialist party, was established. The new party in 1900 nominated for its candidate Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the great railway strike of 1894 (p. 540). By 1912, the Socialist vote had reached 897,000; but in 1916 it fell to less than 600,000. The refusal of the party to support our government during the war against Germany led many of its members to resign and caused distrust of socialism in general. Nevertheless the party in 1920 once more nominated Debs, then in prison for opposing the war, and polled about a million votes. Four years later it joined with the Progressives and endorsed Robert M. La Follette for President. In 1928 it again put forward its own candidate independently.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: *company, corporation, trust, trade union, strike, sympathetic strike, arbitration, closed shop, open shop, socialism.*

I. What led to the combination of business concerns? How did the larger combinations come to be known as trusts? Why did these trusts, once established, tend to reach out and gather up other lines of business? In what kinds of business other than oil production did the Standard Oil Company become interested? Name some of the other great trusts. Name some of the "captains of industry."

II. Why did the growth of trusts lead to labor troubles? What is meant by a "soulless corporation"? What did the workingmen do to protect their rights? What did the Knights of Labor hope to accomplish? How does the American Federation of Labor differ from the older Knights of Labor? What important things has the

Federation accomplished? How did the employers try to resist certain demands of the workers?

III. What is meant by a "strike"? Where did some of the early strikes occur? Why did the public claim the right to interfere in the dispute between capital and labor? What was President Roosevelt's idea regarding the rights of the public in this dispute?

IV. What is meant by "government ownership"? What business enterprises does the government now control? What are the chief arguments of the Socialist party? What are some answers to their arguments?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Find out about the development of the oil industry — where petroleum is found; how it is brought out of the ground, taken to the refineries, and made into useful products. Make a list of the principal products. Give as many reasons as you can, explaining why the oil industry was one of the first to be organized into a trust.

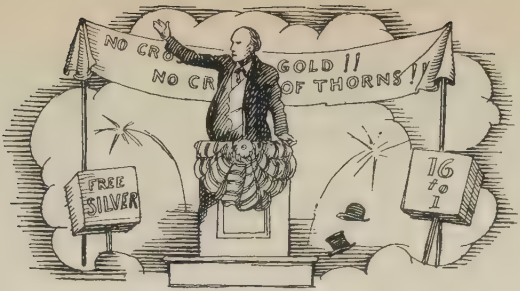
Your geographies (look up the subject in the Index) will give you much information about petroleum and its products. See also Mowry's *American Inventors and Inventions*, pp. 77–80.

2. Look up the story of one of the great railroad systems. Discuss in class the advantages and dangers of combining short railroad lines into large systems.

Brigham's *From Trail to Railway* has interesting chapters on the New York Central (ch. v), the Pennsylvania (ch. vii), and the Baltimore and Ohio (ch. ix); see McMurry's *Larger Types of American Geography*, pp. 54–82, for the story of the Pennsylvania System.

3. Read ch. xxii, "Government Control of Transportation," in Burch and Patterson's *Problems of American Democracy*.

4. Read Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 328–333.



CHAPTER XXVIII

PARTIES AND POLITICAL ISSUES

The rapid industrial progress that followed the close of the Civil War in 1865 raised many problems for American democracy to solve. The old political problems — the tariff, the bank, and the spoils system — remained, and to them other issues were added. The extension of railways across the continent, the rise of great trusts, the formation of trade-unions, and the increase in city populations brought with them new questions for the people to decide. Moreover, they gave a new turn to the old questions. Should the railways be allowed to fix freight and passenger rates as they pleased? Should trusts be permitted to charge the public any prices they cared to make for oil, steel, copper, and farm machinery? Should great and established industries receive the same protection by tariff that "infant industries" received in the early days of the republic? These and similar questions were forced upon the voters at every election — indeed in the headlines of every day's newspaper.

I. The Republican and Democratic Administrations

Echoes of the Civil War. For a few years after the Civil War, the politicians talked mainly about "the Confederacy" and "the Rebellion" and how to treat the States that had formed the Confederacy (pp. 458–462). The War left many angry feelings that were slow to die out. This bitterness for a time kept the people from thinking clearly about the new questions that were rising in the land.

The Republican Party in Power. With Southern leadership broken, the Republicans had many advantages. They pointed with pride to the work of Lincoln in saving the Union and accused the Democrats of having given aid to the spirit of secession. The Republicans were able, therefore, to carry every presidential election, except two, between 1860 and 1912 — a period of more than fifty years. Shortly after the war they selected as their candidate General Grant, who was regarded as a great hero and, next to Lincoln, the savior of the Union. They elected him President in 1868; in 1872 they reëlected him, although the Democrats chose as their candidate Horace Greeley, the famous Republican editor of the *New York Tribune.*

The Hayes-Tilden Campaign. In the midst of defeat, however, the Democrats never lost hope. They made such a vigorous fight in 1872 that they secured a majority in the House of Representatives. In the presidential campaign of 1876 they thought for a time that they had carried the day. Indeed, the result of the election was most uncertain. Both parties claimed the victory. The dispute grew so intense that Congress, to settle the quarrel, appointed a commission of fifteen members to examine the election returns. On this commission the Republicans had a majority who, in the end, favored the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio, and gave him the victory over Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate from New York.

Garfield Elected and Assassinated. The Democrats were deeply stirred by the decision, but they accepted it, hoping that, at the next election, the country would rebuke their opponents. In this, however, they were disappointed, because the Republicans in 1880 elected James A. Garfield by a safe majority. President Garfield had hardly taken office when he was shot by a disappointed office seeker. He died on September 19, 1881.

Cleveland Brings the Democrats into Power. — Garfield's successor, the Vice President, Chester A. Arthur, was not able to win the united support of his own party, and in 1884 the Republicans brushed him aside, selecting as their candidate James G. Blaine of Maine. The Democrats savagely attacked Blaine and won a victory for their own leader, Grover Cleveland of New York, the first Democratic President since Buchanan's day. The triumph was a narrow one, however. It was chiefly due to a division in the Republican ranks. Indeed several prominent Republicans openly went over to the Democrats. On account of their desertion they were called " mugwumps," from an Indian term meaning " big chief." It was said that the mugwumps felt themselves above the ordinary man who voted regularly with his party.

Cleveland Defeated by Harrison (1888), but Reëlected in 1892. The Democrats, having carried the country once with Cleveland as their candidate, put him forward in 1888 and again in 1892. In the former year he was defeated by Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, the Republican candidate. In 1892 he was again elected President, defeating Harrison by a very substantial majority.

The Return of the Republicans. *McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft.* This proved to be the last Democratic victory for twenty years. In the next campaign, 1896, William McKinley of Ohio was victorious over the Democratic candidate, William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, and the Republicans were returned to power on March 4, 1897. They retained the presidency through the administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft until the inauguration of Wilson in 1913.

II. THE TARIFF AND THE INCOME TAX

The Tariff Issue since the Civil War. *The Protective Tariff.* During all these administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, certain questions stood foremost in the minds of the voters. The first of these was the tariff (p. 271 ff.). Just before the Civil War the Democrats had cut the taxes on imported goods to a low figure, and the Republicans, in 1860, had replied by declaring in favor of high rates. During the war, while the Republicans were in power, heavy duties were levied upon imports to meet military expenses. After the war the Republicans kept up many of these taxes, declaring that they aided the manufacturing industries of the country.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY

The question was discussed vigorously in every campaign, and a few times it became what the politicians call a "burning issue." President Cleveland in a message to Congress in December, 1887, attacked the tariff as an unfair and illegal system of taxation. In 1908 Mr. Bryan led in another spirited attack upon it. The Democratic platform favored low duties on the necessities of life and especially on the articles made by the trusts. The Democrats said that the trusts were so big and powerful that they needed no aid from the government.

The Various Tariff Bills. In spite of all the discussion about the tariff, there were only six revisions of the customs duties between General Grant's second inauguration in 1873 and the close of President Wilson's second administration in 1921. The Republicans, in the Dingley Tariff of 1897, placed the duties at the highest point since the founding of the republic. In 1909, when Mr. Taft was President, the Republicans changed the tariff rates somewhat, but still left them highly protective. The Democrats, in the Underwood-Simmons Bill of 1913, reduced them. President Harding, on his inauguration in 1921, advised Congress to return to higher rates, and this advice was followed in the passage of the Fordney Tariff Bill in 1922.

The Demand for an Income Tax. Many Democrats objected to tariff duties on coffee, sugar, and such commodities, calling them " taxes on the poor." They reasoned in this way: One man has $20,000 a year; another has $1000 a year; both eat the same amount of sugar; if the federal government gets its money from taxes on such things as sugar, the poor man pays as much as the rich man who is better able to pay. Therefore, said the Democrats, import duties should be low on articles used by everyone. They might justly be higher on luxuries. But the most just method of raising money, they said, would be to tax the incomes of the well-to-do. During the Civil War the federal government had made use of the income tax as a temporary revenue measure, and Democratic leaders thought it should be a regular part of the federal tax system.

The Income Tax Declared Unconstitutional. Accordingly when the Democrats revised the tariff in 1894, they provided for a tax on every person having an income of more than $4000 a year. The next year, however, the Supreme Court of the United States declared the law null and void as violating the Constitution — much to the anger of the friends of the measure. In 1896 the Democrats put into their platform a plank favoring a tax on incomes, and their leaders continued to recommend it.

The Constitution Amended to Permit an Income Tax. Many Republicans also agreed that an income tax was just and desirable. President Roosevelt, in one of his messages, expressed himself in favor of it. In 1909, while the Republicans were in power, Congress passed the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, giving Congress power to lay and collect income taxes. This Amendment was duly ratified by a sufficient number of state legislatures and went into effect in 1913. The Democrats, once more in power, acted immediately. In that very year, at the time of revising the tariff, Congress laid an income tax. This remains an important part of the federal system of taxation, and some states also have a state income tax. This means that many people pay both a national and a state tax on their incomes.

The Tariff Still an Issue. In spite of all this discussion and legislation it could hardly be said that anything was definitely settled with regard to the tariff. The Democrats, who disliked the protective system, were by no means agreed on abolishing all protection for American manufacturers and producers. On the other hand the Republicans, while in general favoring high tariff, often disagreed among themselves as to what industries should receive help by having heavy import taxes placed on the goods that they manufactured.

The Tariff Commission. On account of this difference of opinion, within as well as between the two parties, a new plan was adopted. A tariff commission, composed of a few special students of the subject, was established under Taft's administration. Its chief duty was to find out just how much protection was needed to enable American manufacturers to make only fair profits. Under President Wilson a new commission was created in 1916. Thus it appeared that neither political party wanted to reduce the tariff so low as to afford no aid at all to American manufacturers; neither party proposed absolute " free trade."

The President Given Power to Change Tariff Rates. The tariff law of 1922 carried with it a very important change of policy. " Protective " duties on foreign products are supposed to make up for differences in costs of production here and in other countries. The act of 1922 gave the President power to raise the tariff rates whenever he found that they did not equalize the costs of production, or to lower them if he found that they were so high as to cause the American consumer to pay an unnecessarily high price for the same goods made in this country. The law also provides that the President may raise the tariff rates on imports from any country that imposes unfair tariff rates on our exports. The tariff rates can therefore be changed to meet changed conditions of production or changed tariff policies of other countries, thus providing what is called a " flexible " tariff.

III. THE CURRENCY PROBLEM

The Redemption of the " Greenbacks." Another public issue which deeply interested voters was the money problem. During the Civil War the government had issued many million dollars in paper money, known as *legal tender* or *greenbacks*. This money was used to pay the soldiers and was received by the government for taxes and other purposes, but it was not redeemable in gold or silver; that is, the holder of a greenback dollar could not go to the United States Treasury and get a gold or silver dollar in return for it as one can do with the paper money now in use. As a result the greenbacks fell in value until a paper dollar was worth only sixty or seventy cents in gold or silver. Some of the leading men in the country wanted to do away with paper money entirely; others said that it should be kept in circulation; and still others held that it should be placed on a specie basis, whereby anybody who had a paper dollar could at any time secure a gold dollar in exchange for it. In 1879 the last plan was put through; the greenbacks were made redeemable in coin and are still a part of our paper money.

The Problem of Silver Money. A second phase of the money problem was the coinage itself. The Constitution gave Congress the power to coin money and forbade the states to make anything but gold or silver coin the lawful money in the payment of debts. In 1792 the government began to coin these two metals at the ratio of 15 to 1, on the theory that fifteen ounces of silver were worth one ounce of gold on the market. Later the ratio was changed to 16 to 1. In the outside market, however, and for use in manufacturing, silver came to be worth more than this price in relation to gold; so silver dollars almost dropped out of circulation because silversmiths could melt the coins instead of buying other forms of the metal. In 1873 Congress ceased making silver coins.

The Demand for the Use of Silver as Money. It happened about this time that the price of silver began to go down. Rich deposits of silver were discovered in the Western states. In a few years it took twenty-two ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold on the market. The owners of silver mines, finding the price of their product falling, looked about for help. They demanded that the government restore the silver dollar by coining both gold and silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1. The advocates of the gold standard said that silver had fallen in market price so far that it would be wrong to coin it on the old plan. The advocates of silver replied that silver had not fallen, but that gold had gone up because the government had made it the only basis of money and had thus limited the market for silver.

The Controversy over the Silver Question. The country at large was sharply divided over this question. In general, farmers favored the free coinage of silver at the old ratio because they thought it would put more money into circulation, raise the selling price of farm products, and enable them more easily to pay off the mortgages on their farms. On the other hand the gold standard was favored largely by people who had money invested in business or in loans and who thought that they would lose if debts owed to them could be paid in money less valuable than that which they had lent.

The money lender said:

> I lent money at a time when an ounce of gold was worth seventeen or eighteen times an ounce of silver, and now you propose that I should be repaid in silver dollars worth much less than the original amount which I lent; that is, in money with less purchasing power.

The farmer, on his part, replied:

> When I borrowed a thousand dollars on my farm, wheat was worth two dollars a bushel, and I could pay the mortgage off with five hundred bushels. Now the price of wheat has fallen to one dollar. As a result, although the amount I owe is still one thousand dollars, it is two thousand dollars measured in terms of my labor — the wheat which I have produced.

The "Greenback" and "Populist" Parties. Many farmers and those who sympathized with them decided to go into politics and force Congress to pass laws increasing the amount of money in circulation. In the late seventies they organized a short-lived party of their own, known as the Greenback party, which favored continuing the issue of paper money, or greenbacks. In 1892 they established the Populist party, which declared for "free silver" — that is, the coinage into money of all the silver presented at the mints. In that year their candidate for President polled more than a million votes.

The McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896. This vote disturbed the Republican and Democratic parties, for each was afraid that it could not win without the support of the discontented farmers. Many prominent Republicans believed in the free coinage of silver, but most of the free-silver advocates were Democrats. In 1896 the free-silver men were so numerous that they got control of the Democratic party. At the national convention in Chicago they nominated a young and zealous advocate of free silver, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. The Republicans came out in favor of the gold standard with William McKinley as their leader. Then followed one of the hottest political campaigns in the history of the country. There had been nothing like it except in 1800, 1828, and 1860. The Republicans were victorious. Four years later they passed a law making gold the standard for the whole monetary system of the United States.

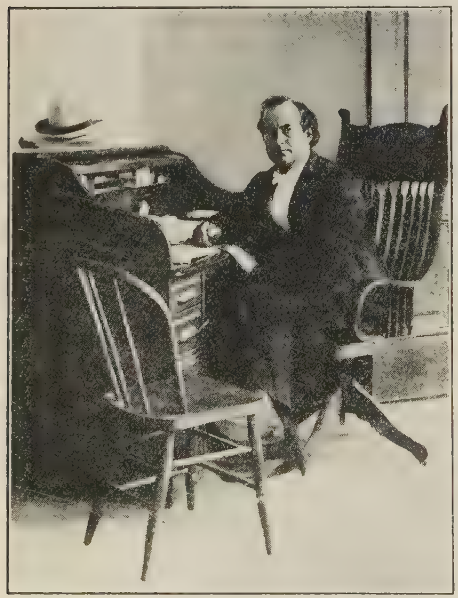


Photo by Underwood and Underwood

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

The Federal Reserve Banks. Before very many years had passed the currency question came up again in a new form. The men who had previously advocated free silver held to their old arguments: (1) that the money of the country was too largely in the hands of Eastern bankers, who could charge any rate of interest they pleased; (2) that there was not enough money in circulation to meet the needs of the farmers and merchants; and (3) that power over the whole monetary system was in the hands of private persons rather than of the government.

Many leaders in both parties were dissatisfied with the monetary system and called for reform. In response to this demand, Congress in 1913 passed a new banking law. Under this law the country was laid out into twelve great districts. In each district many banks were changed into federal, or "member," banks and one was selected as a Federal Reserve Bank. The control over the whole currency system was given to a Federal Reserve Board, composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller, and five men appointed by the President and the Senate. They were given the power to issue paper money on certain conditions and thus to "expand," or increase, the currency when more money was needed. It was thought that the leading currency problems would be solved: (1) by securing federal government control; (2) by giving local banks a fair share in the management; (3) by distributing the "money power" over all sections of the country; and (4) by providing for the issue and withdrawal of paper money to meet the demands of business.

IV. THE RAILWAYS; THE TRUSTS; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; THE LIQUOR QUESTION

Railway Regulation as a Political Problem. A third great political question was the regulation of railways. At first the government had helped the railway companies with huge gifts of land and money; it had thus aided in the rapid building of lines in all parts of the country. At the same time the government had permitted the railroad managers to conduct their business in their own way. Some of them issued worthless stocks and bonds and sold them to the innocent public. Others charged high freight and passenger rates.

There was accordingly much discontent among those who shipped goods or traveled. The farmers in the West depended almost entirely upon the railways for carrying their wheat, corn, live stock, and other produce to the Eastern markets. In the early seventies they began to grumble about the high freight rates charged by the railway companies. Several Middle Western states, among them Illinois and Wisconsin, passed laws compelling the railroads to reduce both freight and passenger charges. A state, however, could regulate only the carrying of goods or passengers from one point to another within its borders. The control of commerce between states ("interstate commerce," pp. 194–196) had been given to Congress under the Constitution.

The Interstate Commerce Law. Pressure was put, therefore, upon Congress to regulate rates on railway lines crossing state borders. In 1887 Congress passed a law creating a commission of five members to be appointed by the President and Senate. By this law and various amendments in later years, it was provided: (1) that the railroad rates should be reasonable and (2) that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have the right to control the freight and passenger rates of all railroads engaged in interstate commerce. Thus a large power over the railroad companies was given to a government commission.[1]

Control of the Trusts a Political Problem. A fourth issue much like the railway question was that of controlling the trusts (p. 536). These huge concerns did many things that were open to criticism. Sometimes they ruined small business men by cutting prices. Sometimes they controlled so many mills that they were able to fix prices as they pleased and compel the public to pay dearly for their goods. About 1885 a storm of criticism broke out against the trusts. As a result Congress passed in 1890 a law known as the Sherman Act which made illegal every trust or combination that restrained or limited trade or commerce among the states or with foreign countries.

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[1] On account of war conditions the government in December, 1917, took over nearly all the railroads for the time being. By a law, passed early in 1918, all railroads were placed under government management. In March, 1920, the railroad properties were, by Act of Congress, returned to their owners; and the former plan of regulating them by a commission was restored.

It was thought that the government could break up the trusts by prosecuting the men who formed them. The Sherman Law proved, however, to be disappointing for many years. Almost no attempt was made to enforce it until the administrations of President Roosevelt and President Taft. Then a number of great trusts, such as the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company, were ordered to break up into many smaller corporations. This by no means solved the trust problem. The Democrats in 1914 sought to make government control more severe by passing the Clayton Antitrust Law; but combinations and trusts continued to flourish as before. Competition among small business men such as had formerly existed was not restored. In 1914 a Federal Trade Commission was formed to supervise business concerns to prevent unfair practices.

Civil Service Reform. *Evils of the Spoils System.* A fifth political issue was that of civil service reform. As a result of the spoils system (pp. 278–279), the management of public business was often in the hands of untrained people. Moreover, in each political party there was always a large body of men whose principal ambition was to get paying offices in the government. These men took part in politics all the time, attending primaries and conventions and helping to nominate candidates and win elections. Politics became a trade by which some men made their living. Government service was too often regarded not as a dignified calling but as " spoils."

Naturally there was much disapproval of this state of affairs. The critics of the spoils system said that the government should have a civil service or " merit " system. In such a system (1) men and women are appointed to the lower government offices only after passing examinations testing their fitness for such places, and (2), after they are appointed, they cannot be removed except for unsatisfactory service. The politicians made fun of this idea and called it " snivel service " and " goody-goody reform."

Garfield's Assassination Arouses the Country to the Need of Reform. In 1881, however, the attention of the entire country was forcibly drawn to the spoils system when President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office seeker. Two years later Congress passed a civil service law. The Act provided that there should be a commission of three men appointed by the President and that they should set examinations for admission to various government offices. The Act also gave the President power to say what groups and classes of federal offices should be filled only by persons who had passed examinations. From time to time the President increased the number of positions in the merit group. In 1916 more than one half of the four hundred thousand federal employees were out of the spoils system. In 1927, about four fifths of the 559,138 positions in the executive department of the federal government were under civil service rules.[1]

The Liquor Question. Attempts to prohibit the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors began before the Civil War. In the decade between 1850 and 1860 several states adopted prohibition. But all, with the exception of Maine, gave it up, in time, for one reason or another, and the temperance question was at length overshadowed by the slavery controversy.

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[1] This does not include positions in the army, navy, courts, or legislative branch of the government.

The Growth of the Prohibition Movement. After the Civil War it reappeared. In 1869 the National Prohibition party was organized in Chicago; in 1872 it nominated a candidate for President of the United States. From that time forward the Prohibitionists entered every presidential election. Their vote was never large enough to promise success, though in one campaign it reached almost a quarter of a million.

Thirty-two of the forty-eight states meanwhile adopted state-wide prohibition. In other states great sections were made "dry" by what is called *local option;* that is, counties and towns by a popular vote decided whether or not to close saloons.

National Prohibition. The Volstead Act. Then the matter became a national issue. An Amendment to the federal Constitution providing for national prohibition was passed by Congress in December, 1917, and sent to the states for ratification. The approval of the Amendment by the required thirty-six states was proclaimed on January 16, 1919. Congress immediately passed an enforcement act, introduced by Representative Volstead of Minnesota, which defined intoxicating liquor and provided for enforcing the law. Such a change, involving the habits of millions of people, is not easily brought about. In some states especially, violation of the law has been common, and the enforcement of prohibition has become a question of serious importance, affecting our local, state, and national politics — even our relations with foreign countries. But in spite of differences of opinion about enforcement laws the desire of most of the people as voiced by their representatives in Congress has been strongly in favor of Prohibition.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: Review *tariff, protective tariff, free trade, spoils system.* Other terms: *income tax, legal tender, greenbacks, currency, coinage, "free silver," gold standard, interstate commerce, civil service, prohibition, a "flexible" tariff.*

I. Why did the Republicans have an advantage over the Democrats in national elections for a long time after the Civil War? Who was successor to Andrew Johnson as President? How was the presidential election of 1876 decided? How did Arthur come to be President? What other Presidents have come into office in this way? Who was the first successful candidate of the Democratic party after the Civil War? Who were the "mugwumps" and why were they given this name? What man held the office of President from 1889 to 1893? Who were the Presidents between 1897 and 1913?

II. What position did the Democrats take regarding a protective tariff? What are the differences between a "protective" tariff and a tariff "for revenue only"? What party was in power when the Dingley Tariff Bill became a law? the Underwood-Simmons Bill? the Fordney Bill? What important changes were made in the tariff during President Wilson's first administration? State the usual attitude of the Democratic Party toward the tariff; of the Republican party. What is meant by a "flexible" tariff? What is meant by an "income tax"? When did the government first levy income taxes? What were the provisions of the income-tax law of 1894? What party had secured the passage of this law? Why did it not go into effect? How was the income-tax problem finally solved? In whose administration was the first tariff commission established? What were to be the duties of this commission?

III. Why were the greenbacks issued? How did they differ from the paper money that is used in this country to-day? Why did they depreciate in value? During what preceding period in our history had the government issued paper money similar to the greenbacks? (See Chapter XIV.) How was the greenback problem finally solved? What is meant by the statement that the government first coined silver at the "ratio of 15 to 1"? When the ratio was changed to "16 to 1," did the silver miners receive more or less gold from the government for their product? For what other purposes is silver used in addition to making coins? What would be the effect if those who used silver in other ways offered the miners more than the government offered for making it into money? Suppose, however, that new mines were opened and that the supply of silver suddenly increased; what would happen to the price of silver in market? How did the actual ratio of silver to gold change when the new mines in the West began to produce large quantities of silver? Why did the miners, then, wish to have the government buy silver at the old ratio of 16 to 1? Why did the farmers join with the miners in this request? Which of the two political parties in 1896 favored this "free" coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1? Who was the candidate of this party? Who was his opponent and how did the election turn out? What led to the establishment of the Federal Reserve Banks? In what way did these banks help to solve the currency problem?

IV. In what ways had the government aided in the construction of railways? What control, if any, did it have in return over the operation of the railways, the sale of stock, the rates for carrying freight and passengers, and other matters of public interest? Why was the control of the state government over these matters not wholly satisfactory? What commission was established by law in 1887? What powers were given to this commission? Why did the control of the trusts become an important national problem? How did the Sherman Act attempt to solve this problem? What, in general, has been the result of the "antitrust" legislation? What is meant by "civil service reform"? In connection with what administration have we already studied about the spoils system? (See Chapter XV.) How did the assassination of President Garfield attract public attention to the evils of the system? What important law was passed to correct these evils? If you should wish to secure an appointment in some branch of the government service now, what steps would you take? What progress had the prohibition movement made before the Civil War? Can you think of any reasons why that war should have temporarily halted this movement? When was the Prohibition Amendment passed by Congress? When was it ratified by the states?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

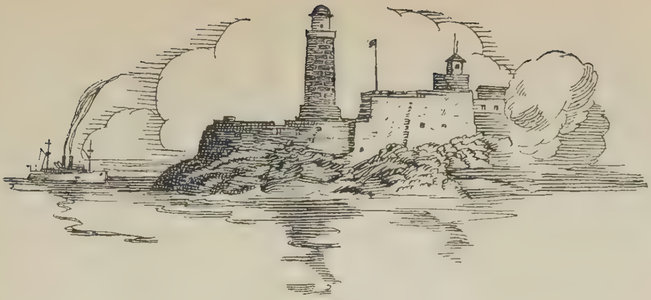
1. The presidential election of 1876 was the only one in our history the results of which have been seriously disputed. An interesting account of the campaign, the election, and the final decision of the electoral commission will be found in Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, ch. xii.

2. Next to slavery, the tariff has been most frequently a "burning issue" of national politics. Give as many reasons as you can, explaining why this issue has caused so much discussion.

See especially Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 243–244.

3. What are the arguments in favor of a "flexible" tariff?

4. Some states and cities have a civil service system. Do you know of any? Look up "Civil Service" in the World Almanac, and see what interesting facts you can find.



CHAPTER XXIX

FOREIGN AFFAIRS. THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

It is sometimes said that the American people do not take much interest in foreign affairs — in the relations of their government to other countries. In a sense this is true. They have been very busy in their shops, factories, homes, and fields and have not been bothered very much by other nations. The Atlantic Ocean separates them from Europe, and the Pacific from the Orient. They have no warlike neighbors and have not been compelled to keep a great standing army for defense. Nevertheless during the past half century the United States has faced many problems in its dealings with other nations and has waged two wars against European countries — one against Spain and the other against Germany and Austria-Hungary. In fact, therefore, foreign affairs are no less important than domestic affairs.

I. Disputes with Great Britain

The *Alabama* Affair. During the Civil War and the three decades following it, there were several disputes with Great Britain.

The first clash was over the "*Alabama* claims." While the Civil War was raging, agents of the Confederacy were permitted to buy warships in Great Britain, contrary to the rules of international law. One of these ships, the *Alabama*, built in Liverpool, did great damage to Northern merchant vessels for a long time. It destroyed goods and shipping and caused heavy losses to citizens of the North. The United States sent a protest to the British government. It said that England had broken the law and must pay for the damage done by the *Alabama*. When the English government at first refused to listen to the American claim, many leaders in this country insisted that our answer should be a declaration of war. Fortunately such rash advice was not followed.

Arbitration of the Dispute. In 1871 an agreement was made with Great Britain to submit all questions in dispute to a court of five arbitrators to be selected by the President of the United States, Queen Victoria of Great Britain, the king of Italy, the emperor of Brazil, and the president of Switzerland. This court sat at Geneva in Switzerland and reviewed all the disputes between the United States and Great Britain. It awarded the sum of fifteen million dollars to the United States to cover the estimated losses of American citizens from ravages of Confederate ships built in England.[1]

The Venezuela Affair. The second difficulty with Great Britain arose in 1895. It grew out of a quarrel between that country and Venezuela over the western boundary of British Guiana in South America. The United States, at the request of Venezuela, took an interest in the quarrel. It did this on the ground that the Monroe Doctrine forbade

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[1] Another dispute that arose during the Civil War was with France. While the United States was engaged in the war, Great Britain, France, and Spain tried to force Mexico to pay her indebtedness to citizens of those countries. France finally sent an expedition to Mexico, overthrew the government, and established Maximilian, a brother of the emperor of Austria, as emperor. In 1865 Secretary Seward demanded the withdrawal of the French troops, and the French emperor (Napoleon III) finally recalled them. The Mexicans then executed Maximilian and restored their own government.

European countries to acquire more land in this hemisphere. England replied that she was not trying to get any more territory but was merely claiming what already belonged to her. She added that the Monroe Doctrine was not involved. When our Secretary of State, Richard B. Olney, proposed that the whole matter be left to a court of arbitrators such as settled the "*Alabama* affair," England would not accept the suggestion.

Cleveland's Message to Congress. Thereupon President Cleveland sent a sharp message to Congress in December, 1895. He asked that American citizens be selected to find out what was the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana. Then he declared in a very firm tone that the United States would resist by every means in its power any attempt of Great Britain to hold lands which this American commission might assign to Venezuela. He hinted that war might result.

England Submits the Question to Arbitration. President Cleveland's message pleased many American citizens, but it alarmed others, who thought that it might bring on a needless war. Fortunately Great Britain helped the American boundary commission to find the facts in the case and finally agreed to lay the dispute before a court of arbitrators. In this way the quarrel which might have brought the two countries to the verge of war was happily settled. The court of arbitration met at Paris in 1899 and, after going into the matter carefully, made a decision which was, on the whole, favorable to Great Britain.

Difficulties with Canadians Arbitrated. Equally fortunate was the peaceful settlement of several disputes with Canada. These disputes were over such matters as the right to catch seals on the Pacific coast, the fisheries along the Eastern coast, the navigation of the Great Lakes, and above all the Alaskan boundary. The boundary question was submitted to a court of arbitration in 1903. The claims of the United States, except in a few details, were approved as correct, because the British member of the court took the American side. This victory by the United States was regarded by many Canadians as unfair, but it was accepted by them in good spirit.

II. Samoa and Hawaii; the Growth of Foreign Trade

The Dispute with Germany over Samoa. While the English and Americans were settling their quarrels by peaceful means, other important events were taking place in the Pacific Ocean. Far away to the southwest, nearer to Australia than to the United States, lay the Samoan Islands, inhabited by a number of half-savage tribes with whom the various countries of the world carried on more or less trade. As early as 1878 the United States had made a treaty with the king of one of them, the island of Tutuila, and had secured a naval base in the harbor of Pago Pago in exchange for a promise to help him in time of need. English and German traders were already operating there.

A few years afterward a native king got into a quarrel with the German consul, who had raised his country's flag there; a number of sailors who landed from a German warship in the harbor were killed. England watched with alarm the appearance of Germany in the Pacific, and so did the United States. Both nations sent warships to the islands. There was some fear that war would result, but better counsels prevailed. In 1889 the United States joined with Great Britain and Germany in a protectorate[1] over the Samoan Islands. This did not prove satisfactory. Ten years later the plan was given up, and the United States obtained outright the island of Tutuila, and thus a strong naval base in the southwestern Pacific.

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[1] A "protectorate" usually means an agreement through which a strong nation or several strong nations undertake to manage the affairs of a small nation.

The Hawaiian Question. The Tutuila affair awakened a new interest in the Hawaiian Islands, which lie about halfway between Samoa and San Francisco. For a long time American missionaries and traders had been at work in these islands. By the middle of the nineteenth century the Americans had more influence there than the citizens of any other country.

OLD GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

The Annexation of Hawaii. In 1893 some Americans in Hawaii, supported by a few natives, said that the queen, Liliuokalani, was ruling the islands selfishly and without consideration for the people. They started a revolt against her at Honolulu, set up a government of their own under the protection of United States marines landed from a warship in the harbor, and sent agents to the United States to ask for annexation. President Cleveland thought that this action by the Americans in Hawaii was very high-handed and steadily refused to support the plan. When the Republicans came into power in 1897, they took a different view of the matter. The following year Congress, by a Joint Resolution, declared the Hawaiian Islands a part of the United States. Not long afterward they were organized into a regular territory, governed by a legislature elected by the voters of the islands and a governor appointed by the President and Senate of the United States.

American Industries Seek Foreign Markets. Until this period the thoughts of our people had been centered largely on home affairs: the abolition of slavery, building railroads, opening the Western lands, and developing mineral resources and industries of every kind. About the time of President McKinley's inauguration, however, America entered a new age. American industries had become so large that they could more than supply the home market. American manufacturers had great stocks of manufactured goods which they wished to sell abroad. American banks had money to invest in foreign business ventures. In other words, in her industrial growth America now arrived at a point which England had reached many decades before.

III. The Cuban Revolt Leads to the Spanish-American War

The Cubans Revolt against Spain. In 1895 the natives of Cuba revolted against the Spanish officers who governed the island. The revolution was marked by extreme cruelty on both sides and by great loss of lives and property. The revolutionists destroyed plantations, burned sugar factories, and laid waste thousands of acres of valuable lands owned by Americans. What they left undone was finished by the Spanish general, Weyler, who destroyed not only property but lives as well. He gathered the rural inhabitants and forced them to live in military camps, where they died of disease by the hundreds. Business was paralyzed, and American trade worth over one hundred million dollars annually was almost ruined. In a little while American citizens had filed claims against Spain amounting to millions of dollars for property which, they said, had been destroyed.

America Sympathizes with the Cubans. The cruelties of the Spanish generals stirred the sympathy of the American people. Sermons were preached against Spanish rule; orators declared that the Cuban people should be aided in their "heroic struggle for liberty"; and many newspapers demanded that the United States interfere at once to secure Cuban independence. Cuban agencies were formed in American cities to raise money and smuggle supplies and arms to the revolutionists. Many adventurous American citizens joined the Cuban army.

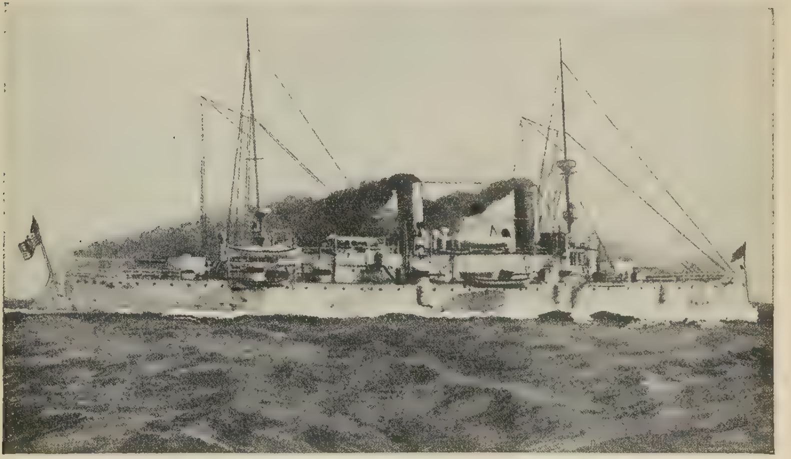
McKinley Protests to Spain. During the presidential campaign of 1896 the Cuban revolution was widely discussed. The Republicans complained that Spain was unable to protect the property or lives of American citizens residing in Cuba. For that reason, they said, the American government should offer to help settle the difficulties between Spain and the revolutionists. President Cleveland took a neutral position in the matter, although he did suggest, without avail, that an attempt should be made to settle the quarrel by arbitration. The new President, McKinley, shortly after his inauguration in 1897, protested to Spain against her management of affairs in Cuba and demanded that order be restored.

The *Maine* Blown Up. The United States and Spain were exchanging letters on Cuban affairs when, on February 15, 1898, an American battleship, the *Maine*, was blown up in the harbor of Havana. Two officers and two hundred fifty-eight members of the crew were killed. The tragedy stirred the country from coast to coast. People in the streets began to wear buttons bearing the legend, " Remember the *Maine*," and still more vigorous demands were made for war. Many Americans believed that Spanish officers had blown up the *Maine*. Spain denied the charge, and it was never proved.

The Popular Demand for War. For some time discussions were kept up between the United States and Spain. The Spanish government made many promises. It agreed to restore peace in Cuba, to permit the establishment of a Cuban parliament, and to grant a certain amount of " home rule " to the Cubans. In short the Spanish government held that it had met all the demands made by the United States. President McKinley, however, refused to believe in the Spanish promises. He was urged on every hand to break off his discussions with that government and drive Spain from the western hemisphere.

War with Spain. On April 11, 1898, President McKinley sent a message to Congress saying that the time had come to put down the disorders in the island and to protect American lives and property there. On April 19 Congress declared that Cuba should be free and that Spain should be forced to withdraw. It empowered the President to use military and naval forces to bring Spain to terms. In declaring war on Spain, Congress added that the United States had no intention of exercising any control over Cuba except to establish peace there. It promised to withdraw when freedom and order were secured.

Dewey's Victory at Manila Bay. In the war which followed, the most dramatic events took place at sea. Admiral Dewey, in command of an American squadron at Hongkong, had been told in February to be ready at any time to sail for the Philippines. On receiving news that war was declared, Dewey left the Chinese waters and steamed into Manila Bay on the evening of April 30. Early on the following morning he opened fire on the Spanish fleet under the guns of the forts at Manila. Within a few hours he had destroyed the enemy's warships, killed nearly four hundred men, and silenced the shore batteries — all without the loss of a single American sailor. News of the extraordinary victory reached the United States by way of Hongkong on May 6. By popular judgment Dewey's feat gives him a place of high honor among American naval heroes.



ADMIRAL DEWEY'S FLAGSHIP, THE *OLYMPIA*

The Blockade of Cuban Ports. Meanwhile great events were taking place nearer home. Rear Admiral Sampson, in charge of the Atlantic squadron, blockaded the coasts of Cuba and began to watch for the Spanish fleet which was on its way westward. Nevertheless the Spanish admiral, Cervera, was able to slip into the harbor of Santiago on May 19, where he was at once bottled up by American ships. The battleship *Oregon*, which was on the Pacific coast at the outbreak of the war, made the long voyage around Cape Horn and joined the American ships in the Atlantic.

El Caney and San Juan Hill. In a short time after the arrival of Cervera, American troops, principally soldiers from the regular army, embarked from Tampa, Florida, where they had been gathering for several weeks. They reached Cuba on June 22 and opened a campaign under General Shafter. The most important battles occurred at

Colonel Roosevelt during the Spanish-American War

El Caney and San Juan Hill, two points near Santiago. At San Juan Hill the Rough Riders, a regiment organized and led by Colonel Wood and Lieutenant Colonel Roosevelt, distinguished themselves. After several days of irregular fighting, the Americans made ready to storm Santiago.

The Spanish Fleet Destroyed off Santiago. The Spanish fleet then tried to escape from the harbor of that city on the morning of July 3 and was attacked at once by American battleships in immediate charge of Commodore Schley. Within a few hours all the Spanish ships were destroyed or captured with a loss of about six hundred killed and wounded while the Americans had only one man killed and one man wounded. This naval victory marked the doom of Santiago, although the city did not surrender until July 17, after two days' bombardment.

The Invasion of Porto Rico. The fall of Santiago ended the war in Cuba, and General Miles was sent to the neighboring island of Porto Rico to overthrow Spanish rule there. His troops were rapidly gaining headway, without having to fight any battles, when the news arrived on August 12 that steps had been taken to make peace. On that day Spain agreed: (1) that Cuba should be free;[1] (2) that Porto Rico should be ceded to the United States; and (3) that Manila should be occupied by American troops until a final settlement should be agreed upon. Unfortunately the news of the peace plan did not reach Manila until after more blood had been shed. On August 13, the day after the agreement was signed, the American troops under Admiral Dewey and General Merritt took Manila by storm.

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[1] When the United States gave over the government of the island to the Cubans in 1901, it reserved certain rights, among them the right to go into Cuba and preserve order and protect property if at any time the Cuban government should prove unable to do these things. Thus the United States may be said to exercise a "protectorate" over Cuba.

IV. THE RESULTS OF THE WAR; AMERICA'S NEW INTERESTS IN THE ORIENT

The Acquisition of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Guam. The final terms of peace between the United States and Spain were arranged by agents of the two countries who met at Paris on October 1, 1898. There was uncertainty at first as to what should be done with the Philippine Islands, of which the American people had little knowledge at the outbreak of the war. Some citizens said that the United States ought not to follow in the footsteps of the conquering nations of the Old World and hold territories far across the seas. Others, however, declared that American trade and commerce in the Far East would be aided by a strong naval base near the Asiatic coast. It was argued that we had got into the Philippines and could not very well get out. At all events the final treaty of peace, drawn up at Paris, provided that Cuba should be free, that Porto Rico and Guam should be ceded to the United States, and that the Philippines should be sold to this nation for $20,000,000.[1]

The Filipinos Resist American Rule. Before the treaty of peace was ratified, a revolt broke out in the Philippines. For a long time the native Filipinos had been dissatisfied with Spanish rule. Just before the war began between Spain and the United States, there had been an uprising under a Filipino leader, Aguinaldo, who wanted independence for the islands. When the American troops stormed Manila, Aguinaldo and his followers, gathered under the banner of the "Philippine Republic," had been invited to take part, and had fought bravely side by side with the Americans against the Spaniards. In January, 1899, the native leaders heard that the United States did not intend to grant

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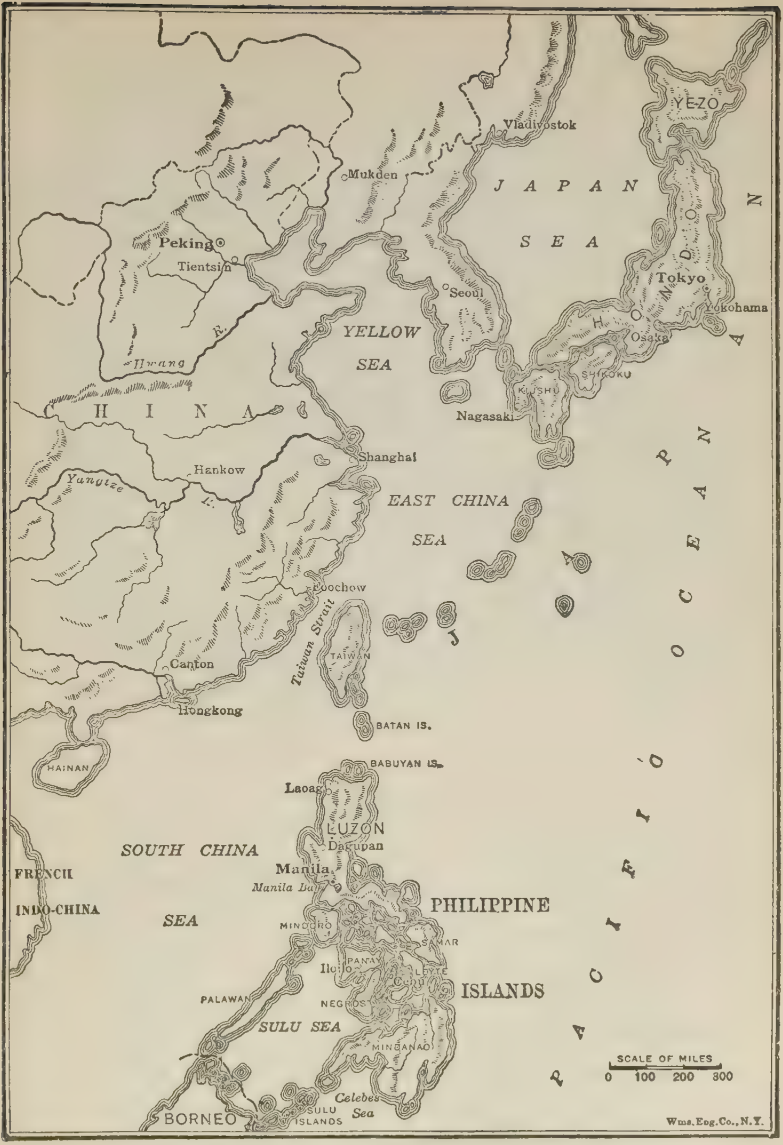
[1] This amount was supposed to be the value of the improvements made in the Islands by Spain.


Vladivostok
YEZO
JAPAN SEA
Mukden
Peking
Tientsin
Seoul
HONDO
Tokyo
Yokohama
Osaka
SHIKOKU
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HAINAN
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Laoag
LUZON
Dagupan
Manila
Manila Bay
SOUTH CHINA SEA
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
MINDORO
SAMAR
PANAY
Iloilo
LEYTE
Cebu
NEGROS
PALAWAN
SULU SEA
MINDANAO
Celebes Sea
SULU ISLANDS
BORNEO
PACIFIC OCEAN
SCALE OF MILES
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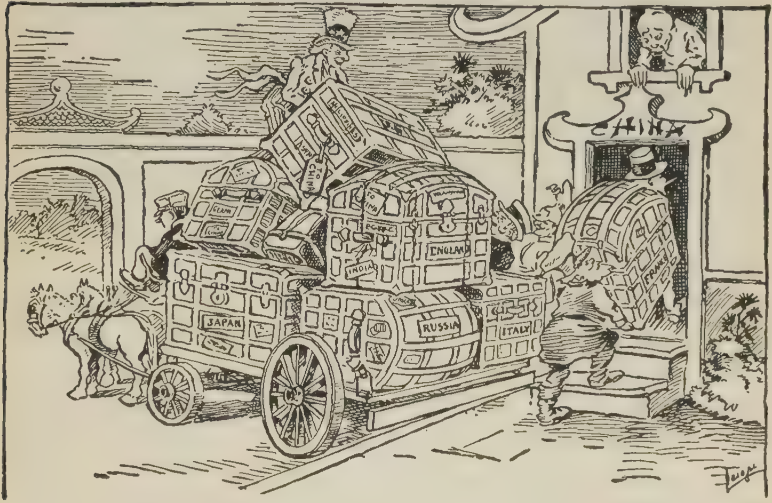
The Orient and the Philippines

them independence but proposed to hold their islands as American territory. They were surprised and bitterly disappointed.

On February 4 trouble broke out between the American soldiers and the Filipino troops. This affair marked the beginning of a rebellion which lasted nearly three years. During the struggle there were not many pitched battles. Most of the fighting occurred in wild, out-of-the-way places where the native troops picked off small bands of American soldiers or were themselves destroyed by American regiments. At length, after great loss of life and property, the uprising was crushed.

The Boxer Rebellion in China. Soon after the United States had annexed the Philippine Islands, it took another step in world politics; namely, it helped to restore order in China. In 1900 a number of Chinese, known as "Boxers," who resented the constant interference of foreigners in the affairs of their country, rose in rebellion. They killed the German ambassador and several foreigners in China. Immediately the United States joined Russia, England, France, Germany, Japan, and other nations in sending soldiers to protect the lives and property of foreigners.

The expedition was easily successful. When order was restored, the Chinese had to pay a huge sum for the damages done. During this affair all the problems of China were debated among the various countries. Many of them had seized Chinese territory before and were now ready to take more. The United States pleaded merely for equal and fair trade in China for all nations — that is, for "the open door." Moreover, our government found that the money or *indemnity*, awarded as a result of the Boxer revolt, was far greater than the losses actually incurred. Instead of pocketing the difference, as the other countries did, it placed the money at the service of the Chinese government with the understanding that it be used for the education of Chinese students in American schools. This action had an important influence, not only in giving to many Chinese students an opportunity to know about America and its government, but also in increasing the friendship of the Chinese for our country.



From the Detroit "Evening News"

"GOING TO STAY A WHILE"
A cartoon of the expedition into China, 1900.

Imperialism as a Political Issue. All these stirring events beyond the seas awakened interest and anxiety at home. In the presidential campaign of 1900, *imperialism* — that is, the winning of territory and trade abroad by war or superior force — was everywhere discussed. The Democrats, under the leadership of their candidate, Mr. Bryan, attacked the policy of the government. They said that the Republicans had departed from the ideals of Washington and were following in the footsteps of old Rome by conquering and ruling subject races. The Democrats also criticized the government for waging war on a people who were striving for the right of self-government and declared that independence at a very early date must be promised to the Filipinos.

The Republicans, in their reply emphasized four points: (1) The Philippine Islands had fallen to the United States as an unexpected result of the war. (2) There were many different tribes and peoples in the islands in all stages of civilization, who were not prepared at all for self-government. (3) If the United States gave up the islands, they would probably be taken by some other nation. (4) The best thing to do was to help prepare the natives for self-government by introducing order, education, trade, and industry. The Republicans were victorious in the election of 1900 and naturally thought that the country had approved their ideas.

American Policies in the New Territory. As soon as order was restored in any of the provinces of the Philippines, the United States set up a civil government and attempted to improve the condition of the inhabitants. A great educational plan was formed. Hundreds of Americans were sent over to teach people who had never before known how to read or write. Highways and railroads were built; better methods of tilling the soil were introduced; and many new industries were founded.

In 1907 the Filipinos were granted a share in their own government. A large number of the native men were given the right to vote and to elect delegates to a general assembly in which many matters of local importance were decided. The governor of the islands and the members of the upper house of the legislature, however, were to be appointed by the President of the United States with the consent of the Senate.

A similar government was set up in Porto Rico. Native men having certain qualifications were granted a share in making laws. Final control, however, was given to persons chosen by the government of the United States.

More Home Rule in the Dependencies. Notwithstanding their defeat on the issue of imperialism, the Democrats kept on demanding Philippine independence and more home rule for Porto Rico. When they came to power in 1913, they immediately began to plan their reforms. In 1916 Congress passed an Act which declared that this country intended to grant independence to the Filipinos when they were ready for it but left the date very uncertain. At the same time Congress gave the native voters the right to elect the upper as well as the lower house of the Philippine Legislature. In 1917 a similar change was made in the government of Porto Rico, along with the granting of manhood suffrage.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: Review *arbitration, blockade, Monroe Doctrine.* Other terms: *protectorate, indemnity, imperialism.*

I. What is meant by "arbitration"? How did the United States settle its claims against Great Britain for damages done by Confederate cruisers? Why did President Cleveland feel justified in interfering in England's dispute with Venezuela? How was war with England avoided at this time? What difficulties between this country and Canada were settled by arbitration?

II. Locate the Samoan Islands. How did the United States come into possession of Tutuila? Why was the possession of the Hawaiian Islands important to the United States? In what way did the American residents in Hawaii attempt to secure the Islands for this country? What was President Cleveland's view of this effort? When did the Islands finally become an American possession?

III. Why did the Americans sympathize with the Cubans in their revolt against Spain? What immediate event led to the Spanish-American War? What great victories did the American navy gain in this war? What were the principal land battles? Name the important American leaders in the war.

IV. Locate the new possessions that the Americans gained as a result of the Spanish-American War. What was done with Cuba? Why did the United States not wish Cuba as a possession? How had the Filipinos aided the Americans in the attack on Manila? What did they do when they learned that the United States was to take over the government? Why were American soldiers sent to China in 1900? What was the result of this intervention? How did the United States use part of the money paid by China for damages done during the Boxer Rebellion? What is meant by "imperialism"? Why did some American leaders object to having the United States own territorial possessions as far away as the Philippines? What have the Americans done to help the Filipinos? How are the Islands now governed?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Select one of the following topics for special study and report:

The Cuban Revolt: See Elson's *Side Lights on American History*, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 210–213; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 373–379; Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 264–267.

The Battle of Manila Bay: See Elson, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 216–220; Southworth's *Builders of Our Country*, Book II, pp. 256–259; Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 241–243.

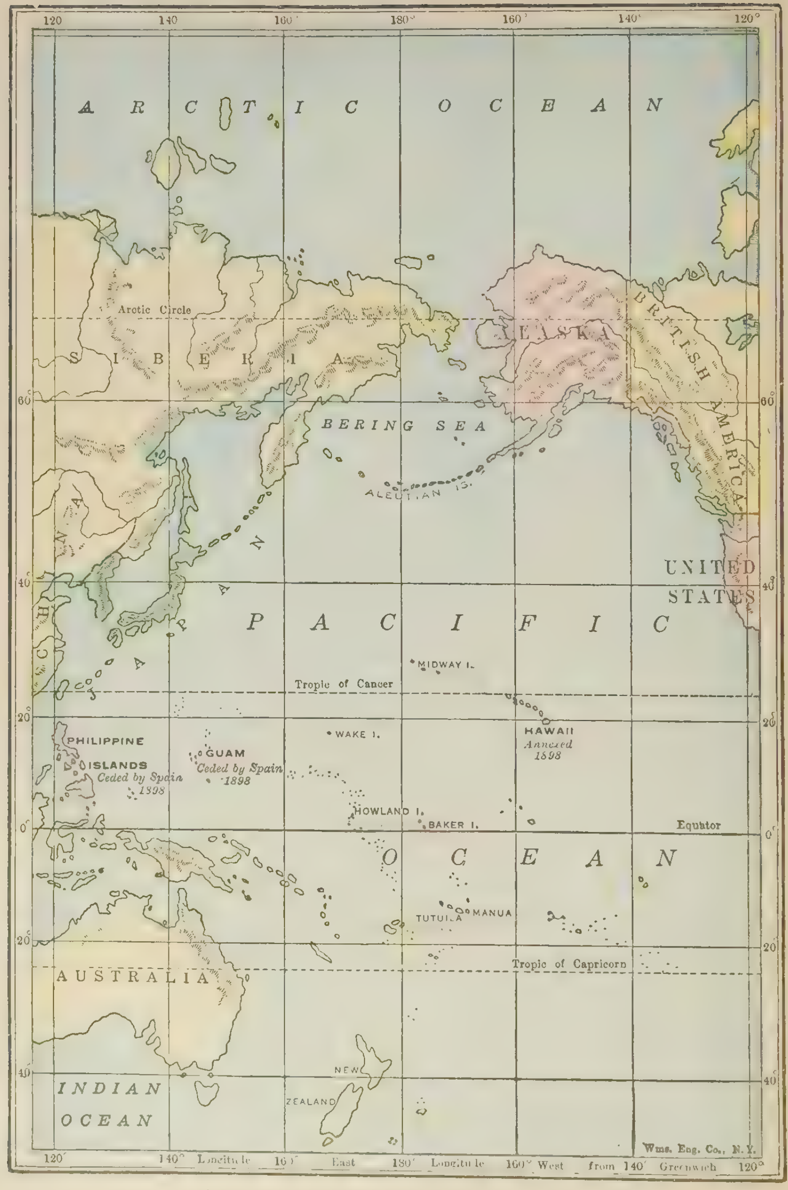
Santiago, El Caney, and San Juan Hill: See Elson, Revised Edition, vol. ii, pp. 220–225; Hart's *Source Book*, pp. 387–390; Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 243–247.

The Boxer Rebellion: Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 247–251.

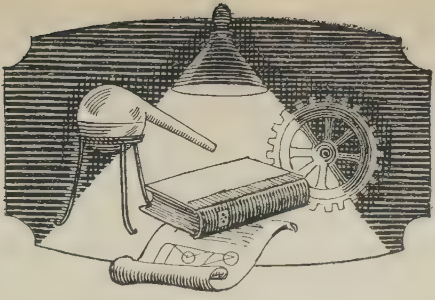
2. How were the problems raised by the acquisition of the Philippines different from those raised by the acquisition of the Louisiana territory, Florida, and the territory ceded to this country by Mexico at the close of the Mexican War?

3. For a very interesting account of the organization of the Rough Riders and the campaigns of the Spanish-American War in which they took part, read James Morgan's *Theodore Roosevelt.*

4. A slogan "Remember the *Maine*" was very effective during the war. What other slogans in American history have been used effectively?


ARCTIC OCEAN
SIBERIA
Arctic Circle
BERING SEA
ALEUTIAN IS.
ALASKA
BRITISH AMERICA
UNITED STATES
CHINA
JAPAN
PACIFIC
MIDWAY I.
Tropic of Cancer
WAKE I.
HAWAII
Annexed
1898
PHILIPPINE
ISLANDS
Ceded by Spain
1898
GUAM
Ceded by Spain
1898
HOWLAND I.
BAKER I.
Equator
OCEAN
TUTUILA
MANUA
AUSTRALIA
Tropic of Capricorn
NEW
ZEALAND
INDIAN
OCEAN
120° 140° 160° 180° 160° 140° 120°
60° 40° 20° 0° 20° 40°
Longitude East
Longitude West from Greenwich
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

AMERICAN POSSESSIONS IN THE PACIFIC



CHAPTER XXX

ADVANCES IN POPULAR EDUCATION

In the midst of their domestic and foreign affairs the American people never once lost sight of the fact that education was necessary to the success of democratic government. Indeed, in the second year of the Civil War, Congress provided funds for higher education throughout the Union, and with every new state in the West schools and colleges appeared. Gradually elementary schools were increased in number, better provisions were made for training teachers, high schools were founded, and colleges multiplied. The tasks were heavy, and the obstacles in the way of universal education were great; so progress, in spite of splendid labors on the part of public officers and teachers, was necessarily slow.

I. The Development of Schools and Colleges

The Situation in 1880. It was a long time before even elementary education was within the reach of a great majority of the children. In 1880 only ten million of the sixteen million children of school age in the country were enrolled in the schools, and the average daily attendance was far less than half the total number. About one out of every five voters of the United States could not read. It was estimated that not fewer than four million out of the ten million voters were so poorly educated that they could not read intelligently the newspapers of the day.

Much of this illiteracy was in the South, where special problems had arisen with the freeing of the slaves. In the Northern states the illiteracy was high among the foreign-born, but there was also some illiteracy among the native-born. Yet in every section able men and women were laboring with great earnestness to increase the number of common schools and secure more trained teachers.

A Half-Century of Progress. In the country as a whole progress was gradually made in the elementary schools. In 1916 over three fourths of the children of school age in the United States were enrolled in the common schools, and three fourths of those enrolled were in actual attendance. Even then the serious problem of illiteracy was not solved. There were still millions of people — eight per cent of the total population over ten years of age — who could not read or write. The difficulties of universal education were increased by the constant arrival of foreigners from countries like Russia, where about four fifths of the population over ten years of age were illiterate.

With the restricted immigration following the World War there has been a greater opportunity to reduce illiteracy among adults. The schools for children have developed also since the war. In 1926, 82 per cent of all children between the ages of five and seventeen were in school, as against 78 per cent in 1920, 73 per cent in 1910, and 57 per cent in 1870.

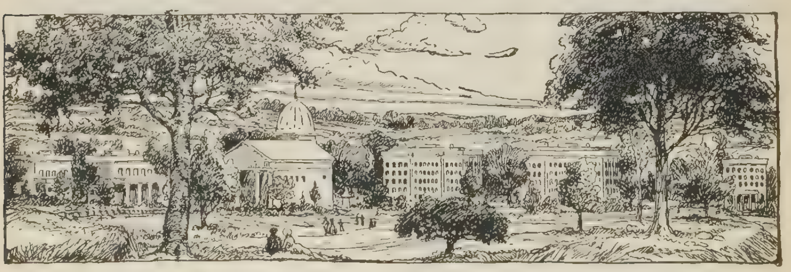
Changes in the Attitude toward Free Schools. During the past half-century there has been an important change in the spirit of the public school system. In the early days of the common schools many people, as we have seen (p. 366), looked upon them as charitable institutions for the poor. Within a few decades this spirit of contempt for them disappeared everywhere. The people came to regard education as a right to which every child in the United States was entitled without cost.

The Rapid Growth of High Schools. While the opportunities for elementary education were being increased, a new and special effort was made to give children a chance to learn more than was offered in the lower schools. A rapid growth of public high schools was the result. At the end of President Grant's administration, in 1877, there were only about one hundred thousand pupils in high schools in the United States. Three fourths of them were in private high schools, and only one fourth in those supported by public funds. In 1915, there were over eleven thousand public high schools in the country with more than 1,500,000 pupils, while the enrollment in the private high schools was about one hundred fifty thousand. In 1926, the enrollment in the public high schools was above 3,700,000 — more than double what it was in 1915. It has been said that the development of the public high school is our country's greatest achievement in the field of education.

The Colleges. To complete the scheme of education it was necessary to establish free colleges and universities at public expense.

The Morrill Act. As an aid to education Congress in 1862 passed the Morrill Act which had been introduced in 1857 by Senator Justin S. Morrill of Vermont. This law set aside millions of acres of the public lands to be devoted to the support of colleges for instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts as well as scientific and classical subjects. These lands were divided among the states according to the number of their Senators and Representatives in Congress. Out of this great endowment sprang agricultural and mechanical colleges in every state in the Union. In many instances new schools were founded, but sometimes aid was given to institutions already in existence.

The State Universities. In the meantime the states in the West and South were establishing colleges supported by taxes and controlled by public officers. By 1878 Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Missouri, Colorado, California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, and Washington had laid the foundations of their universities. In some of these states (such as Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California) the agricultural college was combined with the state university. In others (for example, Indiana, Michigan, Iowa, and Kansas) separate agricultural colleges were built up. Many of the states, however, made no provision for public universities. In several cases (for instance, Illinois, Ohio, Arkansas, Maine, and New Hampshire) the agricultural colleges founded as a result of the Morrill Act later grew into state universities.



THE OLDEST PICTURE OF ONE OF THE FIRST PROMINENT STATE UNIVERSITIES, THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, IN 1855

II. THE EXTENSION OF EDUCATION; EDUCATION AND PROGRESS IN SCIENCE

The Demand for the "Practical" Studies. The signs of the new era in education were to be found not alone in the number of schools and colleges. Even more striking were the changes made in the subjects taught. In the old days studies were not meant to prepare pupils for any special work in life. As the notion of "education for everyone" spread, there grew up a demand for a "practical education." It was said that the schools should fit students for farming, for household duties and for trades, professions, and other occupations in our wonderful industrial life, and also for citizenship.

Reasons for the Development of Vocational Education. Several things led to a gradual and far-reaching change in the aims and purposes of education, especially in the colleges and high schools:

1. In the first place, the growth of industry created a demand for "technically" trained persons — engineers, draftsmen, architects, and chemists. Technical schools grew up very rapidly to meet this demand.

2. In 1876 a Centennial Exposition was held in Philadelphia celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of American independence. People from all over the country flocked to this exposition. Besides other important lessons, many of them learned for the first time what the countries of northern Europe — particularly France, Germany, Denmark, and Sweden — were doing in the education of their children for the practical duties of life. It was the work in manual training and drawing that impressed them most. Many of the visitors went home with the firm resolve to have the schools of America adopt these newer ideas in education. The first manual-training high school was opened in St. Louis in 1880 under the principalship of Calvin Woodward, who is recognized as the pioneer in this movement in our country.

3. The Morrill Act of 1862, as we have seen, gave rise to a large number of agricultural and mechanical colleges. These grew very slowly at first, for after all little was really known of agricultural science. The federal government, to meet this need, established in 1885 a vast system of "agricultural

experiment stations," which tried to find out how best to raise crops, to increase the fertility of the soil, and to improve the breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry. Within a few years science was really able to help the farmer to get more from his land. Then the agricultural colleges began to attract large numbers of students. A demand also came for agricultural courses in the high schools of the farming districts. In 1917 Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Act granting national funds in aid of vocational education in the high schools and schools of similar grade in the various states.

Educational Extension. There was little danger, however, that American education would become entirely " practical " in character, because all sorts of new agencies for spreading general education among the people developed before the end of the nineteenth century. Among them were popular lecture systems, which provided for evening lectures for the people on all the themes of literature, history, and science. New York City led in this field. In addition, universities and colleges offered extension and correspondence work, carrying everywhere the messages of higher education to the people. Institutes were founded in all sections to help teachers and farmers prepare themselves to do better work.

The Public Libraries. Closely connected with these activities was the rapid spread of public libraries. At the close of the nineteenth century it was a poor town or village indeed in the North which did not have a small library within reach of its inhabitants. Where there were no local libraries, state libraries sometimes provided " circulating book boxes." Thus the best books of the day were made available even to the people in the most out-of-the-way districts. With extension systems, circulating libraries, and cheap newspapers, magazines, and books, it became possible even for the humblest to have a knowledge of the world and its work.

The Community Center. Then came the community-center plan for making the public-school building the place around which the public life of the community revolves. There the children of the people are educated. There provision is made for play and recreation, particularly for the children of the crowded districts of the great city, who are otherwise compelled to play upon the streets. There halls are provided where adults can read, play games, listen to lectures, or enter into the discussion of the problems of citizenship.

Courtesy of Boston Public Library

Reading Room in the Public Library of Boston

Additional Services Assumed by the Schools. It is impossible to name here all the other achievements in education during the last half century — better sanitation, heating, and lighting for schools; better fire protection; more beautiful surroundings; the inspection of the health of the pupils; school nurses; separate classes for backward pupils; education in matters of health; supervised playgrounds; courses in art. In all these things American schools have made remarkable progress.

AN OPEN-AIR SCHOOL

Higher Education for Women. *Vassar College.* In 1865 a woman's college with ample funds — Vassar College — was established by Matthew Vassar at Poughkeepsie, New York. Those who organized this school decided first of all that there should be a woman's college in the East with standards as high as those in the best of the men's colleges.

Women in the State Universities of the West. With the founding of Vassar College, education for women became more respectable. Those who had scoffed at it before began to take it more seriously. Wisconsin, by a law passed in 1867, admitted women to the "normal" department [1] of its State university; in 1870 the University of Michigan allowed them to attend the regular courses. Before 1890 all the Western state universities were opened to women on the same terms as to men. A little later most of the agricultural colleges in the North and West established special departments for training women in home making.

Photo by Ewing Galloway

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

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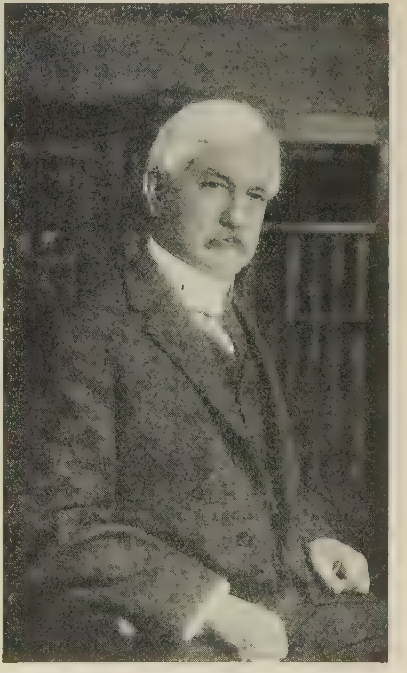
[1] This was the department for training students who wished to teach in the public schools. Professional schools for teachers in this country were first known as "normal schools." They are now usually called "teachers' colleges."

Professional Education for Women. Professional education for teaching was open to women from the time that the first state normal school was established in 1839. When women took up the question of training for the professions of law and medicine, however, they faced more opposition than they had met in their effort to secure an ordinary college education. Still they worked on. In 1858 they had the satisfaction of seeing the Boston Medical School for Women founded. Within five years there were more than two hundred fifty women practicing medicine. In time medical colleges for men began to admit women. The progress of women's education in law was much slower; and the law schools of some of the largest universities are still closed to them.

Education and Progress in Science. — The development of the colleges and universities has had a very important result not only in carrying knowledge to large numbers of people, but also in very greatly increasing the amount of accurate knowledge or "science" that may be used by people. The importance of the agricultural experiment stations in this connection has already been referred to. It should also be remembered that the men and women who serve as teachers in the colleges and universities often work as pioneers in the field of knowledge, discovering new facts and showing how this new knowledge may help inventors, farmers, engineers, manufacturers, and physicians to solve their problems.

Applications of Science to Medicine and Surgery. Among the most important triumphs of science are those that have helped to reduce human suffering, to conquer disease, and to extend the average length of life. It was American doctors who demonstrated as early as 1846 that ether could be used safely as an *anæsthetic* (that is, producing insensibility to pain) in surgical operations. Louis Pasteur, a Frenchman, and other European scientists proved that many diseases are in fact caused by tiny plants, called *bacteria.* They declared also that the destruction caused by these diseases could be greatly lessened and sometimes entirely prevented by measures that aim to keep these bacteria from gaining entrance to the body. Many advances in the knowledge of bacteria and in their control have been made by Americans. Among these we should not forget Surgeon General W. C. Gorgas of the United States Army, who directed the efforts which stamped out yellow fever in Cuba after the Spanish-American War and made the Canal Zone safe for the men who dug the Panama Canal. A part of the huge fortune accumulated by John D. Rockefeller has been used to support the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research where Dr. Simon Flexner, Dr. Alexis Carrell, and other distinguished scientists have made many discoveries of great importance in the prevention and cure of diseases.



SURGEON GENERAL W. C. GORGAS

The labors of these and other patient investigators have achieved truly wonderful results. Widespread occurrences of smallpox, yellow fever, and the bubonic plague are now almost unknown in civilized countries; the terrors of diphtheria and typhoid fever have been greatly reduced, death among infants and young children is far less frequent than it was even ten or twenty years ago; and many surgical operations of the most complicated and delicate character can now be performed with safety and success. In the ten years, 1911 to 1921, the death rate decreased from 14.18 for each thousand of population to 11.6, in spite of the serious epidemic of influenza in 1919.

Colleges and universities have helped in all this progress, first, by encouraging their teachers to make investigations and, second, by training students to become investigators. The lower schools have helped by acquainting large numbers of people with the facts that the scientists discover and by showing how these facts may be used in everyday life.

III. Other Educational Agencies

Newspapers and Development in the Art of Printing. No account of popular education in the United States would be complete if the newspapers and magazines were left out. In 1853 there was introduced the web press, which printed by means of rapidly revolving cylinders, drawing the paper from a long roll containing two or three miles of paper in one piece. Instead of a few thousand copies an hour, this machine, when perfected, could turn out a hundred thousand or more copies an hour at a slight cost per copy. For many years, however, type was set by hand. About 1900 a fast typesetting machine, enabling one man to do the work of eight or ten, was invented. In the beginning cuts or plates from which pictures were printed were laboriously made by hand on wood or copper. This was a slow and costly process which could be used only by weekly or monthly magazines. About 1880 devices for making plates quickly and cheaply from drawings or photographs were patented. In 1882 the American Associated Press was founded to collect news in all parts of the world and telegraph it instantly to the newspapers belonging to its association.

Widespread results followed these improvements. The number of newspapers and the circulation of the dailies in the cities increased rapidly. By 1927 there were 21,694 American newspapers. There were many American papers that issued from a quarter of a million to half a million copies daily. Within a few hours, events anywhere in the world could be brought to the attention of almost everybody. The news "stories" were enlivened by pictures and the day's striking events set forth in cartoons, or comic drawings. Papers full of pictures were bought by people who had never

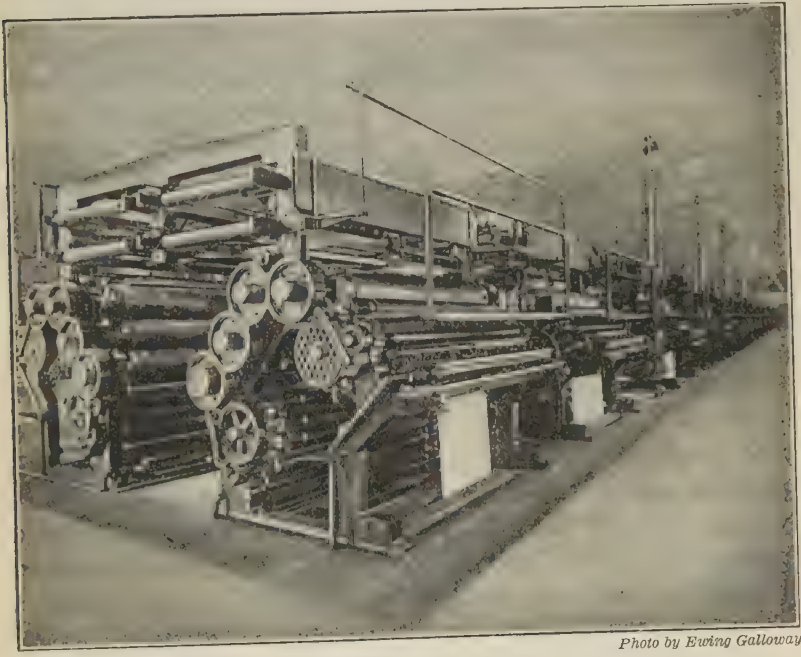


Photo by Ewing Galloway

A MODERN NEWSPAPER PRESS

read before and who could still hardly make out the printed words. Great Sunday newspapers often running as many as one hundred forty-four pages were issued. Rural free delivery carried the news to the farmers along the country roads. Millions of people read newspapers though they read nothing else. Newspaper editors, of all parties and creeds, commanded audiences undreamed of by the political speakers forty or fifty years ago.

The Growth of the Magazines. The most serious educational work of the publishers was done for a time through the magazine. At the end of the nineteenth century there were special magazines devoted to every subject in which the people had any interest: science, education, politics, music, art, drama, inventions, trades, dentistry, medicine, law, engineering, sports, literature, agriculture, labor, woman suffrage, and religion, to mention only a few of the most important. To these were added reviews of current events and important articles.

About this time there appeared in the United States a new venture, the "popular" magazine, full of stories and pictures and sold at a low price. In this field S. S. McClure was a pioneer. He had traveled widely among the plain people of the small towns and country regions of the United States, and he knew their tastes. In 1893 he published a magazine to sell at ten cents. Through it he carried to the people far from the great cities pictures of distinguished men and women, historic events, and stories of the deeds of the mighty. Thus farmers and their families came to know the faces of the greatest generals, politicians, and inventors, and to learn about the doings of the world's famous people. The success of this magazine encouraged the publication of many others of the same kind.

These magazines played an important part in social and political reforms. They printed alarming stories of deeds done by great trusts like the Standard Oil Company and by the political " bosses " in the cities. For a time there was a rage of criticism of everything American — *muckraking*, as it was called. For a few years it had a deep influence on politics because the popular magazines sold by the millions. Then it died away, and the magazines turned to stories of successful business men and to fiction.

Broadcasting Education. While the popular magazines were turning to the entertainment of their readers, more serious education was attempted by other agencies. To encourage reading and home study, the Chautauqua was founded in 1874 by Lewis Miller of Akron, Ohio, and Bishop John H. Vincent of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In the course of time there was established a national center at Chautauqua, New York, and circuits, or series of meetings, were held in towns and hamlets in all parts of the country. Women's clubs which sprang up by the thousands also encouraged the study of literature, art, and afterward the public questions of the day. The moving picture theaters, which spread with great rapidity throughout the country, even found it worth while to show " educational " films as well as dramas and comic sketches. Radio broadcasting carried lectures on current topics as well as news and music. Never in the history of the world were there so many forces to stir the interest and thought of people.

Books on Living Questions. As the years went by, more and more books dealing with American problems appeared. No topic was neglected. Natural science, business, industry, and politics in all their branches were discussed in many volumes. Trusts, railway questions, trade unions, the work and education of women, the government of cities, taxation, banks, and foreign affairs were all made the subject of earnest study. If anyone in the United States is ignorant about any great living question, it is his own fault. Lincoln in his youth had four or five books on a few subjects. American boys and girls and men and women of to-day have whole libraries at their very doors.

In the ten years following the World War there was a marked increase in the number of books published and sold in the United States. There was also a noticeable increase in the sales of serious books as contrasted with the lighter works of fiction. Some people believe that the remarkable growth of the high schools has had much to do with these advances.

Questions and Exercises

Important terms: Review *illiteracy, universal education, free schools, secondary education, the press.* Other terms: *agricultural colleges, vocational education, manual training, educational extension, community centers, professional education, anæsthetic, bacteria, death rate.*

I. What opportunities for education do you have that your fathers and mothers did not have? What is meant by "illiteracy"? State some of the reasons why there was so much illiteracy in this country in 1880 in spite of the growth of free schools. What important change took place in the attitude of the people toward free schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century? Why is it important that the children of both the rich and the poor should attend the free public schools? About how many boys and girls attended high schools in 1877? In 1916? How were colleges chiefly supported and controlled in the earlier part of the nineteenth century? What was the Morrill Act of 1862 and why was it important?

II. What is meant by vocational education? Why did the development of industry create a demand for a new kind of education? In what year were the agricultural experiment stations established? What is the purpose of these stations? How did the Centennial Exposition of 1876 call the people's attention to the need of a more practical education? What is meant by educational extension? How did the development of public libraries help the work of the schools? What is meant by using the school buildings as "community centers"? What have the public schools done for the people in addition to giving instruction to children? Why was the establishment of Vassar College in 1865 so important? In what section of the country was rapid progress first made in the higher education of women? At about what time? What professional schools were first opened to women? What is meant by "science"? In what way did the growth of education help the growth of science?

III. What invention led to the rapid growth of newspapers and magazines? In what way have the popular magazines served to educate the people? What is meant by the Chautauqua movement, and how has it helped in educating people?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. Give as many reasons as you can for supporting elementary schools at public expense; for supporting high schools and colleges at public expense.

2. Find when the first high school in your town or city was established. Find where the state agricultural college of your state is located, when it was established, and what different kinds of service it gives to the farmers of the state. If your state supports a university find when it was established, how it came to be established, how many students it now enrolls, and for what different types of work it prepares students.

3. Discuss in class the way in which the following agencies work together to educate the people: schools, newspapers, magazines, libraries, art museums, churches, public lectures, and radio.

4. In an encyclopedia look up "Nobel Prizes." Find out for what they are given. What Americans have received such prizes?

5. In Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 139–145, 170–174, you will find interesting accounts of making a newspaper, and of radio achievements.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF THE FIFTY YEARS OF PROGRESS (CHAPTERS XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX)

I. The growth of the Far West
  A. The Far West in 1860
  B. New Western states and territories
  C. The problem of the public lands

II. The age of industry and science
  A. The development of manufacturing and mining
  B. The development of transportation: railroads and ships
  C. Men of industry: inventors, business men, skilled workmen
  D. The results of industrial development
    1. Development of the export trade
    2. Disappearance of the frontier
    3. Business and industry gain on farming
    4. The growth of the cities
    5. Problems of industrial development; industrial panics

III. Immigration
  A. Principal sources of immigration before 1890
    1. Early immigration
    2. Immigration after 1865
  B. Later changes in immigration
    1. From southern and eastern Europe
    2. Settlement of immigrants in the cities
    3. The enormous increase in immigration
    4. Many immigrants not permanent
  C. Efforts to limit immigration

IV. Combinations of capital and of labor
  A. The formation of companies and trusts in business
  B. Organization of labor and capital
    1. The corporation and labor
    2. Protective organizations of employees
    3. Employers' organizations
  C. The great strikes
  D. Socialism

- V. Parties and political issues
  - A. The Republican and Democratic administrations
  - *B.* The tariff and income-tax issues
  - *C.* The currency problem; Federal Reserve Banks
  - *D.* Other political problems and issues: railways, trusts, civil service, prohibition
- VI. Foreign affairs; United States as a world power.
  - *A.* Disputes with Great Britain
  - *B.* Dispute with Germany over Samoa
  - *C.* The Hawaiian question
  - *D.* The growth of foreign trade
  - *E.* The Cuban revolt and the destruction of the *Maine*
  - *F.* The war with Spain
  - *G.* The results of the war
  - *H.* Military activities in China: the Boxer Rebellion
  - *I.* Imperialism as a political issue
- VII. Advances in popular education
  - *A.* Development of schools and colleges
  - *B.* The growth of vocational education
  - *C.* Educational extension
  - *D.* The higher education of women
  - *E.* Other educational agencies

Important names:

Presidents: Hayes (1877–1881), Garfield and Arthur (1881–1885), Cleveland (1885–1889), Harrison (1889–1893), Cleveland (1893–1897), McKinley (1897–1901)

Other Political Leaders: Tilden, Blaine, Bryan

Inventors: Edison, Bell, Langley, Wilbur and Orville Wright

Labor Leaders: Debs, Gompers

Leaders of Business and Industry: Rockefeller, Carnegie, Ford

Military and Naval Leaders: Dewey, Sampson, Schley, Shafter, Roosevelt

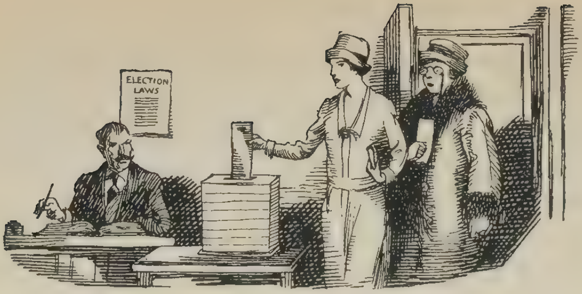
Important dates: 1877, 1894, 1898

PART SEVEN

RECENT EVENTS, INCLUDING THE WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

TIME CHART — Chapters XXXI to XXXV

ADMINISTRATION	DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT	FOREIGN RELATIONS
	Women vote in school elections in Kansas (1861) Wyoming women vote (1869) Federal and New York State civil-service reforms (1883) Australian ballot in Mass. (1888) "American Commonwealth" (1888)	Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850)
Cleveland 1893–1897	Colorado gives women right to vote (1893)	
McKinley 1897–1901	"Initiative and referendum" in South Dakota (1898) "Commission" government in Galveston, Texas (1900)	
McKinley and Roosevelt 1901–1905	Reclamation Act (1902) Direct primary in Wisconsin (1903) The "Recall," Los Angeles (1904)	Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1901) Purchase of claims at Panama (1902) Panama Revolution (1903) Russo-Japanese Treaty (1905)
Roosevelt 1905–1909	The government rents out grazing lands and water power (1906) 43 million acres added to national forests (1907) Work begun on Panama Canal (1908)	
Taft 1909–1913	Postal Savings Banks (1910) Completion of Roosevelt Dam (1911) The Progressive Party (1912) City Manager Plan, Sumter, S. C. (1912)	Mexican Revolution (1911)
Wilson 1913–1921	Completion of Panama Canal (1913) Underwood-Simmons Bill (1913) Clayton Anti-Trust Law (1913) Sixteenth Amendment (1913) Seventeenth Amendment (1913) Selective Draft Law (1917) Food and Fuel-control Law (1917) National War Labor Board (1917) The Insurance Act (1917) Espionage Act (1917) Sedition Act (1918) Eighteenth Amendment (1920) Nineteenth Amendment (1920)	Vera Cruz Expedition (1914) The Dominican Republic a protectorate of the United States (1914) Beginning of World War (1914) Wilson's proclamation of neutrality (1914) Sinking of *Lusitania* (1915) Pershing in Mexico (1916) Purchase of Danish West Indies (1917) United States declares war on Germany (1917) Cantigny (May, 1918) Belleau Wood (June, 1918) St. Mihiel (September, 1918) Meuse-Argonne Campaign (Sept. 26–November 11, 1918) Armistice (November 11, 1918) Treaty of Versailles (1919) United States rejects Treaty of Versailles (1919–1920)
Harding and Coolidge 1921–1925	Tariff of 1922 Oil Scandals (1924–1928)	Peace Treaty with Germany (1921) Treaty with Colombia (1921) Washington Conference (1921) United States recognizes Obregon government in Mexico (1923) United States fails to join World Court (1923)
Coolidge 1925–1929		Nicaraguan dispute (1927–1928) Arbitration treaty with France (1928) Pan-American Conference (1928)



CHAPTER XXXI

THE NEW DEMOCRACY

I. CAUSES OF INCREASING INTEREST IN GOVERNMENT

1. Popular Education. In the closing years of the nineteenth century the people of the United States, men and women alike, learned more about the government than ever before in the history of our country. As a result of the spread of education, more citizens read newspapers, magazines, and books. The news of events, great and small, was scattered throughout the land by the press, telegraph, and telephone. No part of the country could long be ignorant of what was happening in other sections.

2. Wrongdoing on the Part of Public Officers. In the era of great business enterprise which followed the Civil War, government officers were often guilty of wrongful acts. Sometimes city councils were bribed to sell cheaply or even give away to companies the right to build street railways or waterworks or other public utilities. Members of state legislatures frequently made laws favorable to private persons and companies in return for payments of money. It was a common thing for railway companies to get valuable lands from the government in return for very small service. Again, contractors doing public work, such as building courthouses and bridges, were sometimes permitted to overcharge and so rob the public treasury.

3. Criticism of Faithless Officials. Widespread concern about the evils in American government was especially aroused by the publication in 1888 of James Bryce's *The American Commonwealth.* Bryce was an English student of government who spent several years in the United States and then wrote a long and careful account of what he had seen. He did more than anyone else to call the attention of the American people to the way in which their affairs were really managed and especially to the evils to be found in the cities. Although some Americans were deeply annoyed by Bryce's book, the more serious people said that we should profit by his criticism and try to improve conditions.

4. Problems of the Cities. Another cause of increased interest in government was the rapid growth of cities. In the early days of our history the people lived in the country; they supplied themselves with water from their own wells, rode to market in their own wagons and carriages, lighted their houses with oil lamps, and shipped goods by canal boats and freight wagons. There was at that time little need for the government to interfere with the way in which business was carried on. When the most important public enterprise was the town pump, it did not require very much attention from the citizens to keep it in working order.

With the growth in population it was necessary for cities to supply their residents with water, gas, electricity, street cars, and many other services. They did this either by building plants and running them or by granting permits or "charters" to companies who took care of the work under the general supervision of the city government. Naturally the welfare of men, women, and children thus came to depend in a large part on what the government did, and citizens were forced to think a good deal more about government.

5. The Education and Employment of Women. As common schools and high schools multiplied throughout the length and breadth of the land, girls were given the same opportunity as boys to learn; they began to read the same books, magazines, and newspapers. In the factories and stores and mills they found that their health and safety depended, in part, on laws made by the government. Even the women who did not go out to work but lived in their homes and took care of children were also interested in the new order of things. They saw that the work of the schools, the kind of water or gas supplied, or the cleanliness of the public markets depended upon the way in which government officers performed their duties. So women in the home and out of the home in colleges, schools, factories, and clubs, began to read about government and discuss public affairs.

II. Civil Service Reform; the Australian Ballot; the Initiative and Referendum

Civil Service Reform in the States and Cities. As a result of this increase in public interest many reforms in the machinery of government have been brought about during the past half century. One of the earliest was in the civil service.

The spoils system (pp. 278–279) presented such striking evils that one is surprised to learn how long it lasted. Many independent people criticized it from the beginning, and, as we have seen, they were able in 1883 to secure a change in the civil service of the federal government. In the same year the State of New York passed a similar law. It provided that a very large number of public employees in the state, county, and city governments should be chosen solely according to their ability to pass certain examinations and tests; and furthermore it provided that they should hold office during good behavior. In time several other states —

Massachusetts, Wisconsin, and Illinois, for example — adopted civil service reform. The new system now prevails to a greater or less extent in many states and more than three hundred cities. The employees in the City of New York, about 114,000 in number, except those in the higher positions, know that no matter which party wins in an election they will be able to go on with their work unless they neglect their duties.

Ballot Reform. *Evil Election Practices.* For a long time it was customary for political parties to print their own ballots, and as a rule each party selected a color of its own. Thus, for example, the Republicans in an election would select candidates and print their names on white paper, while the Democrats would select candidates and print their names on red paper. These ballots were distributed freely; if any man wanted to vote the Republican ticket, he simply got one of the white ballots, walked to the polls, and dropped it into the ballot box. The watchers standing around could readily see the color of the ticket he voted. It was thus possible for party leaders to buy or " bribe " voters and be sure that they voted as they were told.

The Australian Ballot. By a law passed in 1888 Massachusetts began an important ballot reform. It introduced for the first time in an American state a kind of election ticket known as the " Australian ballot," after the country in which it was first used. Under this system (1) the government prints " official " ballots for all elections; (2) the names of the candidates of all parties are placed on the same ballot; (3) the ballots can be obtained only at the polling places from public officers; and (4) the voter must mark in secret the names of the candidates for whom he votes. Thus it is very difficult for anyone who has bribed or threatened a voter to be sure that the purchased vote has actually been delivered. Other states in the Union followed the example of Massachusetts, and at the opening of the twentieth century nearly all had adopted the Australian ballot in some form. This reform, together with others planned to improve the elections, has done much to drive bribery and cheating from American politics.

The Initiative and Referendum. Ballot reform was followed, particularly in the Western states, by the demand for other changes in government. Reformers said that the legislatures had passed laws which the people did not want and had refused to pass other laws which they did want. Accordingly they insisted that the voters at the polls should have a chance to express their opinions on laws as well as to select public officers. They adopted a plan in use in Switzerland known as the *initiative* and *referendum.*

The initiative permits private citizens to draw up a bill; on securing the signatures of a certain percentage of the voters, they may have it submitted directly to all the voters at an election. If this bill proposed by the initiative receives a sufficient majority, it becomes a law.

The referendum allows citizens who do not like an act passed by the legislature to get up a petition against it. If they get enough signers, they can have the bill laid before the voters at the polls for their approval or rejection. The initiative and referendum constitute what is known as *direct government,* because they enable the voters to make laws directly rather than through their representatives in a lawmaking body.

The new plan was adopted, for the first time in any state, by South Dakota in 1898. Four years later Oregon followed the example of South Dakota. Nevada adopted part of the plan in 1905, and other states soon followed. While these states were adopting the plan, more than three hundred cities put it into effect in the making of ordinances, that is, a city's rules or laws.

The Recall. In 1904 a new scheme for giving voters still more power, known as the *recall*, was tried at Los Angeles. The recall permits a certain percentage of the voters (25 per cent in Oregon) who are dissatisfied with a public officer to get up a petition against him at any time. They may thus compel him either to resign or to submit himself at a new election to the judgment of his fellow citizens. The spread of this system was not so rapid as that of the initiative and referendum. By the year 1916 it was in force in only eight states. It was widely applied, however, in more than two hundred city governments.

III. THE COMMISSION FORM OF CITY GOVERNMENT; REFORMS IN POLITICAL PARTIES; THE DIRECT PRIMARY

The Rise of Commission Government. During this same period citizens began to criticise the old-fashioned city government by mayor and councilmen. In the year 1900 a great storm which destroyed a large portion of the city of Galveston, Texas, led to an interesting experiment. A committee of citizens drew up a new scheme of city government which did away with the mayor and council. It proposed to put all the public business into the hands of five commissioners, one of whom, without any extra powers, was to serve as a *mayor-president*. This "commission" plan was shortly afterward put into force in Galveston, and in 1908 it was adopted by the city of Des Moines, Iowa. From that time forward the spread of the plan was rapid, until by 1922 more than four hundred cities, including some of the first rank, had adopted it in one form or another.

The City Manager Plan. The commission scheme of government had hardly been tested when an addition was made to it. It was found difficult for the five commissioners to supervise properly all the details of the city's business. Someone then suggested that they should elect a "manager" to do this for them. So the commissioner-manager plan was designed. Under this plan the commissioners pass ordinances, vote money, and make general plans. The actual carrying out of their orders is intrusted to a man whom they choose, known as the *city manager*. The plan was adopted in 1912 at Sumter, South Carolina, and later by larger cities, including Dayton and Cleveland, Ohio.

Evils in the Management of Political Parties. Some of the evils in government were due to the way in which political parties were managed. Party members were expected to conduct their party affairs as they pleased. It was thought to be nobody's business how they elected the chairman and other officers of their town, city, county, state, and national committees. Each party made its own rules for handling its affairs and selected candidates for local, state, and national offices as it saw fit.

Nominations by Conventions. It was the common practice until the early part of the twentieth century for each party to select its officers and candidates at "conventions." A convention was merely an assembly of party workers chosen by the party voters at local caucuses, or meetings. Only a few citizens paid much attention to politics or attended caucuses and conventions. These few were the only ones who took any interest in the selection of party officers and party candidates.

The Direct Primary. Those who did work at politics naturally got the party offices and chose the party candidates. These party leaders became known as the *bosses*. When anything went wrong in the government, they were blamed for it.

A war on the bosses then began. A demand arose that the party convention be abolished and the *direct primary* used in its place. Under this system, the voters of each party choose by ballot at the polls their leaders and candidates. The first state to have a general direct primary was Wisconsin, which adopted it in 1903. The other states followed rapidly, and by 1915 nearly all the states had given up the convention in favor of the direct primary. Later, however, a few of them returned to the old method.

The Popular Election of United States Senators. The progress of " direct " government brought a demand for the election of United States Senators by popular vote instead of by the state legislatures. This reform had been urged in Congress as early as 1826; President Johnson had urged it in 1868; and in 1893 the House of Representatives had passed a constitutional amendment for direct election, only to be blocked by the Senate. In 1911, however, both houses of Congress passed the long-debated amendment providing for the direct election of Senators. It was promptly ratified by the required number of states and, on May 31, 1913, was proclaimed a part of the Constitution as the Seventeenth Amendment.

IV. WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Early Hope for a Federal Amendment. With the awakening interest in popular government there came again demands for woman suffrage. The suffragists, as we shall see (p. 613), made an attempt to secure an amendment to the federal Constitution giving the ballot to women at the time that the freedmen were given the right to vote (p. 458). They failed in their effort. Then they realized that they must win some of the states before they could get a real hearing at the national capital.

Suffragists Turn to the States. The first state campaign of importance opened in Kansas. In 1861 the right to vote in school elections had been extended there to women. Six years later a proposal to grant complete suffrage was submitted to the voters. Though the women were defeated, their cause received much support.

Success in the West. Their first victory was not until many years later. As a territory Wyoming had given women the vote in 1869; twenty years afterward, in 1890, it came into the Union as the first state with equal political rights for "all male and female citizens" (p. 485). The second state to grant suffrage to women was Colorado; after years of work the women won the vote in 1893. The third state was Utah. Suffrage had been granted to women when Utah was a territory, but Congress in 1887 took it from them. In 1896, after Utah had become a state, it restored equal suffrage. Idaho gave the ballot to women in 1896.

Susan B. Anthony

New Enthusiasm for the Suffrage Movement. After the adoption of woman suffrage in Idaho there followed a long period during which no gains were made in spite of lively campaigns in various sections of the Union. In 1910, however, another wave of enthusiasm for woman suffrage began to sweep the cause forward. In that year the state of Washington gave women the ballot. Other states soon followed. In 1917, New York extended the franchise to women, thus making in all twelve states with full suffrage. By this time a movement for national woman suffrage was in full swing.

The Federal Amendment. As early as 1868 there had been laid before Congress an amendment to the federal Constitution granting suffrage to women throughout the country. In 1878, the famous "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" was proposed by Senator Sargent of California:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

Every year after 1878 suffragists made pilgrimages to Washington with petitions and arguments, asking for the passage of their amendment. They founded the National Woman Suffrage Association and carried on a general agitation for the amendment.

Progress of the Federal Amendment. In the campaign of 1916 woman suffrage became one of the prominent issues. The Republican party favored an amendment to the Constitution. The Democrats approved granting suffrage by states rather than by an amendment. The growing strength of the women voters and the victory in New York in 1917 marked the turn of the tide. In 1919 the amendment was passed by both houses, and on August 26th of the following year its approval by the required thirty-six states was proclaimed. It thus became the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Women in Politics. With the extension of the suffrage to women, the new voters sought places of trust in the political parties and in the government. They were elected as mayors, city councilors, and members of state legislatures. In 1916 Montana sent a woman to Congress; in 1920 Oklahoma followed this example; and in 1922, California. In 1927 there were three women in Congress; one each from Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Kentucky. The new voters also formed a great national society known as the League of Women Voters with more than a million members.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *public utilities, charters, civil service reform, bribery, ballot reform, Australian ballot, initiative, referendum, direct government, the recall, commission government, city manager, the direct primary, suffragists.*

I. In what way did the development of free schools create a demand for better government? What were some of the evil practices that had crept into state and city governments? How did it happen that Mr. Bryce, an Englishman, could have had so large an influence in improving government in America? What new problems of government came with the rapid growth of the cities? What other influences led to awakened interest of the people in governmental matters?

II. At about what time did the states begin to adopt civil service reform? In what ways are the employees of state and city governments better off under civil service than they were before these reforms? Describe the older method of providing ballots for elections. What were the dangers in the older method? What is meant by the "Australian ballot"? What is meant by the "secret ballot"? How have these changes done away with many of the older evils? Describe the operation of an initiative and referendum law. What are the advantages of such a law? What is meant by the "recall"?

III. What are the principal differences between the commission form of city government and the older method of governing cities through a mayor and a common council or board of aldermen? What is a city manager? In what ways is a city manager like a city superintendent of schools? Describe the way in which candidates for public offices were formerly nominated by political parties. What are the dangers in this system? What is meant by the "direct primary" election? How does it differ from other elections?

IV. What led the advocates of woman suffrage to urge the states to adopt amendments giving women the right to vote? What were the first states to adopt such amendments? Give an account of the way in which the federal suffrage amendment was adopted.

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. If you live in a city, find whether the employees of the city government are under civil service; and if not, whether they are likely to lose their places whenever a new party comes into power.

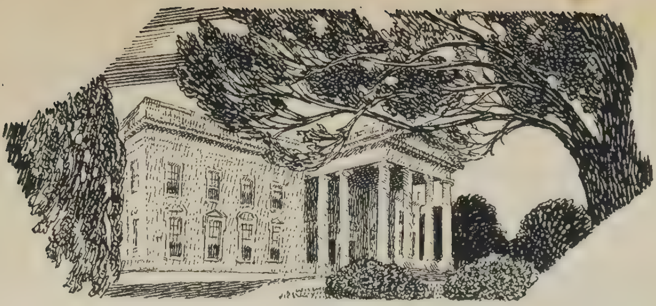
If you live in a small town or village, find what officers are responsible for the public business of the community — for the roads, sidewalks, street lights, and the like.

2. Boards of aldermen are usually elected by wards; that is, each ward sends one or more people to represent it in the lawmaking body of the city. Under the commission form of city government, the commissioners are usually chosen "at large," that is, without reference to the particular districts of the city in which they happen to live. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of these two methods.

3. State which of the following city officials should be appointed by the mayor and which elected by the voters, giving your reasons in each case: superintendent of streets, chief of police, fire chief, city treasurer, members of the school board, library trustees. See Munro and Ozanne's *Social Civics*, ch. x.

4. Make yourself familiar with what is contained in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments. (See Appendix.) See Edmondson and Dondineau, *Citizenship through Problems*, p. 453.

5. Can you think of any reasons why so few amendments have been made to a Constitution more than one hundred and forty years old?



CHAPTER XXXII

PRESIDENTS AS NATIONAL LEADERS

In 1901 a new period in the history of the United States opened. It was marked by the vigorous leadership of two Presidents. The first of them, Theodore Roosevelt, who held office from 1901 to 1909, was a Republican; the second of them, Woodrow Wilson, who served two terms from 1913 to 1921, was a Democrat. They held different political ideas, but they agreed on two things. They both believed that the President should take an active part in discussing publicly the live questions of the day. They also believed that the President should be a real leader in the government at Washington and that he should urge Congress to adopt the reforms which he believed in and put before the people in his public discussions.

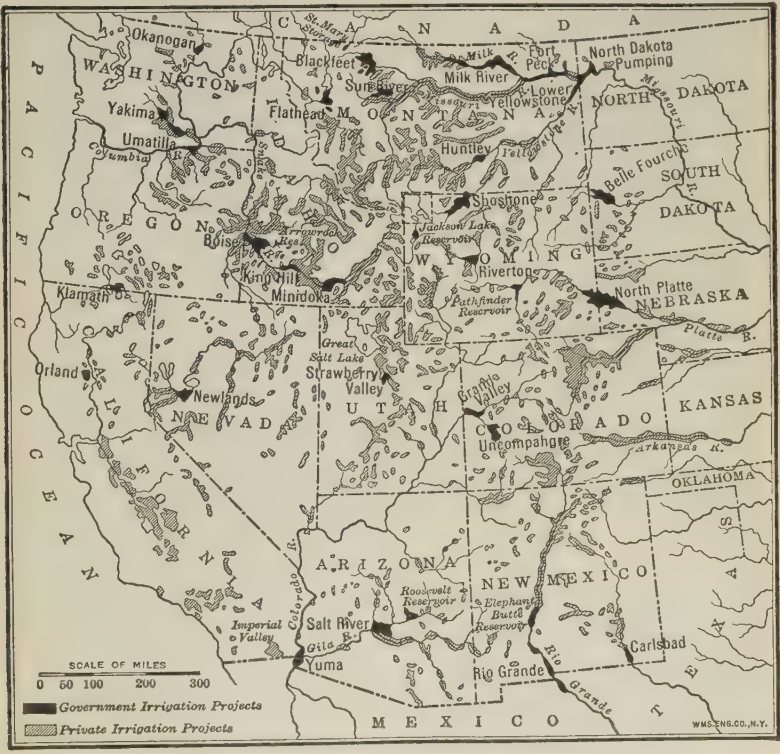
I. Roosevelt's Administration; the Conservation Movement

Roosevelt's Policies. Very soon after he succeeded McKinley, President Roosevelt let the country know that a new kind of man was in the White House. The industrial progress of his age had raised new questions. With great earnestness he discussed problems of capital and labor, trusts and railways, natural resources and irrigation, riches and poverty. He attacked many trusts and their leaders and vigorously condemned those who were cheating the public by various schemes. He denounced at the same time " false labor leaders " who persuaded trade unions to commit acts of violence in times of strikes and labor disputes. He urged taxing incomes and the inheritances of the rich. He was especially earnest in his demand that the forests, minerals, and other natural resources of the country be " conserved " for the generations to come.

© *Pach Bros.*
THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The Conservation Movement. *Its Leaders.* Thoughtful men on the Western frontier had long wanted to transform vast desert areas into gardens by water from the mountains. John Wesley Powell, who had explored the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, early advocated the building of large dams to store water from the mountain streams so that it could be slowly fed out to the plains. Others pointed out the great need of taking care of the forests on the mountain sides in order to hold the soil and prevent the spring freshets from carrying down to sea thousands of tons of rich earth. Gifford Pinchot (who became governor of Pennsylvania in 1923), a student of forestry and later head of the Forestry Bureau, took leadership in urging the wiser use of our natural resources — forests, water supplies, and minerals — as well as the irrigation of the dry or " arid " lands. Senator Newlands of Nevada, who knew the problems of the West at first hand, urged upon Congress the necessity for action.

The Reclamation Act. As a result of the demands of public-spirited citizens, Congress, in 1902, passed the Reclamation Act — a law for making productive or "reclaiming" the dry regions of the West. This law provided that the money collected from the sale of public lands should be used to build dams and store water for gradual distribution over desert areas. The lands so reclaimed were to be sold by the government to settlers, and certain charges were to


CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
WASHINGTON
Okanogan
Yakima
Umatilla
Columbia R.
OREGON
Boise
Arrowrock Res.
King Hill
Minidoka
Klamath
St. Mary Storage
Blackfeet
Sun River
Flathead
MONTANA
Milk R.
Milk River
Fort Peck
Lower Yellowstone
Missouri
Huntley
Yellowstone R.
North Dakota Pumping
NORTH DAKOTA
Belle Fourche
SOUTH DAKOTA
Shoshone
Jackson Lake Reservoir
WYOMING
Riverton
Pathfinder Reservoir
North Platte
NEBRASKA
Platte R.
Great Salt Lake
Strawberry Valley
UTAH
Grand Valley
COLORADO
Uncompahgre
Arkansas R.
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
Orland
CALIFORNIA
Newlands
NEVADA
Colorado R.
ARIZONA
Roosevelt Reservoir
Salt River
Gila R.
Yuma
Imperial Valley
NEW MEXICO
Elephant Butte Reservoir
Rio Grande
Carlsbad
TEXAS
MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Government Irrigation Projects
Private Irrigation Projects
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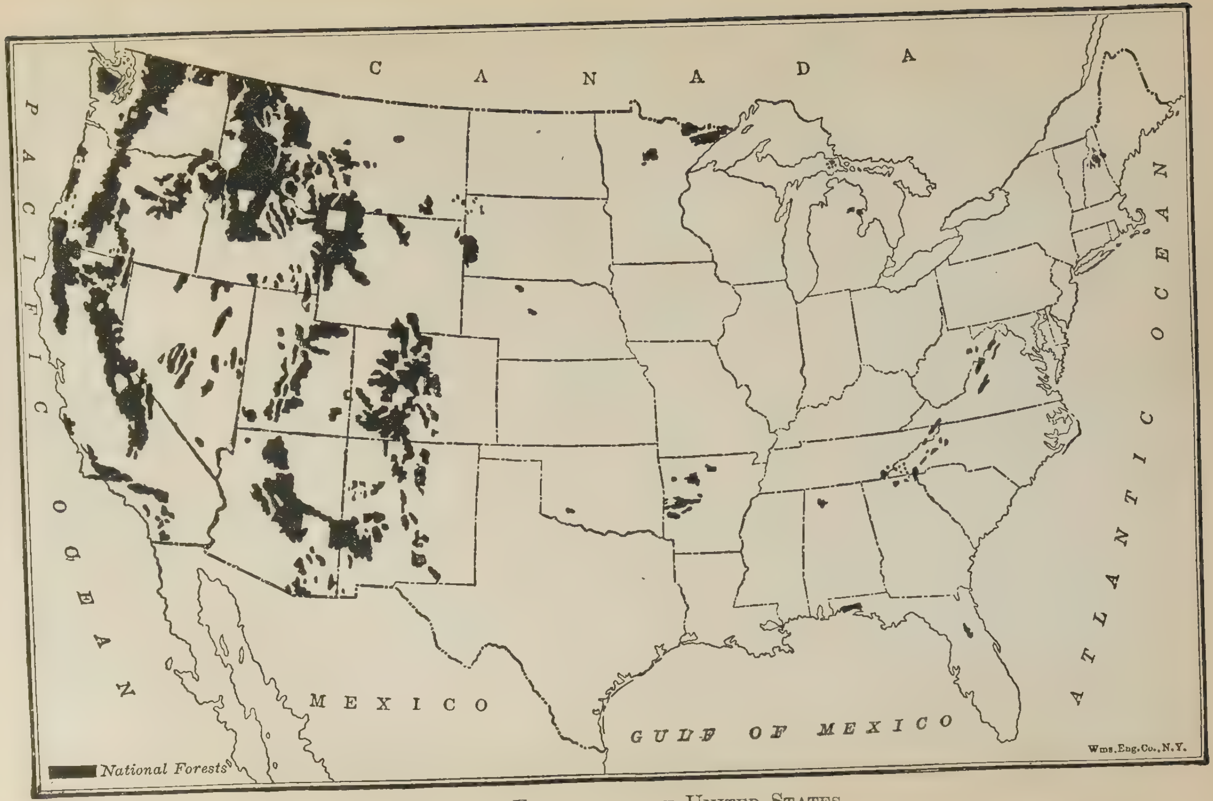
THE IRRIGATED AREAS IN THE WEST

be made for the water. The money paid in by the settlers was then to be used to construct new dams and irrigation works. A large fund was thus provided to bring arid lands under cultivation. In the spring of 1911 the Roosevelt Dam

SHOSHONE DAM ACROSS THE SHOSHONE RIVER, WYOMING


CANADA
PACIFIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
National Forests
Wms.Eng.Co.,N.Y.

NATIONAL FORESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

in Arizona was completed. Work on other plants went forward rapidly. By 1920 more than 1,600,000 acres had been reclaimed and made ready for farming.

The National Forests. Water Power. While the irrigation work was under way, attention was being given to the forest lands owned by the federal government. In 1906 the stockmen who turned their sheep and cattle loose to graze in the national forests were compelled to pay the government for the privilege. In the same year the government began the practice of renting to electric companies the water power on the government lands, instead of either giving it away or selling the water-power sites at a low price.

The next year, 1907, President Roosevelt followed an example set by President Cleveland. By a single proclamation he added to the permanent national forests a vast area of forty-three million acres. To protect these forests against fire and timber thieves, a force of forest rangers was established; roads and trails were built, and telephone lines put up. In this way it was possible for the rangers to spread the alarm quickly whenever a fire broke out. Before the new plans were adopted, it was common for a single fire to sweep away thousands of acres of valuable timber. In 1908 only about fifteen per cent of the fires that broke out in the national forests spread over more than five acres. The cutting of timber was so regulated that no more could be taken in any one year than the natural growth of the forests would replace. With the development of the airplane, it has been possible to keep a still closer watch for fires in the forests.

II. THE PANAMA CANAL; THE TREATY OF PORTSMOUTH

Early History. The idea of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama was an old one. Sailors who had to make the voyage around Cape Horn between New York and San Francisco could hardly help thinking about the narrow strip of land that made the long journey necessary. Great Britain was interested because she had more merchant ships on the high seas than any other country. The United States wished to see the canal built in order that American merchant and naval vessels might go quickly to and from the Atlantic and Pacific. American farmers and manufacturers who had goods to send across the continent were eager to get freight rates lower than those that the railways offered, without having to ship by the long route around Cape Horn.

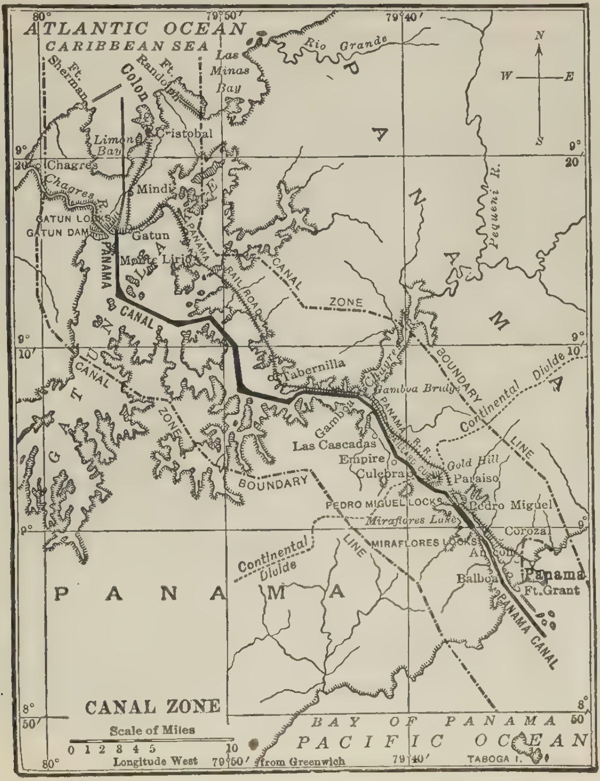
Indeed before the days of railroads the matter was seriously considered. In 1850 the United States and Great Britain, by the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, agreed that a canal might be built under their joint supervision. Nothing came of this proposal. Then in 1881 Ferdinand de Lesseps, the builder of the Suez Canal, organized a French company and began the work of cutting across the Isthmus of Panama. After spending millions of francs and losing hundreds of lives from disease, the French gave up the task in despair. There was then a lull in public interest in the canal until the battleship *Oregon* made its sixty-six day voyage around the Horn at the outbreak of the Spanish War (pp. 573–574).

New Treaty with Great Britain. After the Spanish War was over, many American citizens declared that a canal should be built and that the United States alone should control it. Action was taken at once in the matter. The old treaty with Great Britain was set aside and another agreement, known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, was reached in 1901. Under the new plan the canal was to be built and controlled by the United States. It was understood, however, in the agreement between the two countries that the canal should be open to the vessels of all nations and that there should be no difference in the tolls charged to any country or its citizens.

Dispute over the Routes. The next question was where and how the canal should be built. After much debate Congress in June, 1902, ordered (1) that the French company's claims in Panama be bought and (2) that a strip of territory for the canal be purchased from the republic of Colombia, the country which then owned the Isthmus. It was provided, however, that, if an agreement could not be made with Colombia, the route through Nicaragua should be chosen.

The Panama "Revolution." The government of the United States then tried to buy the canal strip, only to find Colombia unwilling to accept the terms offered. President Roosevelt was annoyed by this; he thought that Colombia was attempting to exact more money from the United States than the land was worth. Some of the inhabitants in Panama were also displeased about it. They were eager to see work on the canal begun, because it meant the spending of millions of dollars there and great prosperity for that region. In the autumn of 1903 the people of Panama, feeling certain that the United States would uphold them, revolted against Colombia, and formed a republic of their own. President Roosevelt, who had sent naval forces to watch the course of events, at once greeted the new republic as an independent country. Early in the next year a treaty was made with Panama granting the United States the right to construct and operate a canal through the zone.

The Canal Built. The plan of the canal was then taken up. It was decided in 1906 to build great locks instead of cutting a channel level with the sea. The Isthmus was a deadly place. The failure of the French company had been partly due to the fevers and other diseases which swept men into the grave by the hundreds. Learning from this experience, our government sent to Panama a great scientist, Dr. Gorgas, who drained the swamps, oiled the mosquito-breed-ing pools, screened the houses, and made the district a safe place in which to work (p. 593). In 1908 President Roosevelt chose Colonel G. W. Goethals to head the American forces in the actual work of digging the canal.


ATLANTIC OCEAN
CARIBBEAN SEA
Ft. Sherman
Colon
Ft. Randolph
Las Minas Bay
Rio Grande
Cristobal
Limon Bay
Chagres
Chagres R.
Mindi
GATUN LOCKS
GATUN DAM
Gatun
Monte Lirio
PANAMA CANAL
PANAMA RAILROAD
CANAL ZONE BOUNDARY LINE
Tabernilla
Chagres
Gamboa Bridge
Gamboa
Las Cascadas
Empire
Culebra
CULEBRA CUT
PANAMA R.R.
Gold Hill
Paraiso
PEDRO MIGUEL LOCKS
Pedro Miguel
Miraflores Lake
MIRAFLORES LOCKS
Corozal
Ancon
Balboa
Panama
Ft. Grant
Continental Divide
Pequeni R.
PANAMA
N
S
E
W
BAY OF PANAMA
PACIFIC OCEAN
TABOGA I.
CANAL ZONE
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 10
Longitude West 79°50′ from Greenwich 79°40′
80°
79°50′
79°40′
9° 20
9° 10′
9°
8° 50′

THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

When all was ready, thousands of workingmen with engines, dredges, steam shovels, and locomotives were brought together for the great undertaking. "Dirt began to fly." And troubles came thick and fast. Hillsides would slide into the channel after it was carefully dug, and the earth under the great locks crumbled away. But American pluck and skill conquered all. The grand dream was realized. In 1913 the waters of the Atlantic and the Pacific were united.

Colombia's ill feeling because of the loss of Panama led in 1921 to a treaty between Colombia and the United States. By the terms of this treaty, Colombia received $25,000,000 as well as certain privileges in the use of the canal.

SHIP PASSING THROUGH PANAMA CANAL

Foreign Affairs. The Russo-Japanese Treaty. President Roosevelt also took a deep interest in what was going on in all the world outside the United States. He watched with grave concern the progress of the war between Japan and

Russia which broke out in 1904. Early in the following year he came to the conclusion that continued fighting "would be a very bad thing for Japan and even a worse thing for Russia." He therefore hinted to them that they should make peace. As both were pressed for money to carry on the war, they were glad to send their agents to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to confer upon the terms of peace. President Roosevelt counted among the most noteworthy events of his administration the successful ending of this war.

The Election of 1908. When Mr. Roosevelt's administration was drawing to a close, many of his friends urged him to become a candidate for the presidency a second time. They did not count the part of a term which he served as President McKinley's successor; they said that he had served only one "elective term," beginning in 1905 after his victory in the campaign of the year before. Mr. Roosevelt, however, refused to run again and bade his friends support his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. They took his advice, and in 1908 the Republicans nominated Mr. Taft. The Democrats, having failed in 1904 with an Eastern candidate, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, turned once more to the West and chose Mr. Bryan, who had already

William Howard Taft

twice been their standard bearer. In the election which followed, Mr. Bryan was defeated for the third time. Mr. Taft was inaugurated President on March 4, 1909.

III. Taft's Administration and the Campaign of 1912

Tariff Revision and the Income Tax. The administration of the new President opened with the passage by Congress of two measures to which we have already referred.

The first task which interested the new President was that of revising the tariff. As we have seen (p. 553), the Dingley Tariff of 1897 was slightly changed by a new tariff act in 1909. This measure, although it lowered the duties on many goods, was on the whole highly protective. Indeed, many Republicans did not like it at all. Several of them broke away from the party and voted against it. The Democrats, who had favored much lower duties, at once attacked the law.

In addition to the tariff act, Congress passed another important measure in the summer of 1909; namely, the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving Congress the power to collect taxes on incomes (p. 552).

Postal Savings Banks. Two other noteworthy laws were enacted during President Taft's term of office. The first of these (1910) provided for a system of savings banks to be managed by the post offices. This had long been demanded as a help to people who could make only small savings and needed some absolutely secure place to deposit them.

The Parcel Post. A law permitting large packages to be sent by mail had been urged in Congress for many years, but it was vigorously opposed, especially by the express companies. They said that their business would be ruined if the government should undertake to carry parcels, as well as letters and papers, at a low rate. Yet after much debate

Congress ordered the Post Office Department, in January, 1913, to lay the country out into zones and provide low rates for carrying and delivering certain kinds of parcels.

Growing Dissatisfaction with Republican Rule. Notwithstanding President Taft's work in securing a revision of the tariff, prosecuting the trusts (p. 559), and urging such reforms as the postal savings bank law, there was much discontent with the Republican party. In the House of Representatives, the Democrats complained that the Speaker, Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, ruled in a high-handed fashion and did not give the ordinary member of the House a chance to be heard. Some Republicans shared this view. In March, 1910, after stormy and exciting scenes, the House reduced Speaker Cannon's authority. In the autumn of 1910 the discontent among the voters was widespread; the Republicans were turned out of power in the House and a majority of Democratic representatives was elected.

Quarrels between Congress and President Taft. The remaining years of Mr. Taft's term were marked by disputes between himself and Congress. The Democrats in the House, as a matter of course, insisted on having a new revision of the tariff; they wanted to lower the duties, particularly on woolen goods, sugar, agricultural implements, and iron and steel products. Indeed, with the aid of some Republicans in the Senate, tariff-reform measures were passed, only to be vetoed by the President.

Progressive Republicans. A group of men in Mr. Taft's party who did not like his ideas and methods began to call themselves " Progressive " Republicans. They agreed among themselves that he ought not to have a second term. Senator La Follette of Wisconsin took the lead in this movement. In February, 1912, Roosevelt also entered the contest against Taft, saying in his picturesque way, " My hat is in the ring."

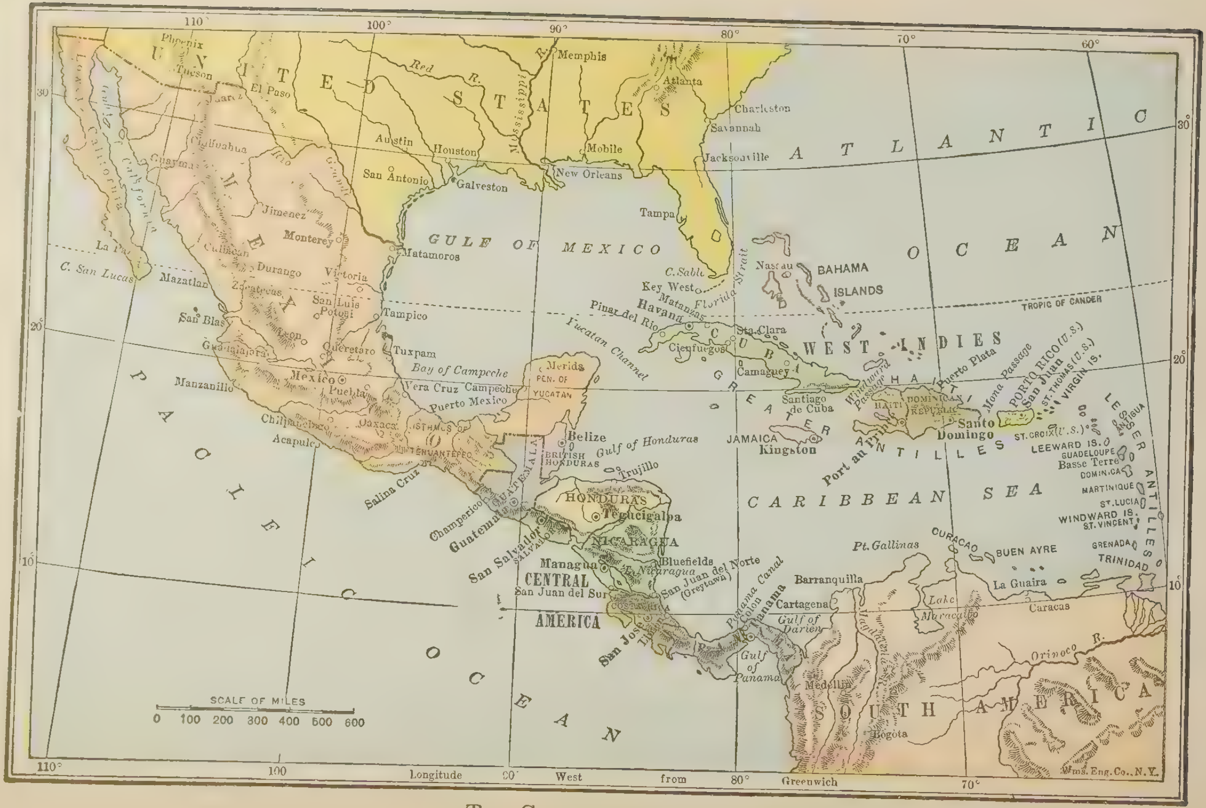
The Republican Convention Divided. The Progressive Party. By this time a number of states had passed " presidential primary " laws giving the voters the right to express at the polls their choice for the presidential candidate of their parties. Roosevelt and Taft appealed directly to the people of these states, each trying to secure a majority of delegates. When the Republican convention met at Chicago, it was found that many of the states had sent two contesting delegations, one pledged to vote for Roosevelt and the other for Taft. After a long quarrel enough of Taft's delegates were " seated " to assure his nomination. Thereupon Roosevelt's friends " bolted " the convention, declaring that their rights had been " stolen " from them. After the " bolters " were gone, the remaining delegates chose Taft as the Republican candidate for President.

Roosevelt's friends thereupon formed the new " Progressive " political party. They held a convention at Chicago in August, nominated Roosevelt with one accord, and put forward a platform favoring many reforms in government. They approved many measures in favor of labor. They also denounced all attempts to break up the great trusts, urging instead that the trusts should be regulated and not allowed to charge exorbitant prices or to compete unfairly with smaller concerns.

The Democrats Nominate Woodrow Wilson. The split in the Republican party was greeted with joy by the Democrats. When their convention met, Mr. Bryan threw his support to Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey and secured his nomination. In the election which followed, the Democrats were easily victorious.

IV. Wilson's Administrations

New Laws. When Mr. Wilson was inaugurated on March 4, 1913, certain tasks lay clearly before the Demo-


UNITED STATES
MEXICO
CENTRAL AMERICA
SOUTH AMERICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
CARIBBEAN SEA
WEST INDIES
GREATER ANTILLES
LESSER ANTILLES
BAHAMA ISLANDS
CUBA
HAITI
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
JAMAICA
PORTO RICO (U.S.)
VIRGIN IS.
ST. THOMAS (U.S.)
ST. CROIX (U.S.)
LEEWARD IS.
GUADELOUPE
Basse Terre
DOMINICA
MARTINIQUE
ST. LUCIA
WINDWARD IS.
ST. VINCENT
GRENADA
TRINIDAD
ANTIGUA
CURACAO
BUEN AYRE
HONDURAS
NICARAGUA
GUATEMALA
SALVADOR
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
BRITISH HONDURAS
PEN. OF YUCATAN
ISTHMUS OF TEHUANTEPEC
Lower California
Gulf of California
Phœnix
Tucson
El Paso
Juarez
Chihuahua
Guaymas
Red R.
Mississippi R.
Rio Grande
Memphis
Atlanta
Charleston
Savannah
Jacksonville
Mobile
New Orleans
Houston
Austin
San Antonio
Galveston
Tampa
C. Sable
Key West
Florida Strait
Nassau
Matamoros
Jimenez
Monterey
Culiacan
Durango
Victoria
Zacatecas
San Luis Potosi
Tampico
Leon
Queretaro
Tuxpam
Guadalajara
Mexico
Puebla
Vera Cruz
Campeche
Puerto Mexico
Merida
Oaxaca
Bay of Campeche
La Paz
C. San Lucas
Mazatlan
San Blas
Manzanillo
Chilpancingo
Acapulco
Salina Cruz
Champerico
Guatemala
San Salvador
Belize
Gulf of Honduras
Trujillo
Tegucigalpa
Managua
Bluefields
L. Nicaragua
San Juan del Norte (Greytown)
San Juan del Sur
San José
Limon
Panama Canal
Colon
Panama
Gulf of Panama
Gulf of Darien
Yucatan Channel
Havana
Matanzas
Pinar del Rio
Cienfuegos
Sta. Clara
Camaguey
Santiago de Cuba
Kingston
Windward Passage
Port au Prince
Puerto Plata
Santo Domingo
Mona Passage
San Juan
TROPIC OF CANCER
Pt. Gallinas
Barranquilla
Cartagena
Magdalena R.
Medellin
Bogota
Lake Maracaibo
La Guaira
Caracas
Orinoco R.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
110° 100° 90° 80° 70° 60°
30° 20° 10°
Longitude West from Greenwich
Wms. Eng. Co., N.Y.

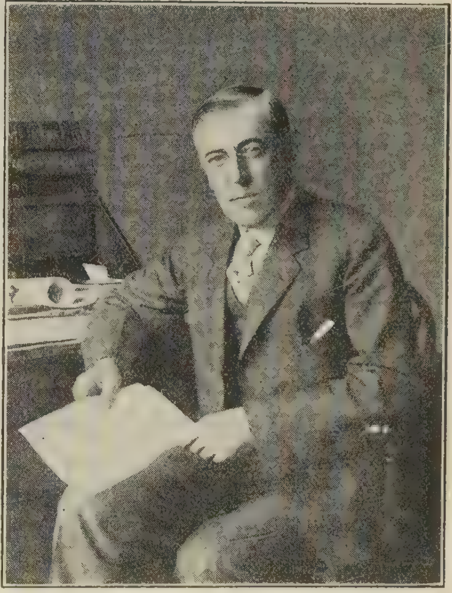
The Caribbean Region

cratic party. Under the President's open and vigorous leadership Congress enacted an unusually striking program of laws:

1. *The Tariff.* The first task was the fulfillment of the pledge to revise the tariff. Accordingly the President called a special session to undertake that work. After many months of debate, Congress passed the Underwood-Simmons Bill (p. 551).

2. *The Income Tax.* With the tariff act Congress coupled a law laying a tax on incomes. Thus after twenty years of debate one question seemed settled. An income tax was to be a part of the federal revenue system (p. 552).

3. *The Clayton Law.* Congress then passed the Clayton Antitrust Law. The Democrats wanted to go farther than President Taft in breaking up the trusts, and so they tried to make the old Sherman Law (p. 559) still more severe.



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WOODROW WILSON

4. *The Federal Reserve Law.* The law against the trusts was preceded by an act creating a new federal banking system designed among other things to reduce the power of great banking centers like New York (pp. 556–557).

Troubles with Mexico. On the day of his inauguration President Wilson faced serious troubles with Mexico. In 1911 a revolution had broken out there. General Porfirio

Diaz, who, as President, had long ruled the country with an iron hand, was overthrown. His successor was hardly installed when he was shot. General Huerta became dictator[1] in February, 1913.

American Interests in Mexico. The disorders in Mexico caused much anxiety in the United States. Many American citizens in that country were killed, and the lives of others were in constant danger. Americans who had millions of dollars invested in Mexican mines, oil wells, plantations, and other business ventures found their incomes cut off and their property destroyed or seized.

The Vera Cruz Expedition. At first President Wilson refused to interfere in Mexican affairs. He said that the revolution there had been caused mainly by the harsh government of General Diaz and the cruel treatment of the *peons,* or laborers on the land. For this reason he thought that the Mexicans should be allowed to solve their problems in their own way. Still President Wilson did not keep his hands off Mexico entirely. He refused to recognize Huerta as president. He tried to deal with the revolutionary leaders, and finally he sent an expedition to Vera Cruz which resulted in the downfall and flight of Huerta.

United States Troops Sent into Mexico. The President's patience was entirely exhausted in the spring of 1916 when a Mexican bandit, Villa, with a small troop, crossed the border and murdered a number of American citizens at Columbus, New Mexico. It was apparent that the Mexican president, Carranza, who in 1913 had succeeded Huerta, was unable to prevent such outrages. President Wilson therefore sent divisions of the regular army and the national guard to the border. He ordered General Pershing to follow Villa and seize him if possible. Under this order, American troops penetrated more than a hundred miles into Mexico, but they were unable to capture the troublesome bandit. When, early in 1917, war with Germany seemed near at hand, the American troops were withdrawn from Mexico. In 1920 President Carranza was murdered and another military leader, Obregon, became the head of the Mexican government. Three years passed before the United States officially recognized the Obregon government.

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[1] The name "dictator" is given to one who assumes absolute control of a government in times of great stress when the usual methods of keeping order fail to work. After the World War, many of the European nations were governed for shorter or longer periods of time by dictators. Among such nations were Italy, Greece, Spain, and Poland.

The Caribbean. *The Nature of American Interests.* President Wilson also had to deal with Haiti and Santo Domingo, where disorders had likewise arisen. The island of Haiti is one of a long chain of islands stretching from Florida to South America. It lies in a direct line between Cuba, under the protection of the United States, and the island of Porto Rico, an American territory. It also lies across the route from Europe to the Panama Canal. If it should fall into the hands of a hostile European power, it would be a source of danger to American interests.

The Dominican Republic. The importance of the island had long been understood by American statesmen. In 1905 the Dominican Republic, which occupies the eastern portion, found itself unable to meet its bills. By a treaty of 1907 the United States undertook to manage the revenues of the little republic and to pay its debts, thus preventing European nations from collecting their debts by force as they had threatened to do.

Four years later a new revolution broke out — there had been twenty between 1865 and 1895. It continued until President Wilson came into office. In October, 1914, American officers and marines were instructed to " supervise " the elections in the republic. Later, American troops were used to put down a revolt which arose during the elections. For all practical purposes the Dominican Republic became a protectorate of this country.

Haiti. In the neighboring republic of Haiti conditions were much like those in Santo Domingo. In the summer of 1915 a revolution broke out — one of a series lasting from 1804 to the opening of the twentieth century — and American marines were landed to restore order. In September, 1916, a treaty was made with Haiti by which the United States undertook to control the police and manage the finances. President Harding and his successor, President Coolidge, made no changes in the policies of President Wilson in dealing with Caribbean affairs.

The Purchase of the Danish West Indies. In line with this policy of guarding American interests in the Caribbean was the purchase of the Danish islands just off the eastern coast of Porto Rico in 1917. Twice before, the United States had arranged to buy these islands — once in 1867, when the American Senate refused to agree to the purchase, and again in 1902, when the upper house of the Danish Parliament voted against the plan. But at last in the summer of 1917 the Stars and Stripes were hoisted over the Virgin Islands — St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. John.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important Terms: *conservation, natural resources, arid lands, reclaiming, reclamation, irrigation, income tax, postal savings banks, parcel post, presidential primary laws, dictator, peons, ventures, outrages, protectorate.*

I. What natural resources have been needlessly wasted in this country? This waste has been called a "crime against posterity". What is meant by that statement? What is meant by "irrigation"? How is the irrigation of arid lands usually accomplished? What are the advantages of farming under a system of artificial irrigation as compared with farming where one depends upon rainfall? What are the disadvantages?

II. When and by whom was the first attempt made to construct a Panama canal? What led to a renewal of interest in this project? From a study of the map of Central America find what advantages the Nicaragua route for the canal between the oceans had over the Panama route. What were its disadvantages? How did the United States come into possession of the Canal Zone? When was the American work on the canal begun? When was the canal opened? Whose name is connected with the digging of the canal, and what difficulties did this man overcome? What war was ended by the Treaty of Portsmouth?

III. Why was there so keen a demand for postal savings banks? For the parcel post? Why were these extensions of the government's service to the people opposed? What were the causes of President Taft's difficulties with Congress? What new party was formed in 1912? What led to its organization? What is meant by a "presidential primary" law? How can the enactment of such laws by the states influence presidential nominations? What is the difference between the "popular" vote for President and the "electoral" vote? Why did the framers of the Constitution provide for the election of the President by means of the electoral college? Under what conditions is a candidate likely to be elected without receiving a majority of the popular vote? (Lincoln, Cleveland, and Wilson have been "minority" presidents, each in one of his two terms.)

IV. What important laws were passed in the early part of Wilson's first administration? How did the trouble with Mexico begin? Mr. Wilson's policy of "watchful waiting" in the Mexican troubles between 1913 and 1916 was severely criticized by many persons. What were their reasons for desiring intervention and what were his reasons for not intervening? What control does the United States exert over the Dominican Republic and Haiti? How did the Virgin Islands come to be American possessions?

Review: Make a table of the Presidents from 1865 to 1917, and under each President give a list of the important events that happened during his administration.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

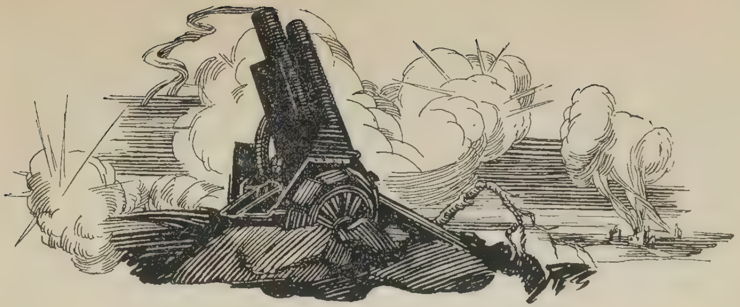
1. Topics for individual study and report:
   The duties of the forest rangers
   See Wheeler's *The Boy with the U. S. Foresters.*
   The Panama Canal:
      Early work of the French
      The service of Gorgas in making the Canal Zone safe for the workman
      The digging of the Canal
      The construction of the locks
      The "slides" and methods of dealing with the problem
      The influence of the Canal on commerce
   See Hall and Chester's *Panama and the Canal.* Haskins, F. J. *The Panama Canal.* Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 277–282, pp. 145–151.

2. Find in Article I, Section 9, of the Constitution, the clause with which the Supreme Court held the principal clauses of the income tax law of 1894 to be inconsistent. Find and read the amendment which makes a national income tax legal.

3. Give as many reasons as you can explaining why the Mexican people have so far been less successful in establishing a democratic government than have the people of the United States. What in your opinion are some of the important things that must be done by any people if a truly democratic form of government is to be successfully established?

4. Has anything been done for conservation in your state, either by the state or federal government?

5. Think of our country's neighbors, Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Colombia, etc. What kind of neighbor has the United States been to these nations? Support your answer by facts.



CHAPTER XXXIII

THE WORLD WAR

Europe on Fire. During the opening days of August, 1914, the people of the United States were startled by the dreadful news that the great powers of Europe were at war. It seemed impossible; but it was true. Austria had accused Serbia of taking part in a plot which ended in the murder of Archduke Ferdinand (the heir to the Austrian throne) and his wife. On this account Austria had made harsh demands upon the Serbian government. Germany assured Austria of her aid at all costs. Russia, unwilling to see Serbia crushed, made strong objections. France supported Russia. All of them had long been preparing for war and were well armed.

On the first of August the war began, with England still undecided as to what action she would take. Soon the Kaiser's armies were marching through neutral Belgium, whose safety had been guaranteed by all the powers including Germany, and were driving at the heart of France. The German military staff had planned to seize the French capital, paralyzing the republic by one swift and stunning blow; then, with the aid of Austria, they hoped to destroy Russia at leisure, with the result that the German Empire would be supreme in Europe. Great Britain believed that a victorious Germany, standing over conquered France and Belgium, would soon challenge her very existence as well as her world empire; so she came to their aid.

I. American Neutrality

The President's Proclamation. Overcome by the horror of it all, the people of the United States were for a time utterly dazed. President Wilson on August 18, 1914, issued a proclamation declaring that the United States was a neutral nation and urging all citizens to act and speak in fairness and friendliness.

This advice was difficult for most Americans to follow. In fact the country was already divided. Russia, ruled by a despotic czar, was very unpopular with various sections of our people. Many citizens of German origin took the side of "the Fatherland." A large number of Americans of Irish descent, remembering the long struggle for home rule, joined in wishing defeat to Great Britain. Other Americans were deeply moved by Germany's invasion of Belgium; they recalled their ties of blood with the English and cherished memories of the aid which France had given in the days of the Revolution. Still there was a large group of Americans who sought at all costs to keep our country out of the war.

Arguments for Nonintervention. Those who favored noninterference said that England and France had seized colonies in all parts of the world and had cruelly treated other races in India, Africa, and China, and that they were now objecting to Germany's attempt to follow their own example. It was repeatedly said also that the Russian czar was at least equally responsible with Germany for the war. As between the Czar in Russia and the Kaiser in Germany, there appeared to such critics to be little to choose.

Difficulties in the Way of a Strict Neutrality. *Trade Relations with the Allies.* To some citizens it seemed a simple matter for this country to remain neutral. In truth it was not at all a simple matter. The United States had long carried on a large trade with all the countries of Europe, those now at war and those at peace. Ships running between our ports and those of Europe, trans-Atlantic cables, mails, and wireless telegraphy bound us to the Old World nations with a thousand ties. With war raging, these could not remain undisturbed.

It had long been recognized by all nations that a country at war has the right to capture the ships and blockade the ports of its enemy if it can. This right the government of the United States had used with telling effect against the Southern states during the Civil War (pp. 434–435). It had also long been recognized that a nation at war had the right to seize all war supplies (contraband goods) on their way to the enemy, no matter by whom carried and to what port shipped, even that of a friendly power.

Great Britain at once took full advantage of these rights. She swept German ships from the ocean, blockaded the German ports, and searched all vessels for war supplies bound to Germany. Thus she greatly injured German commerce. British triumph at sea gave enormous advantage to the Allies. Trade could flow freely to England and France, because Germany, having no warships on the seas, could not blockade their ports or disturb their merchant vessels.

The Trade in Food Supplies and Munitions. During the opening months of the war the citizens of the United States built up a huge trade with England and France in munitions and war supplies. Against this commerce Germans both in this country and in Germany began to protest vigorously. To Americans of peaceful leanings it seemed wrong for our manufacturers to be engaged in selling ammunition and guns to England and France. The German government did not officially protest, however. German munition factories had been an important source of war materials during previous wars. German officials could not with a straight face object to American manufacturers following in their footsteps.

That was not all. This country could not deny the right of neutral citizens to sell arms to belligerents without laying up trouble for itself in the future. If a nation cannot expect to buy military supplies from other countries in time of war, then it must turn its industries into munition plants in order to be ready for the greatest emergency that may arise in the future. Such was the reply which our government made to Austria when that country asked the United States to stop the trade in arms.

An Embargo on Exports Impossible. There was only one way that the United States could fully satisfy the friends of Germany. That was by destroying all foreign trade with an embargo (p. 235). That would have put the government of the United States in a situation equally difficult; it would have been a direct blow at England and France. They would have viewed it as an unfriendly act to cut off their trade. Moreover an embargo would have been a confession that American shippers, traders, and manufacturers had no rights abroad that any country was bound to respect. If the United States had given up its rights of trade with the Allies, it would have been a favor to Germany and a wrong to England and France. It would not have meant neutrality after all. No matter which way the government of the United States turned, trouble lay in the path.

The British Blockade. As to American trade with the Allies on the open seas, the German government had no grounds for objection; but it lost no time in protesting against the manner in which Great Britain carried on the blockade. British officers searched Dutch, Danish, Swedish, American, and other neutral ships for war supplies, letters, papers, and other valuables destined for Germany; they seized many things that were lawfully sent. Against this action the United States also protested and called on England to stop all unlawful practices. Even had Great Britain kept within the narrowest limits of the law, it seems certain that her control of the sea would practically have destroyed the ocean-borne trade of the German Empire.

II. THE SUBMARINE WARFARE; THE CAMPAIGN OF 1916

Germany Adopts a Ruthless Submarine Policy. *The "Lusitania" Sunk.* Germany attempted to break Great Britain's strangle hold. In the winter of 1915 the German government announced that its submarines — the new monsters of the sea — would sink British merchant vessels wherever found. Under international law it had long been agreed that warships should not destroy merchantmen belonging to an enemy (unless, of course, they resisted) without providing for the safety of the passengers and crew. American citizens thus had the right to expect to travel with safety on American merchant vessels and also on those of the warring countries of Europe.

So things stood when, on May 7, 1915, a German submarine startled the world. It sank, without warning to the captain, a great British passenger vessel, the *Lusitania*, and drowned hundreds of innocent passengers and members of the crew, including American citizens — men, women, and children. In a few weeks German submarines had gathered in a deadly harvest of merchant ships, some of them owned by Americans and manned by American crews.

Germany Agrees to Modify Submarine Warfare. The *Lusitania* tragedy horrified people in the United States, even some who had previously felt friendly toward Germany. President Wilson in a few days dispatched to the German government a note asking it (1) to disown such acts, (2) to make reparation(to pay) for the injuries done, and (3) to take steps to prevent similar occurrences in the future. The President added the solemn warning that the United States would not " omit any word or act necessary to the performance of its sacred duties of maintaining the rights of the United States and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment." Germany's reply was not a direct answer to these demands. President Wilson wrote a second note. It was September 1 before Germany promised not to sink merchant vessels without warning and agreed to provide for the safety of the passengers whenever such ships were sunk.

Criticism of President Wilson's Course. During the exchange of notes with the German government, very strong feelings were aroused in this country. The view was widely held that the sinking of the *Lusitania* was an inhuman act and that all relations with the German government should be broken off. On the other hand, some people thought that President Wilson had been too harsh in his protests against the destruction of American lives by submarines and too mild in his efforts to stop Great Britain from searching American mails bound to and from Europe. In spite of criticism from both sides, the President steered an even course. Apparently he was bent on keeping the country out of war — at least until it was clear that peaceful negotiations with Germany were useless.

The Political Campaign of 1916. In the midst of this turmoil came the election campaign of 1916. Naturally all eyes were turned toward the Progressives. Mr. Wilson's chances for reëlection seemed to depend to some extent upon continued division among his opponents. Signs of reunion appeared when it was stated that the Republican and Progressive conventions would be held in Chicago at the same time. There were some who hoped that the Republicans would nominate Mr. Roosevelt, but they did not. Charles E. Hughes, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court and a former governor of New York, was chosen on the third ballot. The Progressives then asked Mr. Roosevelt to be their leader. As he declined, they at once joined Republicans in nominating Mr. Hughes with the hope of reuniting the two factions. The Democratic convention at St. Louis renominated Mr. Wilson by acclamation.

Issues of the Campaign. In the campaign which followed, President Wilson's policies with regard to Mexico and Germany were, of course, widely discussed. Both parties took a rather uncertain position as to these matters. There were, in addition, several domestic issues raised by Democratic policies: (1) Congress had passed a law against child labor in mines, quarries, and factories; (2) it had fixed the workday for trainmen on railroads at eight hours; (3) it had provided for a banking system to lend money to farmers at a low rate of interest; (4) it had enacted a law designed to encourage the upbuilding of the American merchant marine; and (5) it had declared the intention of the United States to free the Philippine Islands as soon as the people there were ready for self-government.

President Wilson Reëlected. The election of November, 1916, was a general surprise. Mr. Hughes carried all the great industrial and commercial states of the North and East except Ohio; on the first returns from these states it appeared that he was elected. Then the tide turned. It was found that Mr. Wilson, in addition to carrying the "solid South," which in presidential elections has been Democratic, had gained immensely in the West. In that part of the country the Progressives had not all voted the Republican ticket. Even California, which elected the Republican candidate to the United States Senate, Governor Hiram Johnson, by a large majority, cast a small but safe margin of votes in favor of Mr. Wilson. The President's popular vote showed a gain of about 2,000,000 over that of 1912. This was regarded as a great personal tribute to him, especially in view of the fact that the Democrats almost lost their majority in the House of Representatives. The Socialist vote fell considerably below that of the preceding presidential election, largely because many Socialists voted for Mr. Wilson on account of his policy in dealing with labor and in keeping the country out of war.

III. War with Germany

Germany Renews Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. Bernstorff Dismissed. Shortly before Mr. Wilson's second inauguration an amazing thing happened. On January 31, 1917, Count von Bernstorff, the German ambassador, informed the President that his government, in spite of previous pledges, would renew the submarine war on merchant ships with greater vigor than ever. Without any further discussion the President sent Ambassador von Bernstorff home and broke off all dealings with the German imperial government. He then waited to see whether unfriendly acts would be committed by Germany against American citizens and shipping. He was unwilling to believe that Germany would sink merchant ships of all countries on sight without trying to save the lives of crews or passengers. His hopes, however, were in vain. The Germans began to sink American ships and destroy American lives without warning. The challenge had gone forth.

German Intrigue in the United States. This was but the climax of a long series of troubles which the President had met in dealing with Germany and Austria. Through their official representatives here they had hired men to stir up labor disputes in American industries. They had engaged desperate men to blow up munition factories, killing American men, women, and children.

Not content with efforts to set Americans at war with one another, German officers tried to make trouble in Mexico. Two weeks before the German government told President Wilson that it intended to renew its war on shipping, it informed the German minister in Mexico of the coming submarine action. It even went so far as to tell him to offer Mexico a " restoration " of Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico if the Mexican government would join with Japan in an attack on the United States.

With a government so regardless of the rights and feelings of this nation, friendly relations were impossible. President Wilson became convinced that only one course lay before him. Resolutely he set out on it.

War Declared. On April 2, 1917, President Wilson invited Congress to assemble in joint session. He explained to it the duty of the United States in the crisis at hand. He recited the deeds of Germany which had horrified the country and made impossible peaceful relations with the Kaiser:

> Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium . . . have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

He then told how the German government had filled our unsuspecting cities with spies and carried on secret plots against American peace and industry; how Germany had plotted in Mexico to stir up enemies at the very door of the United States. With a government so indifferent to American rights and so inhuman in its conduct, friendly relations could no longer be maintained. Indeed the United States had already been attacked by German power; its ships had been sunk and its citizens killed. President Wilson, therefore, asked Congress to recognize the fact that the recent course of the German imperial government was indeed "nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States." After a few days' debate Congress solemnly declared, on April 6, that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States.[1]

The War against the Government, Not the People, of Germany. In advising Congress to take this course, President Wilson was careful to point out that our quarrel was with the autocratic government of Germany, not with the people of that country:

> We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. . . . In such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend.

IV. THE GERMAN AUTOCRACY

The German Government Autocratic. In order that we may understand the meaning of President Wilson's words, it is necessary for us to examine for a moment the nature of the government of Germany at this time. The German Empire was a federation of twenty-two kingdoms, duchies, and principalities and three "free cities." The king of Prussia was the German emperor by virtue of his right as king. There was an imperial parliament consisting of (1) the imperial council composed of agents of the several kings, princes, and dukes and the three free cities, and (2) a lower house, or *Reichstag*, composed of representatives elected by universal manhood suffrage. There was a high minister, the chancellor, who was chosen by the emperor and was responsible to him alone, not to the representatives of the voters as in England and France. Laws could not be made without the consent of the *Reichstag*, but that was about as far as its power went. War was made by the emperor, who commanded the army and navy. It is true that an "offensive" war had to be approved by the imperial council, but that was a mere formality. The popular branch of the government — the *Reichstag* — had no control over the declaration of war under any circumstances. Although the government could not spend money without its approval, the emperor usually found it easily influenced when he called upon it for grants of money.

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[1] War was not declared on Austria until December 7, 1917; no declaration of war was made against Bulgaria and Turkey, nations allied with Germany and Austria.

Prussia Practically an Absolute Monarchy. It must be remembered also that the German emperor enjoyed great powers as king of Prussia. That state had more than one half the population and territory of the empire. It had a constitution which had "graciously" been granted by the king to the people in 1850. Under this constitution the government of Prussia was in the hands of the king and a few great landlords ("Junkers") and rich men.

The history of Prussia up to 1918 was in the main the history of the House of Hohenzollern, the ruling family which began three hundred years before to enlarge its domains. The Hohenzollern kings, one after the other, spent great sums on the army and seized the territories of their neighbors without apologies. Chiefly by armed force they were able to bring nearly all Germans besides some other peoples under the German Empire. While other nations were reducing the power of kings or getting rid of them altogether, the Hohenzollerns continued to talk and act like monarchs in the middle ages. They commanded the army, and they made the teachers in the schools teach obedience to the king and emperor. In fact Germany was ruled by the German emperor, military officers, barons, and rich men.

The Hohenzollerns' Dream of World Power. As long as the Hohenzollerns limited their seizures of property to their German neighbors, they made little trouble for the rest of the world.

After the establishment of the German Empire in 1871, however, came a remarkable growth of German commerce and industry. The imperial government then began to look upon the army and navy as means for getting possession of still more territory. Victorious over Denmark in 1864 and over Austria in 1866 and triumphant over France in 1871, Germany turned to promoting foreign trade and to winning colonies in Asia, Africa, and various islands of the sea. In this way Germany came into many sharp collisions with England, France, and the United States.

The Need of Crushing Prussian Militarism Recognized. It was against this government that President Wilson asked his country to take up arms. To say that the outcome of the war in Europe was of no concern to the United States was to ignore forty years of history. Thousands of peaceful Americans, looking with horror upon war, were slowly driven by events to believe that a German victory in Europe meant danger for the United States in the coming years. They believed that, with Great Britain beaten and her colonies annexed by Germany, America would not be spared.

They remembered the hundred years of peace which we had maintained with the British Empire; they recalled the three thousand miles of practically unfortified border between this country and Canada. Could such a peace be kept if Germany won the war and seized any colonies in this hemisphere? Thus the fear of German militarism brought Europe close to our shores.

V. A DEMOCRACY AT WAR

The task before the United States was a tremendous one. With great energies devoted for three hundred years to preparation for war, the Hohenzollerns were well equipped for battle. Though blocked in the West by the armies of Great Britain and France and in the East by the armies of Russia, they were able to hold back such military forces as the world had never seen before. Even after Italy in 1915 declared war against Germany and Austria and threw its great armies against the Austrian front, the war seemed to be at a standstill without advantage on either side. The work to be done was serious and the government of the United States took it seriously.

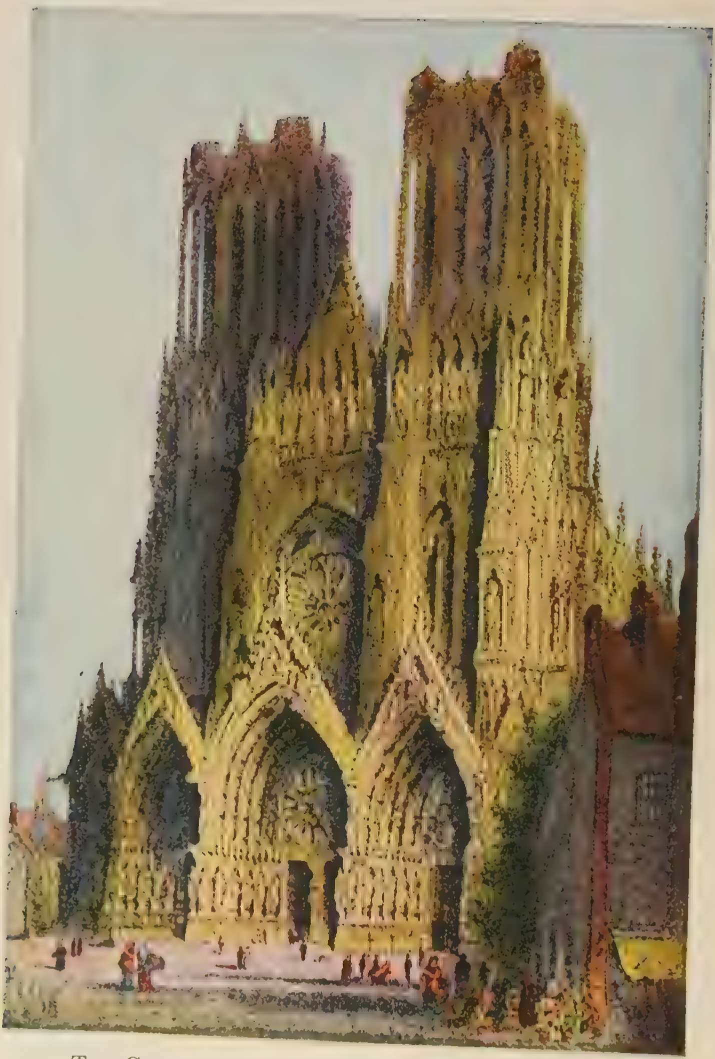
The Army and Navy. The World War was a war of nations, not of armies alone. The first question before the American government was whether it should depend upon volunteers or, following in the footsteps of France and England, summon all the people to arms or to war work. Some Americans believed the drafting of men for military service to be contrary to American traditions and ideals. Those who held to this view urged that the draft should be used only in case the call for volunteers failed to raise the required armies. Others declared that the burdens of war should be laid on all the people as equitably as possible and that to defend democracy was a duty as well as a privilege. The advice of this last group was followed.

On May 18, 1917, Congress enacted the selective draft law declaring that the national army was to be chosen impartially from among all males between the ages of 21 and 31. By proclamation, June 5 was fixed as the day for enrolling those liable to service. By another draft law in August, 1918, Congress extended the period of years to include all men between 18 and 45, and September 12 was made the day for registration. The regular army of the United States and the naval forces were materially increased by volunteers. When the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, General Pershing reported that there were in Europe and on the way from the United States more than two million American soldiers, less our losses, besides about the same number in camps at home. Our losses in killed, wounded, prisoners, and missing were more than 225,000.

Photo by Underwood and Underwood

DRAWING THE DRAFT NUMBERS

Raising the Money. With the drafting of men came a demand for the drafting of wealth. Heretofore wars had been paid for mainly out of borrowed money and the cost thus shifted to future generations. That is, the soldiers *gave* their lives on the field of battle and the rich *lent* their money to the government at a good rate of interest. As soon



The Cathedral at Reims As It Was before 1914 as the war with Germany broke out, there arose a great protest against this way of paying war bills. In response to popular demand, therefore, Congress laid heavy taxes on the profits of industries and the incomes of the rich. Under the old plan a man who saved a thousand dollars from his income could lend it all to the government and receive his annual interest besides the return of the principal in due time. Under the new plan the government took from him a part of his thousand dollars in the form of a tax.

HINDENBURGS OWN
HINDENBURG
TAKEN BY OUR

LIBERTY LOAN MEETING

The rest of the money for the war, running into billions, was raised by Liberty Loans. Bonds and War Savings Stamps bearing interest were sold to the people. Everywhere rousing meetings were held and citizens joined by the millions in buying bonds, large and small. It is estimated that there were 4,500,000 subscribers to the First Liberty Loan and 21,000,000 to the Fourth Loan.

In spite of the heavy taxes and the sale of bonds and stamps, the people generously gave hundreds of millions to the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish agencies, and other great war-work associations.

Food and War Supplies. In order to furnish needed supplies to the troops and aid in the fair distribution of food and fuel among the people at home, Congress enacted on August 10, 1917, a drastic food-control and fuel-control law.

The President was authorized: (1) to take food or other supplies for the support of the army and navy; (2) to lay down rules governing the marketing of foodstuffs; (3) to fix the price of wheat; (4) to seize and operate, if necessary, factories, mines, packing houses, and other plants; (5) to fix the prices of supplies for military purposes; and (6) to fix the price of coal and coke. Mr. Herbert Hoover, who had won fame in Belgian relief work, was made national food administrator.

Labor. As President Wilson declared early in the war, "the men who remain to till the soil and man the factories are no less a part of the army that is in France than the men beneath the battle flags." For this reason he appealed to American labor to man the factories and mines with more energy than ever. He pledged his word that the conditions of labor would not be made more burdensome and that steps taken to improve labor conditions would not be blocked or checked. Samuel Gompers, speaking for the American Federation, pledged the loyal support of organized labor. A National War Labor Board, headed by ex-President Taft and Mr. Frank Walsh, was created for the purpose of adjusting by arbitration and conciliation the disputes arising in industry.

Women and the War: As in the days of the Revolution and the Civil War, women did their full share of war work. They labored in the fields and factories. They helped to raise money in the various "drives" for the sale of Liberty

Bonds and for gifts to the Red Cross and other agencies. They served as nurses. They drove ambulances. They helped to entertain the soldiers in the training camps at home and in active service abroad. They made use of their training as doctors by working in hospitals.

The Schools in War Time. Even the schools and school children were called upon for war service, and they responded nobly. They took an active part in the sale of Liberty Bonds and especially of War Savings Stamps. They formed Junior Red Cross Chapters which made millions of bandages and surgical dressings. They cultivated "war gardens." In September, 1918, President Wilson, in a communication addressed to the school-teachers of the country, thanked them and their pupils for the good service that they were giving.

Photo by Brown Bros.

RED CROSS NURSES

Railways and Shipping. The problems of transporting guns, ammunition, and other supplies to the Eastern seaports for shipment across the Atlantic, of supplying factories with materials and cities with food presented many difficulties. In order to meet them the government took over and managed for the period of the war the railroads, the express companies, the telegraph and telephone companies, and the cable lines. Owing to the fact that German submarines were daily sinking vessels at sea, the President was empowered to buy and build ships practically without limit. Every available shipyard was brought into government service, and new yards were opened. In a little while the launching of great ships was a daily occurrence. The German ships in our harbors were seized, and the American vessels engaged in coastwise business were placed under government control. In spite of our efforts, however, we had to depend to a large extent upon British ships to carry our soldiers and supplies to Europe.

The Insurance Act. Congress passed in October, 1917, an Insurance Act appropriating huge sums of money for three main purposes: (1) to pay allowances to the families of soldiers and sailors dependent upon their earnings; (2) to compensate officers and enlisted men for disabilities incurred in the war or their families in case of death; and (3) to create a relatively inexpensive system of insurance for those in active service, enabling them to make further provisions for themselves or those left behind.

The Espionage and Sedition Laws. By two Acts, one in 1917 and the other in 1918, Congress provided for strict government control over the acts and opinions of private citizens. It laid heavy penalties on all those who tried to give aid to the enemy in any form, advised disloyalty, or interfered with the work of the military and naval authorities. The second of the laws, the Sedition Act, provided fines and imprisonment for all who used "abusive language about the government or institutions of the country." These laws were strictly enforced, not only against those who sympathized with the enemies of the United States, but also against Socialists and others who opposed the war or criticized the government for entering the war. Among the men convicted under the law was Eugene V. Debs, who had been a candidate for the Presidency (p. 545).

The Alien and Foreign-born. During the preparations for war attention was particularly centered in citizens of foreign origin. Could they be counted upon as loyal Americans? Would they give up altogether their love for their native lands? Would they be fair in case of a dispute between the United States and their native lands? In considering these questions Congress was moved to pass another immigration law. In 1917 it limited immigration in a new way by providing that incoming aliens must at least be able to read some language. President Wilson vetoed the law, but it was passed over his veto.

All during the war citizens of German and Austrian origin were in a difficult position. Their fathers, sons, and brothers were falling on the field of battle, and the strain upon their affections was very great. When the United States finally declared war, there was some uncertainty about the stand which these citizens would take, but President Wilson was right when he said: "They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance."

The mass of American citizens of every national origin loyally performed the duties which the war imposed on them. Only the Socialist party went on record officially against the war, and even its members were divided over the issue.

VI. Americans on the High Seas and Battle Front; Victory and the Treaty of Versailles

The Good Work of the Navy. At the earliest moment after the declaration of war, the government took steps looking to speedy action against the Germans on land and sea. Strong naval forces reached England in May, 1917, in charge of Vice Admiral Sims, who had been given command of American ships in European waters. When asked by the English when his forces would be ready for fighting, he replied: " We can start at once. We made our preparations on the way over." Very quickly American torpedo boats and cruisers were giving valiant aid to the French and English fleets in searching out and destroying the German submarines that were still causing serious damage to the Allied shipping.

Photo by Underwood and Underwood

General John J. Pershing

The Coast Patrol and the Convoy Service. Equally important was the work of the navy in home waters and along the routes that the transports took in carrying soldiers to France. German submarines might appear at any time off the American coast, and the submarine captains would have liked nothing better than to sink a transport crowded with American troops. The navy did its work so well that only one eastbound transport was torpedoed,[1] and the American coast was kept free from submarine raids.

The American Expeditionary Forces in France. Gigantic preparations were also made for war on land. General Pershing (p. 633) was made commander in chief of the

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[1] Three westbound transports were torpedoed with a total loss of 88 lives.

American Expeditionary Forces, and in June, 1917, he and his staff were in Paris conferring with the Allied commanders. One of Pershing's first acts was to visit the tomb of the gallant French officer who had served the Americans so well in the War for Independence (p. 173). "Lafayette, we are here!" — the famous sentiment of Colonel C. E. Stanton — voiced the feelings of the Americans as the General laid a wreath on the tomb.

Photo from Press Illustrating Service

MARSHAL FERDINAND FOCH

Our Soldiers in France. In the latter part of June, 1917, American troops, chiefly marines and detachments of the regular army, appeared in France. They were sent to the training camps to prepare for their duties at the front, for the war had developed a peculiar type of trench fighting in many ways quite unlike the fighting for which the American soldiers had been trained. Four months later, on October 27, it was announced that the American soldiers had fired their first shot, but most of the following winter was spent in learning the new arts of warfare. By March 21, 1918, the day when the last great German drive began, Americans were ready for battle.

Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Château-Thierry. A week later, on March 28, General Pershing placed the American troops at the disposal of the French commander Marshal Foch, who had been made chief of all of the armies fighting in France against the German invaders. The Americans quickly showed their skill and courage in the Montdidier section and at Cantigny (May 28). On June 6 there was fierce fighting at Belleau Wood, and in July, when the Germans seemed at times almost on the point of taking Paris, the Americans at Château-Thierry and along the Marne heroically helped the French to turn the tide of battle.

St. Mihiel. By this time the volunteers and drafted soldiers, trained in the camps at home, were beginning to arrive in large numbers, and, in August, 1918, the American forces in France constituted a mighty army of 1,500,000 men. The first great offensive campaign in which this army took a leading part was that which drove the enemy from a very strong position near St. Mihiel on the river Meuse. A great battle opened early on the morning of September 12 with a terrific bombardment from the American artillery. After four hours of this bombardment, seven divisions of the American army went " over the top," driving the Germans before them. All day and all the following night the battle raged; and after twenty-four hours of heroic effort, the St. Mihiel " pocket " was closed tight against the Germans. Nearly two hundred square miles of French territory had been recovered, 20,000 prisoners taken, and the enemy forced back to new lines close to the German border. The first great battle of the Americans had ended in a complete victory.

The Meuse-Argonne Campaign. From September 26 to November 11, the American army was constantly engaged in desperate fighting in the Meuse-Argonne section, overcoming inch by inch the stubborn resistance of the enemy and finally capturing Sedan and breaking the German line at one of its most important points.

Of the conduct of the American men on the field of battle nothing finer has been said than that by General Pershing in his report of December, 1918: " When I think of their heroism, their patience under hardships, their unflinching spirit of offensive action, I am filled with emotion which I am unable to express. Their deeds are immortal, and they have earned the eternal gratitude of our country." The deep truth of this statement is shown by the fact that one third of the Americans who actually engaged in battle were either killed or wounded.

Tank Going into Action in France

The Russian Revolution. The struggle on the western battle front was made all the more severe for the Allies and the Americans by the withdrawal of Russia from the war. In March, 1917, the Czar was overthrown by a revolution. In November the moderate government which followed the Czar was in turn overthrown by radical Socialists, known as the Bolsheviki. The new masters of Russia, after calling on all the warring countries to stop fighting and failing to get an answer, made peace with the Germans and Austrians, paying a high price for it in money and territory. A few months afterward the United States joined England, France, and Japan in sending troops to Siberia and Archangel. Although the reasons for this were never made entirely clear, American soldiers remained in parts of Russia until long after the war was ended.

Steps toward Peace. While the war was being won on the battlefield, there was carried on in all parts of the world a lively discussion about how peace should be made. In this President Wilson took a leading part. He had very definite ideas as to what kind of terms should be granted the Germans after their defeat. When he called upon Congress in April, 1917, to take up arms, he firmly declared that the United States desired no conquest, no dominion, no money indemnities for itself, no material compensation.

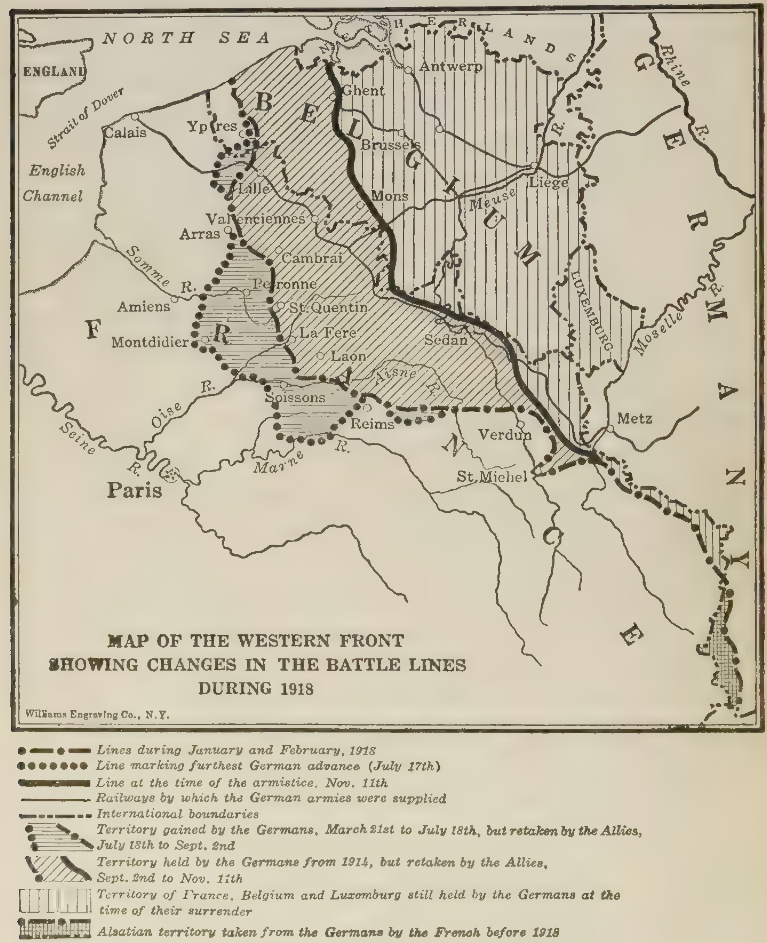
In his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, President Wilson laid down his famous "Fourteen Points" as the war aims of the United States, and thus informed Germany and Austria of American policies. To these he made additions later. President Wilson's war aims may be summarized as follows: (1) the abolition of secret treaties between nations; (2) freedom of navigation upon the seas; (3) equality of trade conditions among nations; (4) reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety; (5) fair adjustment of colonial claims; (6) restoration of Russian territory taken away by Germany and freedom for Russia to develop "institutions of her own choosing"; (7) restoration of Belgium; (8) righting the wrong done by Germany to France in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine; (9) readjustment of the frontiers of Italy along lines of nationality, bringing under Italian government

Italian peoples then under other rule; (10) restoration of Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro; (11) security for other nations then under Turkish rule; (12) freedom of navigation of the Dardanelles; (13) an independent Poland; and (14) a league of nations bound together in a common brotherhood to guarantee the safety of great and small states alike.

Germany and Austria-Hungary Defeated in Battle. Although President Wilson made clear to the world the principles upon which he believed a lasting peace must be made, he urged force to the utmost on the battlefield until the German military power was overthrown. On September 19, 1918, the world was startled by the news that Bulgaria had surrendered unconditionally to the Allies, thus breaking the eastern front of the Teutonic powers. At the same time came the news of the utter defeat of the Austrian army on the Italian front. Austria had to sue for peace. On October 5, the German chancellor asked our President to take steps looking toward a truce.

For a month negotiations went on, Germany becoming more and more anxious as her armies were being soundly beaten on the field of battle. At last, on November 11, an armistice was signed, bringing the war to a close amid such rejoicing as the world had never seen. In a few days the German Kaiser was forced to give up his throne and with the crown prince was compelled to flee. The old German government came crashing to the ground, and a republic was proclaimed. On December 4, President Wilson set sail for Europe to attend the grand conference of the powers, at which the final terms of peace were to be made.

The Treaty of Versailles. All through the winter, work on the great treaty with Germany went on. On June 28, it was completed and signed at Versailles, near Paris. The general settlement included three important parts: First, certain territorial changes were made. Alsace-Lorraine was restored to France; the independence of Poland, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Latvia, Esthonia, and Lithuania was recognized; the boundaries of Belgium, Denmark, and Italy were enlarged; the Austro-Hungarian Empire was broken up, Austria and Hungary, much reduced in size, becoming


NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
Strait of Dover
English Channel
NETHERLANDS
BELGIUM
GERMANY
FRANCE
LUXEMBURG
Antwerp
Ghent
Brussels
Calais
Ypres
Lille
Mons
Liege
Meuse R.
Rhine R.
Valenciennes
Arras
Cambrai
Somme R.
Peronne
Amiens
St. Quentin
Montdidier
La Fere
Laon
Sedan
Aisne R.
Oise R.
Soissons
Reims
Verdun
Metz
Moselle R.
Seine R.
Marne R.
St. Michel
Paris
MAP OF THE WESTERN FRONT SHOWING CHANGES IN THE BATTLE LINES DURING 1918
Williams Engraving Co., N.Y.
Lines during January and February, 1918
Line marking furthest German advance (July 17th)
Line at the time of the armistice, Nov. 11th
Railways by which the German armies were supplied
International boundaries
Territory gained by the Germans, March 21st to July 18th, but retaken by the Allies, July 18th to Sept. 2nd
Territory held by the Germans from 1914, but retaken by the Allies, Sept. 2nd to Nov. 11th
Territory of France, Belgium and Luxemburg still held by the Germans at the time of their surrender
Alsatian territory taken from the Germans by the French before 1918

THE WESTERN BATTLE FRONT IN 1918

separate states. German rights in Shantung, China, were given to Japan, with the understanding that they would be transferred later to China. Second, it was provided that Germany and her allies should pay a large sum for the damages they had wrought. Third, there was to be a League of Nations.

In September the treaty of peace with Germany came before the United States Senate for approval. President Wilson went before the people in support of the treaty; but the Senate refused to approve it. Thus the matter became an issue in the presidential campaign of 1920. Governor James M. Cox, the Democratic candidate, favored "going into the League of Nations." Senator Warren G. Harding, the Republican candidate, while approving some kind of league, condemned the one put forth by President Wilson. The Republicans won an overwhelming victory.

Photo by Brown Bros.

American Soldiers Coming Home

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *autocratic, despotic, czar, contraband, ammunition, munitions, merchantmen, negotiations, acclamation, crisis, intrigue, drafting, draft, equitably, drive, armaments, restoration.*

I. What events were the immediate causes of the World War? Locate the countries that first engaged in the war. What is meant by "neutrality in war"? In what other European wars had the problem of holding to strict neutrality caused difficulties for Americans? Name some of the important munitions of war. Why was an embargo on the export of munitions from the United States impossible?

II. What led to the sinking of merchant vessels by Germany? How did this submarine warfare differ from the interference with an enemy's commerce in earlier wars? Why did the sinking of the *Lusitania* especially anger Americans? What steps did President Wilson take as a result of this event? Who were the important candidates for the presidency in 1916? Name the principal issues of the campaign. What were some of the unexpected results of the election?

III. Why did President Wilson dismiss Bernstorff? What is meant by "intrigue"? State some of the ways in which Germany plotted against Americans even before war was declared between the two countries. When was war finally declared?

IV. What is meant by an "autocracy"? How does autocracy in government differ from democracy? Name some of the advantages of living in a democratic country as compared with living under an autocratic ruler. What were the reasons for calling on the free peoples of the world to crush the militarism of the German empire?

V. What is meant by a military "draft"? When before in our history have armies been raised in this way? (See Chapter XXII.) What is the reason for using this method of raising an army in a democracy? What steps did Congress take to provide money for carrying on the war? What provision did Congress make to provide adequate food and fuel supplies during the war? Why was this necessary? How did organized labor help win the war? What services did teachers and school children render? By what methods were industrial disputes settled during the war? Why were the railroads placed under government control during the war? What action was taken for the control of express companies and telephone and telegraph lines? Why? How was shipbuilding encouraged? Why was this necessary? For what purposes was an Insurance Act passed by Congress? Why was the Espionage Law passed? What was the attitude of most foreign-born citizens toward the war?

VI. Why was the work of the navy so important in winning the war? Contrast the methods of fighting chiefly employed in the World War with the methods used in preceding wars. Locate on the map the principal battles and campaigns in which the Americans participated. Trace briefly the steps leading to peace. State briefly the main features of President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." What were the principal terms of the peace treaty?

Projects and Problems for Further Study

1. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 had a very important bearing upon the World War. A brief account of this earlier war will be found in Guerber's *Story of Modern France*, pp. 294–309.

2. Name some of the important differences between the World War and the other wars that this country has fought.

3. Read the War Address of President Wilson and other related addresses. See *American Democracy from Washington to Wilson*, Macmillan Pocket Classics.

4. Let each member of the class look up and report on one of the following topics: Château-Thierry, the Meuse-Argonne Campaign, the American advance to the Rhine.

See Benezet's *Young People's History of the World War*, ch. xiv.

5. Look up important facts about some of the principal leaders of the American military and naval forces.

6. Look up the new methods of warfare employed in this war, such as the use of aircraft, tanks, gas, submarines.

7. Some interesting accounts of the World War are found in Hart's *In Our Times*, pp. 359–363, 365–370, 399–413.

CHAPTER XXXIV

AMERICA AND WORLD AFFAIRS

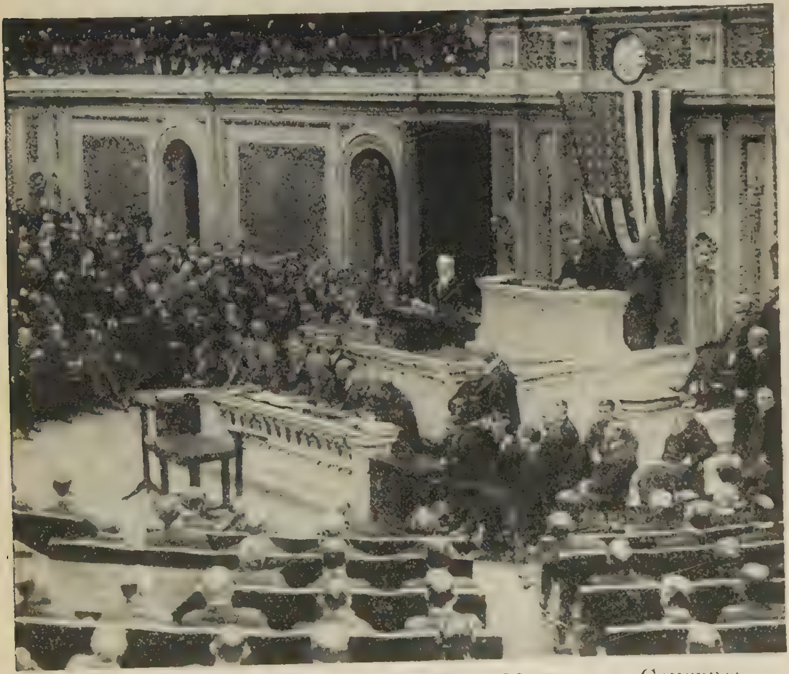
I. WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE

The League of Nations Rejected. The victory of Mr. Harding in the election of 1920 gave notice to the world that the United States did not intend to join the League of Nations. Already the Senate had refused to approve the peace treaty which created the League. The election was a blow to the hopes of those who still favored the idea. When the representatives of forty-one nations met at Geneva, Switzerland, on November 15, 1920, and opened the first session of the Assembly of the League, no American delegates were present.

The Separate Peace with Germany. The rejection of the peace treaty, however, left the United States in theory at war with Germany, Austria, and Hungary. President Harding, therefore, shortly after his inauguration, took steps to change that strange state of affairs. Congress by a Joint Resolution signed July 2, 1921, declared the war officially at an end. The following month a treaty of peace between Germany and the United States was drawn up and duly signed. In this treaty it was stated that America was to enjoy all the benefits given to her citizens in the Versailles Treaty without taking on any of the duties arising from it.

Ambassadors were exchanged between Germany and the United States. Trade and travel were reopened. Relations with Austria and Hungary were likewise restored.

America Takes No Part in European Conferences. In order to wind up the affairs left unsettled by the Versailles Treaty, the victorious Allies had to hold many conferences.



PRESIDENT HARDING READING HIS FIRST MESSAGE TO CONGRESS

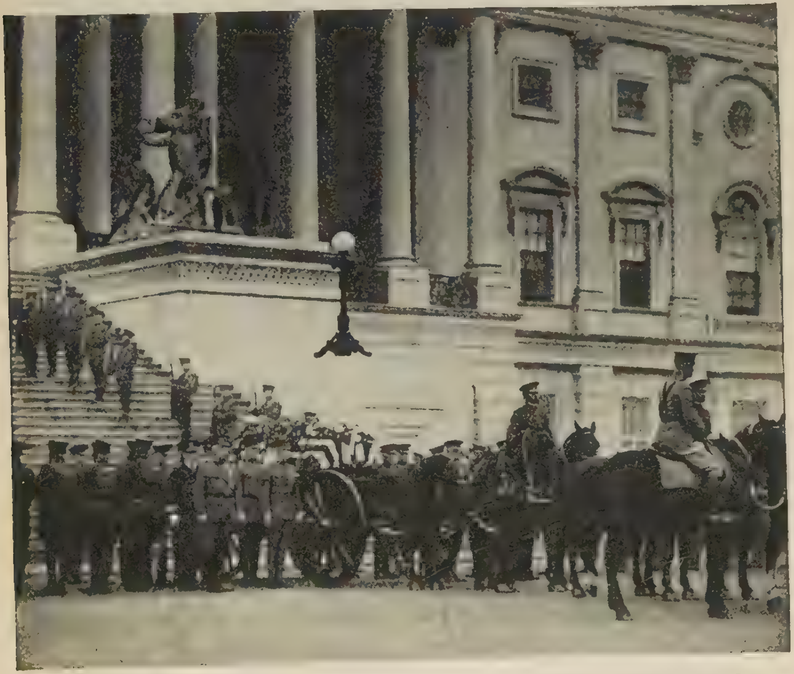
The amount of damages — the reparations — to be paid by Germany was not fixed by the treaty, and it was necessary to decide that difficult matter. The ministers of England, France, and other powers held meeting after meeting to discuss it.

In every case, however, they had to go ahead without any aid from the United States. President Harding would not send an American agent to take part in their meetings. Neither would he give them any advice. When Germany appealed to him to help cut down the amount of her bill for damages, he was equally firm. He would have nothing to do with the question. After the damages were finally fixed, other points had to be decided. More conferences were held. All the powers, including Germany and Russia, sent delegates to a great conference at Genoa in the spring of 1922. Again they turned to America in vain.

On Russian affairs our government also took a definite stand. It told the Bolsheviki that it would have nothing to do with them so long as they clung to their radical ideas. America would send relief to the starving Russians but would not open relations with their Soviet government. President Harding early withdrew all except about a thousand American soldiers from the Rhine region where they had been since the war; a few months later the last of them were brought home. All this told Europe very plainly that America would not become any more deeply " entangled " in European troubles.

Financial Relations with Europe. Still America was not yet officially " out of Europe." Our former associates in the World War, especially England, France, and Italy, owed our government money borrowed during the war — at least $11,000,000,000. Were they to pay the money back? When? How? What was to be done if they did not pay? These and other questions were not yet solved. But the British government arranged in 1923 for the payment of its debt in full, with interest, in yearly installments. Later, other debtor countries agreed to pay a part of what they owed, but in June, 1928, no settlement had been reached with France. In spite of this, France was making regular payments on a portion of the debt.

Though our government tried to withdraw from European affairs, our citizens became more and more deeply involved in them. European governments, cities, and railway companies kept on borrowing huge sums of money from our banks and citizens. These loans ran up into the billions of dollars and certainly helped European countries to get industries running again.



THE BODY OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER LEAVING THE CAPITOL FOR ITS RESTING PLACE IN ARLINGTON CEMETERY

II. THE WASHINGTON ARMAMENT CONFERENCE

The Far East Looms on the Horizon. Although the Republicans would not join the League of Nations, President Harding came out for peace and good will among nations. Speaking at the grave of "the Unknown Soldier" he said: " This soldier went forth to battle with no hatred for any people in the world but hating war and hating the purpose of every war for conquest." The President, therefore, looked about to see where dangers to peace lay and then took steps to remove them.

He was not long in finding sources of possible wars in the future. He felt that many nations were looking toward the Pacific Ocean and that trouble of some kind might develop there. He said that the United States wanted no more territory there but did desire fair and equal opportunities for trade, especially with China.

Now that Russia and Germany were powerless in Asia, Japan had almost a free hand; and Japan had a strong alliance with Great Britain. Difficulties were likely to arise over Chinese affairs, because that republic had fallen into disorder. Moreover, England, Japan, and the United States were feverishly building battleships as if they were getting ready for a terrible war.

The Conference on Limitation of Armaments. It was in these circumstances that President Harding, on July 8, 1921, invited certain countries to send delegates to a conference to be held in Washington in November. All accepted. At the appointed time the agents of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Portugal came to Washington. After President Harding's address of welcome, our Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, went straight to the point. Quietly and without a flourish he proposed that the building of battleships should stop at once and that a large number of ships should be " scrapped." He declared that the United States was ready to do her part in carrying out such a plan. While he spoke a solemn silence fell upon the assembly. A Japanese newspaper correspondent said: " One could hear a pin drop." When Secretary Hughes finished his speech, a storm of applause swept over the audience. The story of his plan, sent out by cable and wireless astonished the world.

Immediate Results of the Conference. Secretary Hughes, however, made it clear that, before his plans could be carried out, certain " menaces " in the East must be removed.

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THE BIG FOUR AT THE ARMS CONFERENCE — ROOT, UNDERWOOD, HUGHES, LODGE — AND BASIL MILES, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

Then the conference settled down to several weeks of debate. In the end four important agreements were reached:

(1) England, France, Japan, and the United States made a " four-power treaty." They agreed to respect one another's island possessions in the Pacific and to meet for discussion if any trouble arose over them. In return for this arrangement, England and Japan promised to end their treaty of alliance. This treaty was duly ratified by all the powers concerned.

(2) The building of battleships was to be stopped by an arrangement between England, France, Italy, Japan, and

the United States. The five countries agreed that certain ships should be destroyed and that their navies should stand at a given strength for a period of ten years. England and the United States were to be equal and Japan was to have three fifths the strength assigned to each of them.

(3) The United States agreed not to fortify the Philippines or any other islands in the Western Pacific. In return England and Japan made a similar promise about certain of their islands.

(4) All the powers represented at Washington agreed to respect " the open door in China " (p. 580) and to see that all countries had fair and equal trading privileges there. At the same time China and Japan drew up terms under which Japan was to return to China the province of Shantung, which had been taken from Germany during the war and by the Treaty of Versailles placed temporarily under the control of Japan (p. 663). This return was actually made in 1922.

To sum up: Battleship building was to be stopped and naval strength kept at a fixed figure for ten years. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was broken and a four-power agreement put in its place. The United States agreed not to fortify the Philippines, thus calming the fears of Japan in that quarter. An attempt was made to remove the causes of trouble in China by giving the merchants and bankers of all countries the same chances to trade. As President Harding said, the conference tried " to solve menacing problems and end disputes and clear up misunderstandings."

III. OTHER WORLD RELATIONS

The World Court. Shortly after the Washington conference, President Harding proposed that the United States should join other nations in a plan for laying their disputes before a world court. Such a court had already been created at The Hague by the League of Nations, and he declared that America ought to become a member of it. He was urging this project when he suddenly died in San Francisco in August, 1923. His successor, the Vice President, Calvin Coolidge, also favored joining the World Court. At last, in 1926, the Senate approved the idea, but with many "reservations" about American rights. In fact, these reservations were so important that the leading countries in the League of Nations refused to agree to them. As a result the United States did not join the World Court after all.

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CALVIN COOLIDGE

The Peace Treaty with France (1928). More important for world peace was the signing of an arbitration treaty with France on February 6, 1928 — the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the alliance with France in the dark times of the American Revolution (p. 175). In its opening words the treaty declares that the two countries are eager by their example to condemn war "as an instrument of national policy" and to hasten the day when the peaceful settlement of disputes will do away with wars among nations. It then provides that the two countries will submit to arbitration all their disputes, with a few exceptions, such as questions growing out of the Monroe Doctrine. About the same time Secretary Kellogg proposed similar treaties to other countries, stating that the United States desired to make peace its general rule in dealing with all nations. On April 27, 1928, the German government stated that it was willing to sign such a treaty. A few days later England and Japan likewise gave their approval.

Mexican Relations. Another proof that our government wished to maintain friendly relations with other countries appeared in the case of Mexico. Although some senators urged war as a method of settling disputes with Mexico (p. 632), President Harding, a short time before his death, sent a commission to Mexico City to settle points of difference. After many weeks of discussion, the two governments came to an agreement. The United States then recognized President Obregon (p. 633) and later President Calles. Debates were continued over debts owed to citizens of the United States by the Mexican government and over the rights of American citizens to property, especially oil property, owned by them in Mexico. Sometimes it looked as if a break would come again, but gradually the main points of dispute were smoothed out — especially after President Coolidge, in 1927, sent Dwight Morrow as American ambassador to Mexico City.

The Caribbean Region. With two other Latin-American countries, the President could not maintain the same friendly relations. He said that the United States intended to withdraw the marines from Haiti (p. 634) as soon as order could be established there, but in fact he found it necessary to continue the military control established during President Wilson's administration. Furthermore, the United States was drawn into a political dispute in Nicaragua, and in 1927 marines were landed there. For many months they were engaged in a contest with one of the Nicaraguan military leaders who eluded them by operating far in the mountain wildernesses. During this struggle, which cost many lives, President Coolidge said that our troops would be withdrawn after elections could be held and a regular government set up in Nicaragua. He followed this policy even though it was sharply criticised by several senators and many citizens.

The Pan-American Conference (1928). The state of affairs in Nicaragua, however, did not prevent the holding of a grand Pan-American conference at Havana early in 1928 — the sixth in our history. President Coolidge attended in person and the Latin-American republics sent some of their most distinguished men to act as delegates. The Conference agreed on many points. It adopted resolutions against war " as an instrument of national policy," and condemned " aggressive war " as a " crime against humanity." It approved the peaceful settlement of international disputes. It also voted to continue the Pan-American Union established many years before to promote friendly relations among the American republics.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Important terms: *League of Nations, menacing, reparations, World Court, reservations, "scrapped," anniversary.*

I. In what way did the American people show their attitude toward the League of Nations? What did this League propose to do? What were the principal terms of the Treaty of Versailles? What conditions in Europe made it impossible for the American people to separate themselves entirely from European affairs?

II. What important step did President Harding take to reduce the danger of another world war? Discuss in class the four principal agreements of the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, considering especially the effect that each agreement would be likely to have in preserving peace.

III. Explain what is meant by "joining the World Court." What steps did the United States take to join it? What was the outcome? Why? What were the main points of the arbitration treaty with France? How were friendly relations reëstablished with Mexico? What were two points of dispute? What is the state of affairs in the Caribbean region? Where was the sixth Pan-American Conference held? Give some of the points on which it agreed.

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

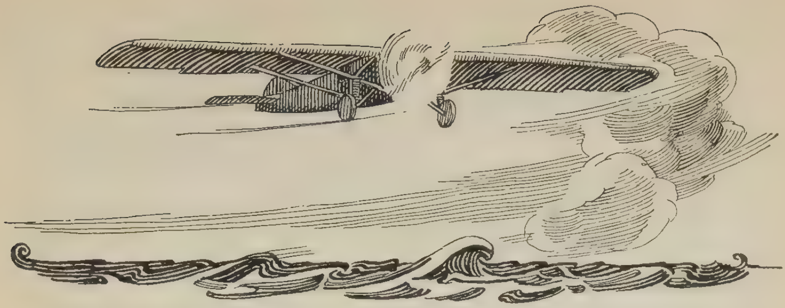
1. Make a list of some of the important foreign problems facing the American people since the World War. Discuss in class some of the steps that, in your opinion, might be taken to solve these problems. Consider, for example, the huge debts that many foreign countries owe to the United States; the attitude that our country should take toward Russia and Germany; the best ways in which our country can help Europe to recover from the effects of the war; the best ways of preventing another great world conflict.

A wealth of excellent material concerning these and other problems may be found in the *Social Science Pamphlets* prepared by Harold and Earle Rugg and Emma Schweppe of the Lincoln School, Teachers College, New York City.

2. Locate four important nations that came into existence as a result of the war, and appoint a committee to make a report on each nation that will show the important facts about: (1) its history before the World War; (2) its people and the way they live; (3) its government; and (4) its future prospects: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Finland.

For a brief account of the new nations see Beard and Bagley's *Our Old World Background*, ch. xvii.

3. Find a map of old Europe (before 1918) and a map of new Europe. Study them. Write an account of the principal differences between the two.



CHAPTER XXXV

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS — CURRENT EVENTS

National Defense. One of the first tasks before the country at the end of the World War was to put things on a peace footing once more. The huge draft army was quickly demobilized and the soldiers returned to their homes. The railways, telephones, telegraph lines, and other "public utilities" which the government had taken over were given back to their owners. Congress reduced the regular army to about 125,000 men and after the Washington conference reduced the expenditures for battleships. This did not mean, of course, the neglect of national defense. In fact the expenses of the navy in general increased. Moreover, greater attention was given to aviation (p. 505), — especially after Colonel Charles Lindbergh, in May, 1927, flew across the Atlantic alone in less than thirty-four hours and Commander Byrd with three companions made the journey a few weeks later. In a similar exploit Clarence D. Chamberlain and Charles A. Levine reached Germany in a nonstop flight.

Business Enterprise. As the excitement over the war died away, the people turned once more to the discussion of domestic issues, such as the tariff, prohibition (p. 560), aid for farmers, and good roads. To promote business enterprise, Congress, in 1921–22, raised the tariff which had been lowered in the administration of President Wilson. An attempt was also made to aid American shipping on the high seas. It was proposed that the government should grant money (ship subsidies) to companies operating merchant vessels, but neither President Harding nor President Coolidge could induce Congress to pass any such law. So for a time the government had to continue to operate many of the ships which it had built or taken over during the World War, leaving the subsidy question unsettled. At last, however, by the Jones-White Act of May 23, 1928, Congress adopted a kind of compromise scheme for aiding the Merchant Marine.

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Richard E. Byrd

Aid for Agriculture. While business in general was very prosperous, agriculture in certain branches suffered from a sharp setback after 1920. Prices of farm produce and farm land fell, thousands of people gave up farming, and a demand arose for government aid. In response Congress passed laws which helped farmers to form coöperative marketing societies and allowed land banks (p. 645) to lend money on produce as well as land. But many people were not yet satisfied and insisted that the government should assist farmers in fixing better prices for their produce. This demand became a great political question. In response to it, Congress passed the McNary-Haugen bill in May, 1928, but President Coolidge vetoed it. Another issue was added by the terrible Mississippi flood of 1927; namely, how to protect the farms as well as the towns likely to suffer from such disasters.

Federal Aid for State Governments. By various laws Congress voted money to help states in building roads, improving education, and doing other beneficial work. In 1920, for example, it granted money to states to aid them in retraining persons injured in industry, so that they could make a living in spite of their injuries. Within eight years forty-two states had accepted this aid and were carrying out the federal plan. In 1921, to give another example, Congress voted money to states to promote welfare work among mothers and babies. These laws provided that each state accepting a money grant from the federal government should appropriate at least a certain amount from its own funds for the same purpose. Such laws marked changes in the spirit of the national government. Indeed many people thought that they were improper, but most of the states accepted the money granted.

Immigration. Usually the laws just mentioned were defended on the ground that they would help raise " the standard of American life," that is, assist the people in winning better homes, better health, and more conveniences. A kindred reason was advanced in favor of more limits on immigration. The idea was to prevent a lowering of wages by a too rapid increase in the number of people hunting work. At all events Congress in 1924 passed the strictest immigration law in the history of the country. This law directly forbade Japanese immigration. It reduced the quota or number allotted to European nations and some other countries. Especially did it cut down the immigration from southeastern Europe. The new rules went into force in 1928.

Natural Resources. For a long time after President Roosevelt started his great contest over national lands and forests (p. 618), Congress debated what to do with them. Finally in President Wilson's administrations it decided not to sell mineral and oil lands and water-power sites, but to lease or rent them. Thus the government would continue to own them, and yet they could be put to use. Shortly afterward the government leased certain oil lands and water-power sites.

Scandals. Unfortunately for the country grave scandals arose in this connection. A high federal officer was accused of accepting bribes (taking money) for leasing two large oil reservations — Elk Hills in California and Tea Pot Dome in Wyoming. Although he had already resigned, he was indicted, that is, accused before a court of law. At the same time the President started an action in the Courts to get back the oil lands on the ground that they had been obtained by fraud. In the end the Supreme Court decided that there had been fraud and wrongdoing and ordered that the lands should be given back to the government. But not long afterward (April, 1928) a jury decided that one of the men accused of bribery was innocent of crime in the matter. So the country was deeply puzzled about the whole business. While the uproar over the oil scandals was going on, two high federal officials were sent to prison for cheating the government and a third was brought to trial and acquitted.

The Presidential Election of 1924. These scandals broke out soon after President Coolidge took office on the death of President Harding in 1923. Quietly but firmly he said that the wrongdoers should be punished and the innocent should be protected. The next year the Republicans nominated him as their candidate for President and selected for the vice presidency General Charles G. Dawes. The Democrats chose John W. Davis, of West Virginia, and Governor Charles W. Bryan, of Nebraska. A number of former Progressives, trade union leaders, farmers, and socialists, not content with the two major parties, met in Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated Robert M. La Follette, long a Republican Senator from Wisconsin. In the election, Coolidge and Dawes carried the country, winning a large majority over the Democrats and the Progressives combined.

The Campaign of 1928. The popularity of President Coolidge, as shown by his election in 1924, continued during his new term and many members of his party urged him to become a candidate for a second "elective" term. For a long time he was silent but in the summer of 1927 he said that he did not "choose" to run again. Though some Republicans thought that they might "draft" him again, his words seemed to clear the field for other party leaders. Before long the Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, forged to the front in the contest for the Republican nomination, and at the party convention held in Kansas City in June, 1928, he easily carried the day. On the Democratic side, the most prominent leader was Alfred E.

ALFRED E. SMITH

HERBERT C. HOOVER

Smith, who had been four times elected governor of the state of New York. After a hard-fought campaign, Mr. Hoover was elected.

QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES.

Important terms: *demobilize, subsidies, water-power sites, scandal, bribery, elective term, acclaim.*

I. Review the things done by the government to win the war (Chapter XXXIV) and then make a list of things necessary to get back to a peace footing. What exploits made aviation more important than ever in national defense? How large is our regular army now?

II. What action did Congress take with respect to the tariff? Ship subsidies? Aid to agriculture? Aid to the states?

III. Name the principal features of the immigration law of 1924. What did Congress decide to do with the national lands? What scandals arose in connection with the leasing of oil lands?

IV. Who were the leading candidates nominated in the campaign of 1924? What was the outcome? Who were nominated by the Republicans and Democrats for the presidency in 1928? Who was elected?

PROJECTS AND PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

1. Take to-day's newspaper (anyone that gives national news) and mark the articles and news reports dealing with the topics mentioned in this Chapter and Chapter XXXIV. Read some of them in class and expand the text on the basis of this news.

2. Do the same with one or more of the important magazines.

3. See how much history of recent months you can recall from memory. Make a list of the events you can recall and put it on the blackboard.

4. At the end of the fiscal year 1919 (that is, June 30, 1919), the public debt of the United States amounted to about $25,483,000,000. By June 30, 1928, the national indebtedness had been reduced by $7,879,000,000, so that the total debt then amounted

to $17,604,000,000. This amounts to about a 30% reduction of the public debt in 9 years. At this rate how long will it take to pay off the present public debt of the United States?

Teachers will find great help on recent events in *The American Year Book* published annually. Some of the "Almanacs" issued by newspapers contain valuable information on recent events as well as statistics. Each teacher should have one of these almanacs at hand for reference. Usually they do not cost more than fifty cents.

OUTLINE FOR REVIEW OF RECENT EVENTS, INCLUDING THE WORLD WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH (CHAPTERS XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV)

I. The New Democracy
  A. Causes of the increasing interest in the machinery of government
  B. Political reforms
    1. Civil service reform
    2. Ballot reform
    3. The initiative, referendum, and recall
    4. The commission form of city government
    5. The city-manager plan
    6. Reforms in the organization of political parties
    7. The direct primary
    8. Woman suffrage

II. The early years of the twentieth century
  A. Roosevelt a new type of president
  B. The conservation movement
    1. Its leaders
    2. The Reclamation Act
    3. The Forest Reserves
  C. The Panama Canal
    1. Early history
    2. Treaty with Great Britain
    3. Dispute over routes

    4. The Panama revolution and the cession of the Canal Zone
    5. The building and opening of the canal
  - *D.* Foreign affairs
  - *E.* The election of 1908
  - *F.* Taft's administration
    1. Tariff revision and the income tax
    2. Postal savings banks
    3. The parcel post
  - *G.* The campaign of 1912
    1. Dissatisfaction with Republican rule
    2. The organization of the Progressive party
    3. The nomination of Woodrow Wilson by the Democrats
  - *H.* Wilson's first administration
    1. New laws: tariff, income tax, antitrust, Federal Reserve Banks
    2. Troubles with Mexico
    3. American protectorates in Haiti and Santo Domingo
    4. The purchase of the Virgin Islands

- III. The World War
  - *A.* Europe on fire
  - *B.* American neutrality
    1. The President's proclamation
    2. Reasons for American neutrality
    3. Difficulties in the way of strict neutrality
  - *C.* The submarine outrages
    1. The *Lusitania* torpedoed and sunk
    2. America's protest and Germany's agreement to modify her practices
  - *D.* The campaign of 1916: President Wilson reëlected
  - *E.* War with Germany and Austria
    1. Germany renews unrestricted submarine warfare
    2. German intrigue in the United States
    3. War declared

- *F.* The German autocracy
  - 1. Nature of the German Empire
  - 2. Prussia an autocratic state
  - 3. Hohenzollern rule and dream of world power
  - 4. The need of crushing German militarism
- *G.* A democracy at war
  - 1. The draft
  - 2. War taxes
  - 3. National control of food, fuel, and transportation
  - 4. Adjustment of industrial disputes
  - 5. Encouragement of shipbuilding
  - 6. Soldiers' insurance
  - 7. Espionage and Sedition Laws
  - 8. The work of women in the war
  - 9. The war services of teachers and school children
- *H.* Americans on the high seas and battle front
  - 1. The work of the navy
    - *a.* In European waters
    - *b.* The coast patrol and the convoy service
  - 2. The American Expeditionary Forces in France
    - *a.* Preparations for the military campaigns
    - *b.* Our soldiers reach France
    - *c.* Cantigny, Belleau Wood, and Château-Thierry
- *I.* Other foreign relations
    - *a.* Attempts to enter the World Court
    - *b.* A new and important peace treaty with France
    - *c.* Friendly settlement of troubles with Mexico
    - *d.* Difficulties in the Caribbean Sea
    - *e.* The Pan-American Conference at Havana

IV. Recent Events in domestic politics
    - *a.* National defense on a peace footing
    - *b.* Promotion of business enterprise
    - *c.* Problems of agriculture and attempted solutions
    - *d.* Federal aid to work of state governments
    - *e.* The immigration question

- *f*. Natural resources and the oil scandals
- *g*. Recent presidential elections

Important names:

Presidents: Roosevelt (1901–1909), Taft (1909–1913), Wilson (1913–1921), Harding (1921–1923), Coolidge (1923–1929)

Military and Naval Leaders: John J. Pershing, William S. Sims, Ferdinand Foch

Important dates: 1914; April 6, 1917; September 12, 1918: November 11, 1918

APPENDIX

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people [pp. 149–151].[1]

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us [p. 147]:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world [p. 149]:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent [pp. 145, 149]:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury [pp. 144–145]:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

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[1] Page numbers in brackets refer to pages of the text.

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

[Signers arranged by States]

New Hampshire — Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay — Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island — Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut — Roger Sherman, Sam'el Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York — Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frans. Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey — Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania — Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware — Cæsar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland — Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia — George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina — Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina — Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Junr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia — Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

ANNOTATED CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

[*Preamble*]

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

[*Legislative Department*]

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature [p. 196].

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes [1] shall be apportioned [p. 194] among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

[1] See the 16th Amendment.

[2] Partly superseded by the 14th Amendment.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State [p. 196], chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years [p. 196]; and each senator shall have one vote.[1]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.[1]

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

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[1] See the 17th Amendment.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Section 6. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises [pp. 191, 197, 210], to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations [pp. 191, 194–196], and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies [pp. 191, 197], but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the

States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight [p. 180], but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken [pp. 194–196].[1]

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another [p. 191].

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts [p. 176]; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports [p. 191], except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

[*Executive Department*]

SECTION 1. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America [pp. 190, 196]. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

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[1] See the 16th Amendment.

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct [p. 196], a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[1] The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President [pp. 217–218], if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President [p. 201]; and if no person have a majority then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President [p. 218]. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.[2]

3. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall

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[1] The following paragraph was in force only from 1788 to 1803.

[2] Superseded by the 12th Amendment.

have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties [p. 225], provided two thirds of the senators present concur [p. 390]; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. 1. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

[*Judicial Department*]

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish [p. 197]. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States; — between a State and citizens of another State;[1] — between citizens of different States, — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and to fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. 1. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

[*Return of Escaped Slaves; New States: Territories*]

Section 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be dis-

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[1] See the 11th Amendment.

charged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due [pp. 393, 400].

SECTION 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union [p. 395]; but no new States shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States [pp. 191–192, 248–249, 395, 400, 404, 405–406]; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence [pp. 192–193].

ARTICLE V

[*Provision for Amendments*]

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

[*Public Debts; Supremacy of the Constitution*]

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation [p. 207].

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the

United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

[*Ratification*]

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go: Washington —
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

[*The Right of Persons* (p. 189)]

ARTICLE I[1]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press [pp. 216–217]; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[1] The first ten Amendments adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

[*The Rights of States*]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI[1]

[*Suits against States*]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States [p. 190] by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

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[1] Adopted in 1798.

ARTICLE XII[1]

[*Change in Electoral System*]

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots, the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII[2]

[*Slavery Prohibited*]

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction [p. 431].

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Adopted in 1804.

[2] Adopted in 1865.

ARTICLE XIV [pp. 458–459][1]

[*Who Are Citizens*]

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

[*Apportionment of Representatives and the Suffrage*]

2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

[*Exclusion of Certain Persons from Office*]

3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

[*Union and Confederate Debts*]

4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[1] Adopted in 1868.

ARTICLE XV [p. 461] [1]

[*Right to Vote*]

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied, or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI [2]

[*Income Tax*]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII [3]

[*Popular Election of Senators*]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII [4]

[*National Prohibition*]

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

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[1] Adopted in 1870.

[2] Passed July, 1909; proclaimed February 25, 1913.

[3] Passed May, 1912, in lieu of paragraph one, Section 3, Article I, of the Constitution and so much of paragraph two of the same Section as relates to the filling of vacancies; proclaimed May 31, 1913.

[4] Passed both houses of Congress, December, 1917; ratified by the required number of states on January 16, 1919, and proclaimed to take effect January 16, 1920.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX[1]

[*Woman Suffrage*]

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

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[1] Passed the House of Representatives, May 21, 1919; passed the Senate, June 4, 1919; proclaimed August 26, 1920.

THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS

PRESIDENTS	STATE	Born	Died	LENGTH OF SERVICE	PARTY	VICE PRESIDENTS
George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	2 terms, 1789–1797	(Unanimous)	John Adams
John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	1 term, 1797–1801	Federalist	Thomas Jefferson
Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	2 terms, 1801–1809	Republican	Aaron Burr George Clinton
James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	2 terms, 1809–1817	Republican	George Clinton Elbridge Gerry
James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	2 terms, 1817–1825	Republican	Daniel D. Tompkins
John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1767	1848	1 term, 1825–1829	Republican	John C. Calhoun
Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	2 terms, 1829–1837	Democrat	John C. Calhoun Martin Van Buren
Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	1 term, 1837–1841	Democrat	Richard M. Johnson
William Henry Harrison	Ohio	1774	1841	1 month, March 4 April 4, 1841	Whig	John Tyler
John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 yrs., 11 mos., 1841 1845	Whig	
James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	1 term, 1845–1849	Democrat	George M. Dallas
Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 yr., 4 mos., 5 days, 1849–1850	Whig	Millard Fillmore
Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 yrs., 7 mos., 25 days, 1850–1853	Whig	
Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	1804	1869	1 term, 1853–1857	Democrat	William R. King
James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	1 term, 1857–1861	Democrat	John C. Breckenridge
Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	1 term, 1 mo., 10 days, 1861–1865	Republican	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson
Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 yrs., 10 mos., 20 days, 1865–1869	Republican	
Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	2 terms, 1869–1877	Republican	Schuyler Colfax Henry Wilson
Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	1 term, 1877–1881	Republican	William A. Wheeler
James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	6 mos., 15 days, 1881	Republican	Chester A. Arthur
Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 yrs., 5 mos., 15 days, 1881–1885	Republican	
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1885–1889	Democrat	Thomas A. Hendricks
Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	1 term, 1889–1893	Republican	Levi P. Morton
Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1908	1 term, 1893–1897	Democrat	Adlai E. Stevenson
William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	1 term, 6 mos., 10 days, 1897–1901	Republican	Garret A. Hobart Theodore Roosevelt
Theodore Roosevelt	New York	1858	1919	1 term, 3 yrs., 5 mos., 20 days, 1901–1909	Republican	Charles W. Fairbanks
William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	1930	1909–1913	Republican	James S. Sherman
Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey	1856	1924	1913–1921	Democrat	Thomas R. Marshall
Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	1923	2 yrs., 4 mos., 30 days, 1921–1923	Republican	Calvin Coolidge
Calvin Coolidge	Massachusetts	1872	. . .	1923–	Republican	Charles G. Dawes

REFERENCE BOOKS

I. Approved List and Recent Publications Suggested for General Reading and Study

Beard and Beard — *The Rise of American Civilization*, 2 vols. Macmillan.

[2] Chamberlain — *The Continents and Their People*, 6 vols. Macmillan.

Channing — *History of the United States*, 8 vols. Macmillan.

Church — *Stories from English History*. Macmillan.

[1] *The Crusaders*. Macmillan.

Coman — *Industrial History of the United States*. Macmillan.

Elson — *History of the United States of America*, Revised. Macmillan.

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[1] Green — *A Short History of the English People*. Macmillan.

[1] Guizot — *History of Civilization in France*, 3 vols. Macmillan.

Hockett — *Political and Social History of the United States, 1492–1828*. Vol. I. Macmillan.

McMaster — *History of the People of the United States*, 7 vols. Appleton.

[1] Mead (Editor) — "Old South Leaflets." Reprints of important original documents with historical and biographical notes. Direction O. S. W.

[1] Rhodes — *History of the United States*, 7 vols.

Schlesinger — *Political and Social History of the United States, 1829–1925*. Vol. II. Macmillan.

Schlesinger and Fox (Editors) — *A History of American Life*, 12 vols. (4 published). Macmillan.

Schouler — *History of the United States under the Constitution*, 6 vols. Dodd.

Sears — *A History of American Foreign Relations*. Crowell.

American Democracy from Washington to Wilson (Macmillan Pocket Classics).

True Stories of Great Americans, a series of biographies of great personages in our history. Macmillan.

[1] *Stories from American History*, several volumes on the various aspects of our history. Macmillan.

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[1] Listed in the "Report of the Committee of Eight."

[2] Listed in the "Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education."

The Chronicles of American Series. Yale University Press.
State and local histories.

II. LISTED IN THE TEXT UNDER PROBLEMS FOR FURTHER STUDY

[2] Baldwin — *Discovery of the Old Northwest.* American.
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[1] Semple — *American History and Its Geographical Conditions.* Houghton.
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[1] Warren — *Stories from English History.* Heath.

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George Washington. Harper.

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